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Child Psychology

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To My Five Children

Preface

MOST TEXTBOOK WRITERS, one gathers, write as if with the grim visage of professional colleagues leering over their shoulders. I have tried to exorcize this specter and to substitute the composite image of the students for whom the book is intended. No doubt the effort is only partially successful; there are passages unwittingly written to please the wrong critic, but I hope they are few.

This book is the product of a concern and a conviction. I have a deep concern for the welfare of children and a conviction that, through science, more especially the science of psychology, we have discovered and are daily discovering ways of promoting that welfare. This book is written in an effort to get those ways as widely adopted as possible, particularly by teachers, including parents as a very special kind of teachers. Consequently it is not just a survey of the known facts of how children actually develop; it is concerned with what—always in the light of reality—we can help children to become. If it be true that we must not let our ideals betray us into wish-fulfillment, neither do we dare betray our ideals by mere reality acceptance.

I do not present this book, then, as either an exposition of, or a contribution to, the *science* of child psychology. Rather it is an attempt to put that science to work, a venture in *psychotechnology*. Such a technological work is not a mere assemblage of wise hints on child care, nor is it just a citation in organized fashion of the practical deductions which can be made from a miscellaneous array of experiments, valuable as either of these may be. A technology is based upon and guided by scientific theory as well as established facts. It would be presumptuous to claim that the system of psychological thinking which is embodied in the text is all of one piece, without inner inconsistencies. But there *is* a system, not argued for, not expounded, but incorporated and used to promote a basic understanding of children.

A technology, moreover, with its avowed practical end, always rests upon a system of values. It has not seemed necessary, however, to expound, dissect, or defend these values—for the most part, they are those held by all men of good will. Indeed, only occasionally is it

necessary even to make explicit reference to them. The text endeavors rather to show how, in the light of objective fact and of the principles based thereon, these values can be actualized in the education of children.

The combination of a theoretical frame of reference with a practical goal has controlled the selection of topics and of facts to be included. There is a wealth of fact in child psychology still unassimilated into a theoretical framework, or related only to general psychological theory not immediately relevant to the care and education of children. Of course I do not disparage the value of such facts. But if professional psychologists have not yet been able to see the bearing of a fact or a concept upon the actions of the ultimate consumer—the teachers or parents who are to help the child develop—then the fact or concept belongs in a handbook of child psychology, not a textbook. The omission of many of the conventional topics in child psychology is explained by the operation of this selective principle.

A somewhat different principle accounts for the fact that there is no separate chapter on learning. To talk of a distinct psychology of learning seems to me like talking of the chemistry of chemical reactions. All psychology deals with learning. There is, however, a psychology of helping children to learn, and this book is a contribution to it. The entire book is predicated upon the belief that children are what they learn to be; and a serious effort is made to lay bare the influences which determine how they learn.

Selection of the usable, however, is not enough to guarantee use. Someone has said that the ideal scientific essay eschews the hortatory and lets the facts speak for themselves. In psychology they do not do so very effectively. Despite the gibe that psychology deals with what everyone knows in language no one can understand, the teachings of psychology are at many points in sharp conflict with common opinion. In conflict also—and this is even more important—with deeply rooted feelings and long-established motives. A calm statement of facts in such cases too frequently fails to bear fruit in the action systems of the reader.

I have not hesitated, therefore, to spell out the implications of the facts for the teacher's behavior and attitude, and to make these implications as persuasive as possible. If this be the heresy of indoctrination, I hope that the constant appeal to the ascertained facts makes it innocent.

The appeal to reality is implemented in this book in another way: the reader is constantly encouraged to observe children at first hand.

In my own classes, each student makes a fairly considerable case study of a particular child. The administration of such a program is described in the Appendix; it is far easier than might be thought, and I warmly urge that this valuable "laboratory" in child psychology be widely adopted. Somehow or other, in any case, students should have firsthand contact with children, and should have practice in interpreting what they see and hear in the light of what they have read.

Objective observation and critical interpretation, however, are an art which need guidance and direction. Accordingly, as a unique feature of this textbook there are given, in Chapter 2 and in special sections at the end of each major division of the book, detailed suggestions, supported by copious illustration, for observing and interpreting child behavior. It is to be hoped that students will be encouraged to utilize this material even if they do not make a case study. (But Chapter 2 may well be divided for assignment with two or three other chapters.)

It must be granted that the order of chapters is somewhat arbitrary. No harm will be done if users of the text elect to begin with the material on physical development and health or on intellectual development. The chapters on authority can perfectly well follow those on motivation—indeed there is superior "logic" in such an order. The order chosen seems, however, to have certain pedagogic advantages, at least in my own classes.

While most students will have had at least one course in psychology before reading this book, an effort has been made to make the book usable for those who have not. The book is also self-contained; but many teachers will wish to supplement it by reference to such a book as Carmichael's *Manual of child psychology* or Dennis's *Readings in child psychology* or, for the behavior problem approach, the very useful *Childhood Problems and the Teacher* by C. Buhler *et al.* We must urge, however, that if the choice lies between having the students read more, even of first-rate accounts of child behavior, or having them observe children, the latter is to be preferred.

By previous arrangement with both publishers, certain portions of this book were condensed to form the chapter on Child Psychology which has appeared in Guilford's *Fields of psychology* (Van Nostrand, 1951). The courtesy of other publishers in permitting the use of copyright material is acknowledged with each extract.

Columbus, Ohio H. B. E.
March 23, 1951

Contents

Part I. Introduction

1. We Confront Our Problems **3**
The varieties of children. Individual differences can be measured. Differences are important—and not fully realized. Trait differences also matter. Traits are related to the environmental "field."

2. A Dynamic Study of Children **11**
A merely bookish study is inadequate. Observing the whole child. Objective observation *v.* value judgment. How to make a case study. Making contacts. Planning observation. Keeping records. Distinguishing fact from interpretation. Methods of gathering information.

Part II. Discipline and Authority

3. Discipline and the Child's Response to Authority **57**
"Discipline" the chief cause of teacher failure. The changing meanings of discipline. Discipline and leadership. Leadership and authority. Origin of authority in infantile dependence. Submission, love identification and resistance hostility as the chief reactions to authority. The teacher as parent-surrogate.

Authority and authoritativeness. The teacher's role in changing reactions to authority. Authority and democracy.

4. Authority in Conflict Situations **97**
Sources of conflict. Emergency treatment of conflict—coercion and punishment. Does punishment help the child learn? Emotional effects. Punishment as means of order. The right kind of punishment. Discipline *v.* self-discipline.

Observing Authority Reactions **118**

Part III. Emotion

5. What Is Emotion? **123**
Emotion as emoting. The components of emoting. The difference between emoting and other actions. Emoting as integration. Time relationships.

6. Emotional Maturing 139
Comparison of emoting in child and adult. Differentiation in infancy and early childhood. Variability and commonality in emoting. Learning emotions. Emotional conditioning. Emotional climate. Imitation. The influence of words. Mastering the situation.

Emotional changes in childhood.

7. Emoting as a Social Process 165
The "who" of emotional stimulation *v.* the "what." Emotional language. Maturity as emotional control. How suppression works. The need to educate *for* emotion.

Observing Children's Emotions 177

Part IV. Motivation

8. Motivation in Childhood 183
Why others, especially children, act so strangely. Motives in relation to emotion. Motivation *v.* stimulus-response. Early foundations of motivation. Heredity and the role of experience.

Deprivation and frustration. Experiments on the immediate effects. How to deal with frustration. The long-time effects of deprivation. Experiments with animals. Wartime deprivation of children. Problem children. The mechanism of deprivation.

Need-fulfillment as a self-evident good. Fear in our culture of "too much gratification." Satisfaction of lower needs favors struggle toward higher goals.

9. Influencing Children's Motives 210
What is an incentive? Intrinsic *v.* extrinsic motive. Incentives used to promote motive development.

Dependable motives are cultural products. Some common dependables. The catalogue is arbitrary. Individual differences in motivation.

Hidden motives. Identification difficult. Defense mechanisms to conceal motive. Look for concealed problems.

Observing Motivation 236

Part V. The Importance of Physical Development

10. The Psychology of Physical Development 241
Why important. Individual differences. Interrelationships. Compensation. Correlation. Organismic integration. The concept of bodily excellence. Physique and social development.

11. Illness and Physical Handicaps 262
Disturbances of the nervous system. Glandular disturbances. Nutrition. Illness. Special handicaps. Personality consequences of defective vision. What can be done to avert them. Other special handicaps.

Observing Physical Status 280

Part VI. The Child's Intellectual Life

12. Intelligence in Childhood 295
Intelligence important for itself. And as a factor in other developments. Nature of intelligence as disclosed by measurement. Common-sense origin of tests. The "usual and expected" tasks as criterion.

How dependable is intelligence? The "constancy of the IQ." General stability of relative standing.

Can intelligence be improved? Early stabilization. Factors of advantage and their limitation. Differential birthrate. The Scottish Survey. A formula for improving intelligence.

13. Intellectual Achievements 316
The varieties of intellectual achievements. Language. Concepts. Scholastic achievements.

Individual differences in intellectual development and the school. The search for a child's "natural group." A formula for grade placement. Educational acceleration and personality development.

Observing Intellectual Development 341

Part VII. Social Development

14. Social Behavior in Childhood 361
Social behavior discussed everywhere in this book. The child's need for affiliation. Requirements of social adjustment. The social code must be learned. Kinds of social participation. Casual and organized social interaction. Gangs. Play.

Manners. Ascendant behavior. Aggression and its reduction. Leadership-submissive behavior. Cooperative behavior. Sympathy.

Observing Social Behavior 385

Part VIII. The Individual Child

15. The Growth of Personality 415
From tissue needs to motivation by lifetime ideals. The role of learning

in personality development. Development of sentiments. Sentiments and values. The danger of verbalism in teaching virtue. Conflict of motives. Internalization of obstacles. Socialization of motives. Conflict as imperfect organization of motives. The resolution of conflict. The role of selfhood.

16. Achievement, Friendship, and Love in the Development of Personality 441

Achievement and love as the chief integrators of personality. These values not always at cross-purposes.

The basis of affection in infancy. Affection must be learned. Stages in the development of affection.

Social acceptability and nonacceptability. Friendship. Its basis in mutual fulfillment of needs. The distortions of affection. The relation of affection to sex.

Observing Personality in Children 457

17. Summarizing What You Know about a Child 466

Appendixes

1. Mechanics of the Case Study Report 473
2. List of Tests 478
3. Reminder List of Physical Conditions 483
4. Child Behavior Rating Scales 484
5. Parent Behavior Rating Scales 492
6. Reminder List for Case Study: Things to Do and Cautions 497
7. Sample Case Study 499
8. Administering a Case Study Program 530

Bibliography and Index of Authors 535

Index of Subjects 549

1 Introduction

1 We Confront Our Problems

As you face a class of children for the first time, what do you most desire to know? You will be spending nearly a thousand hours with these children during the coming year. Is your greatest need for a knowledge of the "subjects" you are to teach? Is it for knowledge of the "best teaching methods" with which to impart subject matter? Or do you need most to fathom the personalities of the twenty or thirty or forty little individuals who sit before you?

Who is this nervous, thin, little girl in the front row, eager almost to the point of anxiety? What lies behind the dull mask of the big boy who sits slouched down in the too-small seat? Will the little boy in the second row always be so dirty? (Certainly most of the others will not always be so spruce and clean as on this opening day.) Does the girl at the back of the room really look defiant or is that imagination? Which of these children will be the natural leaders of the class? Which child will be the bully? Do these children know how to cooperate? Which persevere in a task until it is finished; which flit from task to task like so many butterflies?

Are there any truants or disciplinary cases here? Any "problem children"? Do some stutter or lisp or talk baby talk? Do some talk too much? Will there be a "thief" in the class? Will some of the children be surly, quarrelsome, contentious?

What kinds of parents do these children have and what is their educational, social, and economic status? Which parents will be eager to cooperate? Which parents are "important" persons who are likely to make trouble if their child is not "properly treated"? Which parents are overanxious or overprotective?

How about health? The children look well just now; will winter weather bring out chronic illnesses? Will some of these children be perpetually below par? There's one lad with glasses; what is he doing in the back seat? How many others have uncorrected visual defects? How many are a little hard of hearing? Do they all get enough to eat?

And last—yes, and least, but still very important—which are the

good pupils, the quick learners? How much arithmetic do they know? What kind of grammar do they use in everyday talk? Have they learned how to study? Have any been "failed" from last year; and if so, why? All these questions a teacher must face.

And if you are that unique sort of "teacher," the child's mother or father? Most of the problems are fundamentally the same. Where they are a little different, parents should give some thought to the problems as the schoolteacher must face them. Thus while I address the book to teachers, present and prospective, I hope that parents too will find it meeting some of their needs.

These are, moreover, by no means all the questions we might ask. A recent investigation (3)[1] found over 18,000 terms in the English language used to describe human "traits"; and, as if these were not enough, slang is busily adding new ones every day. Each such expression is the answer to someone's legitimate question about a person.

► "If It Exists, It Exists in Measurable Amount"

It is not enough, however, to ask whether a person is surly or not surly; we must ask how surly he is and how often or how long or how easily he is provoked to surliness. That is to say, we must answer not only the qualitative question, "What sort?" but quantitative questions about "How much?" Probably every human quality is found in at least a minimal degree in every human being, but the range of variation from the least degree to the greatest—the range from the most selfish to the least selfish of mortals, from the most submissive to the most aggressive, from the idiot to the genius—is indeed enormous.

Enormous, at least, in its social and practical consequences. Curiously enough, it is not possible to say how great the range is in terms of the quality itself. We do not know, for instance, how many "units" or "degrees" of intelligence separate an idiot from ourselves or us from one of the great geniuses of all time. This means that we don't know whether we are closer to the one or the other! Measurements may establish that we are "normal," but they do not show how close that normality is to genius or to mental deficiency.

The issue here raised is rather technical. Since it seems impossible in psychology to find or to establish a "true zero," all our measurements are relative. Thus, intelligence in children is commonly measured in terms of "mental age." Now, a given mental age, say three

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to the reference bibliography at the end of the book.

years, does not mean a certain number of "units" of intelligence; it means the performance which is more or less typical of three-year-olds. When we speak of a child's mental age, therefore, we are rating him *relatively*—that is, by comparison with other children.

Relative measurements of this sort serve most practical purposes very well; indeed they have certain advantages. But we have to be careful how we interpret our results. We must not think, for example, that a child of mental-age six is twice as intelligent as one of mental-age three. Nor is it legitimate to average mental ages.

All of this does not, however, add up to defeatism. Measurements can be made in psychology and indeed were made even before the emergence of psychology as a science. They are being constantly improved in accuracy and extended in scope. We can answer the question of "How much?" for every psychological characteristic of a person, and, if we respect the limits of our techniques, these measurements have genuine significance and helpfulness.

Differences Matter

It is clear, in any case, that the ascertainable range of differences in human qualities is so great as to have important social consequences. Thus, a person's level of intelligence influences not only his education but the whole course and tenor of his life—the things he is interested in and the things he enjoys, quite as much as the things he can do.

Differences in personality are equally important. Take, for example, an emotional tendency such as fearfulness. Even leaving pathological instances out of account, we have at one end the child who is like Burns's mouse, a "Wee, sleekit, cowrin', tim'rous beastie," and at the other extreme the child who, almost literally, does not know what it is to be afraid. Can we possibly suppose that we should treat such extremes in the same way?

Ignorance as to Individual Differences. Perhaps the most important single fact in education is thus the obvious one that individuals differ—and differ tremendously. Obvious as this is, it is a neglected fact. We do not adequately adjust our procedures to these differences, perhaps mainly because we do not realize concretely and fully how extensive they are. How many teachers can state with any degree of confidence or accuracy the probable range of differences to be expected in the grade they teach?

Take one of the most tangible and easily known characteristics—height. How much difference will you find between the tallest and the shortest child? Suppose you know that the average height in the

Figure 1. The Shortest and the Tallest Girl in the Class

third grade is 52 inches. You still do not have the knowledge that will enable you to adjust your activities program to the children's height. It is rather a shock to realize that you may have to be ready to deal with one child who is 65 inches tall—as tall as the average woman teacher—and with another who is only 38 inches, hardly more than half the first.

Herewith is the picture of the largest and the smallest girl in a certain third grade (Fig. 1). I did not hunt for an extreme case; rather I took a purely random class from a near-by school. It is clear enough that these two girls will not fit the same seats; clear also that they cannot compete on anything like equal terms in games.[2]

[2] Pressey and Robinson (227, p. 15) point out that a difference of 15 pounds is enough to move a man from, let us say, lightweight (top limit 135 lbs.) clear past the welterweights to the middleweights (beginning at 147 lbs.). Almost never, of course, would men from such different classifications box or wrestle with each other. Yet a difference of 15 or more pounds is not unheard of between the heaviest and the lightest child in one school class. And, of course, 15 pounds amount to more proportionately at a child's weight than at an adult's.

To us as adults—and those special adults known as teachers—it may seem that differences in intelligence matter still more. Perhaps. Well, what do we know about the range and variety of intelligence with which we must cope? Sixty-five experienced teachers in one of my classes were asked to state the highest and lowest mental ages likely to be found in a third grade. They were told to assume that the average *chronological age* is somewhat over 8, as it is in most school systems. Eleven of the sixty-five teachers thought that mental age 10 was as high as was likely to occur. Nine thought that 10½ was likely, twenty-four thought it might go as high as 11. Less than a third of these experienced teachers realized that a mental age of 12 is not at all uncommon in the third grade. (It will be found in about one class in three or four.)

Estimates as to the lowest mental age to be expected were somewhat less varied. Four teachers out of the sixty-five thought it might be as low as 4 or 4½ years, mental age. Nineteen put it at 5 or 5½. About half thought a mental age of 6 was about right, but three thought there was little chance of a child being under 7, mental age.

Actually, here the majority were right. Although promotion policies cause much variation from one school system to another, a child below mental age 6 is seldom found in the third grade. It is significant that these teachers tended to overestimate the amount of dullness and underestimate the amount of brightness they were likely to encounter. And it is clear that even with so definite a matter as intelligence, most of them were ill informed as to the extent of their problem.[3] That they had more precise estimates of the range and variety of other personality characteristics of pupils is also unlikely.

One purpose of this book, then, is to help teachers to a richer, more definite, and more sensitive awareness of the range and complexity of human differences. We must learn to recognize that Harriet differs from the rest of the class in her attitude to authority, that Harold is the outstanding leader on the playground, that Peter is shy with adults, that Clara is more sophisticated in her attitudes than the rest of the class, that Mary Lou has found that the easiest way to secure fond attention is to be a little ill.

Trait Differences

Nor do we dare ignore in all this the interrelations between these qualities within the same individual. Meek-

[3] That these teachers were not untypical may be seen from Lewis's (169) extensive investigation.

ness, surely, is a very different thing (or at least has a very different value) in a huge strong boy than in a small weak one. Again, leadership conjoined with a sour disposition can cause an infinitely difficult problem. Affability and intelligence in the same person, on the other hand, make a doubly effective team. It is important to know that Jim is more energetic than Bill; it is equally important to know that with Jim energy is subordinated to a good sense, while Bill's energy overrides his judgment and gets him into trouble. And so on with all the combinations which go into the organization of personality in both childhood and the later years. For want of a better term, the expression *trait differences* is used to call attention to the relative strengths and weaknesses of various traits *within the same person.*

Traits in Relation to the Environmental "Field"

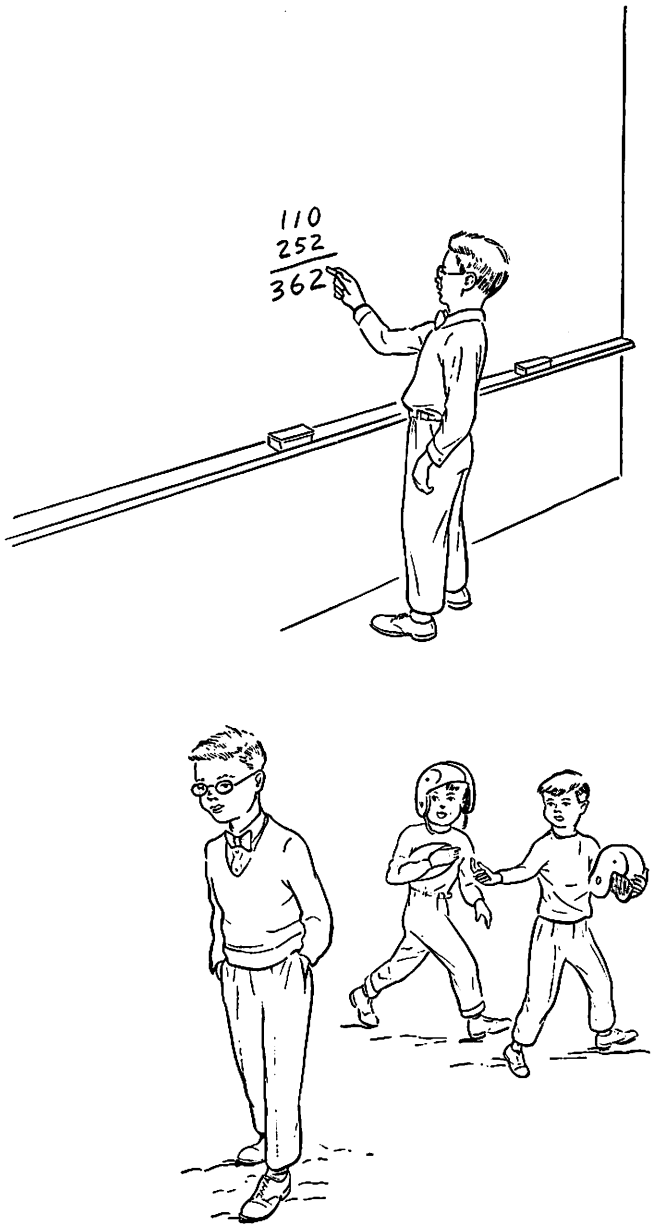
Even such a consideration of traits in interaction with each other fails to do justice to the rich complexity of human nature. No person is a self-contained being. His traits or characteristics are not fixed but vary according to the circumstances, the psychological "field" or "climate" in which he finds himself. The child who is bold as a lion in the arithmetic class may be retiring where football is concerned; the child who chats freely with adults may be reserved with strange children.

In principle this is again entirely obvious. The trouble is that we often fail to apply the principle in concrete instances, fail also to utilize the principle in furthering the child's education. We debate endlessly whether children should be grouped together in classes of similar intellectual status, but we pay little heed to other personal relationships due to other personality traits.

Thus, it is very unusual for teachers to make a careful study of the personal-social interactions of their pupils unless, or until, a "crush" or a fighting antagonism puts in its appearance. Yet such personal relations may decidedly affect not only personality development or character but even what some people still consider the major concern of the school, the learning of subject matter. If John detests Henry who is good at history, he may decline to be interested in the "foul subject," or, if he judges his chances are good, he may strive to excel in that area in order to defeat his rival.

More important, of course, is the way in which the psychological "field of forces" determines which traits of personality are to be exercised, and hence developed, and which are to be depressed or inhibited. Thus, when Sally recites in arithmetic she is supported by her school fellows' confident expectations; she has gained the repu-

Figure 2. Eagerness Depends — —



tation of "being good at arithmetic." Jerry's bungling efforts are depressed by derisive hoots and titters. Sally, therefore, not only gains in arithmetic but also in self-confidence—at least in classlike situations, and usually in others as well. But Jerry, unless the teacher skillfully manipulates the situation, loses out on both counts. Ability to guide personality development depends on understanding and controlling *the psychological climate in which the children live.*

Indeed major attention in what follows will be focused on the dynamic factors that determine behavior, on the various kinds of environmental conditions that lead to certain kinds of conduct and thus to the acquisition of character and personality. We need to examine the kinds of effects on the behavior of children of parental sternness, of persistent ill health, of the satisfaction or deprivation of the child's needs. Only against the background of such cause-and-effect relationships can we envisage the individual child in all his individuality and with fullness of understanding.

► Summary

These, then, are the first problems of the teacher: to realize the myriad ways in which children show differing talents and tendencies, to discern within each child's personality the pattern formed by these traits, and to understand how the psychological climate influences the manifestation and development of the child's traits. The teacher who discovers how to adjust all her teaching activities—not just her classroom "methods"—to this enormous group of facts will indeed be a *teacher.*[4]

Exercises

1. How can a teacher add to her information about a child's personal characteristics? List sources of information and ways of getting it.
2. Account for the fact that experienced teachers are more likely to underestimate brightness than to overestimate dullness.
3. Try to arrange the personal characteristics listed in this chapter in classes or groups of related traits. Compare your classification with another student's. Why are they different?
4. Height can be measured in absolute terms (so many inches) or in relative terms (e.g., as tall as a child a whole year older). Which is the more useful measure and in what circumstances?

[4] Believing that education in America has been over-feminized, the writer has opposed the use of *teacher* as a feminine noun. One must, however, recognize the facts of life: the teachers to whom this book is addressed are in overwhelming majority women, and that state of affairs is likely to continue long after the effective use of this book.

2 A Dynamic Study of Children[1]

A merely bookish study of children is clearly inadequate. In this chapter you are given help in making a direct study of children's behavior, and suggestions that will help you to interpret both what you *read* and *see* of children's conduct.

The Invisible Child

More than eight ninths of the volume of an iceberg, we are told, lies beneath the surface of the ocean. Not less hidden from the eyes of the classroom teacher lies most of the life of the child. Even after he starts to school at five or six, less than one fifth of his waking hours come under the teacher's more or less vigilant gaze. His life is being shaped not only by the school but by the playground, the neighborhood, the home, and the community. Seldom indeed can one hope to understand a child's behavior who knows him only in the classroom.

We cannot, moreover, really understand the child if we take him merely as he is. When the child first comes to school at five or six, he is already the product of a long period of development. And every year, every month, even every day, brings further development. Those who are to deal effectively with a child must realize in all possible concrete fullness that he is a rapidly changing, evolving organism. A psychology is inadequate that gives us only a "snapshot" or "cross-section" view of the individual child or of a group of children. We need to take what is known as the *developmental* or *longitudinal* approach which emphasizes the changes that take place in the individual with the passage of time. And we need to make this approach *dynamic,* seeing present behavior whenever we can in relation to the child's past history and present circumstances.

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[1] Much of the material in this Chapter and in the sections on observing child behavior, which close each major division of the book, has appeared in *Studying the individual school child* (81), and every page of it bears witness to the practical wisdom of Victor Raimy, my colleague in writing that manual.

Observing the Whole Child

The value of the longitudinal and dynamic point of view has long been recognized. Indeed this emphasis has been a major contribution of child psychology to teacher preparation. Unfortunately it has been most inadequately represented in the observational work that usually accompanies courses in child study.

Instead the typical procedure has been this. The instructor expounds the need to comprehend the child's whole history and background if we are to understand his present behavior. The students then visit a neighboring school and watch children behave in the classroom for a short time. Upon return to the lecture room, they are expected to state the significance of what they have just observed. But is this a reasonable request? *What about the children's past histories? What about other environments than that of the school?* According to the doctrine which has been expounded to them, the students are unable really to understand some of the behavior which they observe; they lack the necessary knowledge about the past of each of the children and about the other "contexts" in which the children live.

The way such classroom visitations work out may be illustrated from my own experience. Some students of child psychology were visiting an "activity school" class. Here a little girl was endeavoring to make herself acceptable to a small clique of five other girls by being particularly sweet and helpful to each of the five members. Her efforts to be helpful, however, were almost uniformly rejected by members of the clique, who regarded her as rather obnoxious. In their reports practically all the student observers commented upon the sweetness of disposition of the one little girl and the unpleasantness of the other five. Actually this little girl was generally anything but "sweet." But how were the observing students to know that? It was not their error but that of their instructor that the sample of behavior observed was too unrelated to the other behavior of these children to have real meaning.

Objective Observation versus Value Judgment

But an even more serious type of error was in evidence. Not only did the students accept a small cross section of behavior as typical, but they gave it an interpretation in terms of values. The one child was a "sweet child," a "helpful child," a "good child"; the others were "churlish," "clannish," "uncooperative."

Now as a matter of fact the five were cooperating beautifully—cooperating to exclude the sixth! The students overlooked the true

cooperativeness of this behavior because they disapproved of it. Taking a moral attitude is very disturbing to the clarity of our vision in observing—and fatal to our understanding of child behavior.

And this is a fault of older teachers no less than of younger ones. We all need practice in *objective* observation and appraisal. To be objective means to stick close to the unvarnished fact, to keep emotions and prejudices under control, to avoid praise or blame. This is peculiarly difficult for those who are fond of children, as most good teachers are. Learning to be objective requires the practice of certain attitudes and of certain definite techniques.

Observing, a Distinct Art

Finally, the lessons of child psychology are only half learned if they remain a bookish affair. It is of little value to understand (in theory) the causation of, let us say, defense reactions, and not to recognize defense reactions when one sees them. Printed descriptions of behavior do not by themselves confer skill in observing behavior or in doing something about it. Thus what the student reads about children needs to be enriched and vivified by direct contact with a child and by careful observation of his behavior. Part of this may be gained under the artificial conditions of a child-psychology laboratory, but the true laboratory for the prospective teacher is the child himself as he goes about his manifold affairs.

► Making a Case Study [2]

Over the years the writer has found that students best get "body" and reality into the psychological study of school children if they make a firsthand study of an individual child. Such a study when made by inexperienced students seldom yields important new information about the child, still less, of course, new general principles; but it can be a most fruitful *illumination* of what is being learned from books and discussion.

A second value to be obtained from making a case study is practice

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[2] It is suggested that the rest of this chapter be read for general orientation even by those who are not in position to make a case study; much of considerable psychological importance is embodied here. Those making a case study as their laboratory work in child psychology will need to follow up such rapid reading by more intensive review.

Apology is doubtless needed to professional case workers for calling an unpretentious study of a child a "case study"; but it seems the most suitable term for the effort, at whatever level of competence or thoroughness, to understand an individual by correlating information obtained from his past history with observations of that individual in a wide range of life situations.

in the actual use of certain psychological principles and procedures. It is not easy to bring psychological principles into relation with a living human being. The textbook "case" is inevitably oversimplified in comparison with the flesh-and-blood child who is Joseph Henderson or Sara Black. In psychology there is no substitute for direct experience in applying general principles to specific instances.

Moreover, the understandings of child nature that emerge from such direct experience are far more likely to carry over into schoolroom and out-of-school practice than those which result from even the most brilliant and enlightened exposition, whether oral or printed. It is true that teachers in actual service do not have the time to make full-fledged case studies of all their pupils, seldom even of one. But every procedure utilized in making a case study, every relationship between principle and practice which comes to life for the student in a case study, may be needed later in trying to understand some puzzling bit of behavior.

Finally the case study almost compels us to that attempt to see the child as a whole which is so often advocated and so little practiced. The student who has actually struggled with the complex interrelations found in the behavior of even one case study "subject" is much less likely to ignore them when she meets them in her pupils.

I strongly urge, therefore, that every student of child development make a case study of an individual child, carrying this along with the reading and discussion of the text. But even those who find it impossible to make such a study should find the following general directions of psychological significance. They bring out in concrete form the factors which must be taken into account in endeavoring to understand individual children.[3]

A Word of Reassurance

But before you begin, a word of reassurance. It does not take a special gift to observe children. It is something of an acquired art, and it is precisely to help you in acquiring that art that we suggest making a case study. What you need to begin with is merely a feeling for what the child is going through, for what he is up to, a real desire to *see* him as he is.

Most of you, of course, have read "case studies" in print. Recollection of the finish and smooth symmetry of these documents is likely to be intimidating when you begin to gather and organize your material according to what you find out about the specific child studied.

[3] The administrative problems of a program such as is described here are dealt with in Appendix I, pp. 473–477.

Remember, however, that even the most experienced case-worker starts out, just as you will, apparently wandering in a maze of unrelated details. The experienced worker knows that the details will gradually form patterns and take on meaning; and so they will for you if you persist. Don't worry, then, if you feel lost the first week or two; indeed, if you don't feel lost, something must be wrong!

It may surprise some instructors and dismay some students that I provide neither a systematic scheme for the interpretation of the facts discovered nor a detailed listing of the questions about the child which must be answered. It has been my experience that such a detailed list of questions results too often only in routine answers. Did the child have measles? *Yes.* (No thought as to what the illness did to either physique or personality.) Did he suck his thumb? *Yes, until he was three.* (No indication of how he came to stop or what kinds of "discipline"were employed.) Was there any history of insanity in the ancestry? *No.* (As if, in the first place, any family is free from such history. As if, moreover, the student can usually hope to get at such facts without breach of tact. And neglecting the only really important fact, which is how the members of the family react to mental illness.)

Children do not develop according to the neatly logical divisions of a questionnaire. Nor can their personalities be understood by indexing their lives. I have thought it better to help the student by suggesting *how to go about his observing* rather than *what he is to observe.* Where I have raised specific questions, they have been intended as thought-provoking and initiatory only. Any outline for recording observations must be as open at both ends as life itself.

"First Catch Your Hare"

Few of you are so unfortunate, one hopes, as to study child psychology in a region where there are no children. There is, therefore, much to be said for the idea that "the way to begin is to begin"—just pick a child and start in studying him. Experience shows, however, that there are a few principles which should be brought to your attention, not as rigid prescriptions but as suggestive guide lines.

First of all, the child selected should usually *not* be a "problem child." Of course, every child presents a problem to the teacher who has any imagination. But the term *problem child* has become something of a technical term for a badly adjusted child in need of specialized psychological treatment. You will occasionally have such a child in your class and may—unfortunately—have to deal with him

or her without the professional psychological help that is really called for. Your first need, however, is to learn to deal with "normal" children. Most of your problems—and your most important ones—will be *normal* problems. It would be one of the worst possible results of a study of child psychology to get in the habit of trying to find something "abnormal" in every puzzling bit of behavior, or of seeing a "problem child" beneath every curly head.

There is another and eminently practical reason, moreover, why it is wise to select a "typical" child. When we are asked why this child is being picked for study, we must be able to say with complete honesty that he is chosen because he is just an ordinary, everyday specimen.

Making Contact with the School. In most cases you should begin by a preliminary visit to the school. It is true, as we have insisted, that the child's school behavior cannot be fully understood in terms of only what happens in the classroom, but it is equally true that much that happens at home is unintelligible without an understanding of what is happening to the child in school. Since, moreover, most of you are planning to be teachers, it is perfectly proper that you *start* with the problem as it presents itself in the classroom; we merely insist that you should not stop there.

There is a very practical reason, also, for starting with the school. We obviously need the cooperation of parents, and the investigation of Johnny will seem less mysterious if presented as a school project rather than as a "case study." [4] Very often the principal can obtain the good will and cooperation of enough parents to supply an entire psychology class with subjects.

As a rule, then, your instructor will have broached the matter to the principal for you. Nonetheless, your first step is to present yourself to the principal and obtain his explicit permission to begin observation in his school. You must remember that the principal is legally and morally responsible for the conduct of school matters; it is only fair that he be kept fully informed of what is going on. Your call at his office, even if you should get no instructions and no information, is an elementary professional courtesy.

Because, however, she stands so much closer to the child, the co-

[4] As a matter of fact, you would probably do well not to get in the habit of talking about your "case study." Educated parents may look for too much, uneducated ones are likely to be made to feel rather uncomfortable; too many of them have had experience with relief case workers.

For similar reasons it is better not to make much mention of psychology. People are apt to expect miracles of anything called psychology but also to be unduly skeptical of more mundane findings. "Child study" is a fairly accurate statement of our purposes and is less likely to be misunderstood.

operation of the classroom teacher is even more vital. One of the student's first obligations is thus to insure that the teacher understands the purposes of the investigation and is prepared to forward it. Many teachers, especially older ones, tend to feel a little on the defensive when their classes are being visited by students who are full of enthusiasm for new ways. It has been my experience that it helps to emphasize that your purpose is not so much to observe the class routine as it is to observe the individual child, that you are not at all interested for the time being in methods of teaching but only in the behavior of the child. Nor does it do any harm to show that you realize you are making extra work for the teacher and shall be very grateful for any help extended.

Making Initial Contacts with the Home. If there is a sound tradition of friendly parent-teacher relations in the community, there should be no difficulty about an occasional visit to the child's home. The exact approach to the parents will have to depend on how one is introduced by the school. In general, it is to be hoped that the observer will have the way prepared for him by the principal of the school. Here various means have been tried. Sometimes the parents have been asked to come to the school to talk the whole program over with the representatives of the college. Sometimes the principal has written the parents a letter which is sent home with the child, asking their cooperation. A few principals have been generous enough to talk individually with each parent. Sometimes the student has merely been furnished the name of the parents and must introduce himself and make his own arrangements.

Should you make an appointment or should you go unannounced to your first interview? Middle-class housewives—and most of your subjects will come from middle-class homes—are likely to be embarrassed if a "visitor" comes unannounced. They prefer to go to a lot of wholly unnecessary trouble to have things "looking nice." You, of course, would much prefer to see a normal or everyday situation, but the choice is not yours. Moreover, the mother will talk more freely when she is confident of the appearance of the house and of herself; for your first visit that is more important than seeing the usual routine of the home. If, then, the family has a telephone, it is generally best to try to make an appointment. If you can wangle an invitation in general terms ("Any afternoon this week except Thursday"), so much the better. If there is no telephone in the home, have the child carry a message, written or oral. The lack of a telephone, however, is often an index of a lack of middle-class concern with appearances, so an unannounced visit may be risked.

In all cases you must remember that you occupy a rather delicate position. In the first place you are inevitably a representative both of the college and of the school. You have thus an opportunity to learn how to conduct yourself in a professional and tactful manner. In seeking your first appointment, for example, you should put yourself at the parents' disposal rather than seek your own convenience. We know, of course, that students, no less than the parents, have other appointments to meet. But in arranging for a mutually convenient meeting, you can manage to convey the impression that the parent's convenience has first consideration—as, indeed, it should have.

If the general plan has been outlined to the parent by the school, you should not elaborate much upon the statements already made. You can say quite simply that you are taking a course in child study in preparation for teaching, that the college considers a better understanding of children of great importance for effective teaching and has sought an opportunity for each prospective teacher to become thoroughly familiar with a typical, normal child. This child has been selected, not because he is a problem in school but simply because he represents the kind of child you will have to deal with when you become a teacher.

At this point it is generally well to allow the parent to ask questions. These questions should be answered frankly and directly. If the parents do not ask any questions, you might continue somewhat as follows: "Naturally it is impossible to understand a child without knowing how he has developed, so I should like to have you tell me something about his earlier years. And one thing that we certainly need to understand, better than teachers usually do, is how the child acts with his brothers and sisters around home." You would like permission, therefore, to come home from school with the child some day and notice how he acts there. You will try not to be too obvious, but if the child asks what you are doing, the mother may simply tell him that you are a student who is trying to get better acquainted with children in order to become a better teacher.

You should admit smilingly that neither the school nor the parent is likely to be very greatly enlightened by your study of the child. You will, of course, be quite glad to discuss with the mother anything that you find, but you are, after all, just a beginner in this field, and the purpose of this study is mainly your own improvement. You hardly expect to discover anything that the mother does not already know. As some slight return, however, for any bother you

occasion, you will be happy to act as a "sitter" some evening while the parents are away.[5] And you may also indicate that if the parents are willing, you would like to take the child with you to a concert or motion picture or some such treat to see how he reacts there.

You should not volunteer any estimate of how much of the parent's time you will take, but if you are asked you should say: "Why, of course, I shall take only such time as you find it possible to give me. However, there seems to be no need, unless something unusual should develop, to take up more than an hour, or perhaps two hours at the most. I should like to be around the home somewhat longer just playing or talking with Suzanne, but I should certainly not expect to take up very much of your time in any direct way."

Be careful at this time to ask no questions about the parents themselves; the first approach should concern the child. When you are on a more familiar footing it may (or may not) be possible to ask a few questions about the family situation.

Just because some of the above directions take the form of direct quotation, you are not to make a prepared talk along these lines! There could be no greater mistake than to memorize these words and deliver them as a mechanical speech.

On the contrary it is desirable to get the *parent* to talk freely to you. It does no harm to let the conversation range very widely—even to "cabbages and kings." You will be at once learning something about the child's home and parents and cultivating an easy relationship. And, be assured, the conversation will presently come back to the child or can be very gently steered back.[6]

Only one thing is essential: a simple, friendly, unassuming approach. Most parents will be cooperative and quite understanding of your mission. A few will be suspicious and doubtful at the start, but they will readily accept you if you are friendly and tactful. Only a very small number will prove so uncooperative that it is advisable to start over with another family.

Contact with the Child. The approach to the child can be made with the utmost simplicity. Children, of course, are very curious, but their curiosity as a rule is easily satisfied. In general, the best thing is just to make a plain statement: "I am studying to become a teacher (or to make myself a better teacher), and so I want to know children

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[5] Need it be pointed out that this is a chance not merely to repay the parents but to further your study of the child!

[6] In the exceptional case where this is not true, it is likely to be symptomatic of the relationship between parent and child.

better. You see, if I am to be a good teacher I have to know what children are like." This simple statement seldom fails to satisfy the child, and it has the merit of being direct—and, strangely enough, true. If, however, the child has any further questions, these can be answered frankly and with similar simplicity. If the child asks, "Why pick on me?" answer that the teacher had suggested that he was a perfectly "regular" sort of a child to become acquainted with. If the child wants to know what you are going to do, say that you will come around and play with him sometimes, get acquainted with his father and mother, find out about his health when he was a little boy and things like that. Suggest that perhaps you and he will go to a movie sometime or that you may take him to a concert or a museum (or something that will seem attractive). Do not offer to help him with his schoolwork; if he asks whether you will, say that you might look over some of his schoolwork sometime to see how he is getting on. This aspect, however, should not be emphasized. You will be surprised to find how readily children accept this whole proceeding, especially where several in the same room have what they are likely to call "My college girl."

To emphasize the necessity for sympathy and understanding of the child's feelings, we adapt from Teagarden eleven rules for the guidance of case workers which you will do well to ponder and observe. Lest you be worried about having to memorize them, Teagarden. and I, hasten to add that they are only a code of good sense.

(1) Remember that the child may be uncomfortable. (Make the situation as easy for him as possible. Unless you are so old that it makes you feel uncomfortable to do so, you should have the child call you by your first name.) You are not at this time, you see, to act the teacher.
(2) Be kindly but objective—not effusive.
(3) Don't talk too much. Get the child to talk.
(4) Don't "talk down" to the child.
(5) Don't ask questions until rapport has been established.
(6) Don't try to get too much the first time.
(7) Don't follow any outline or interviewing device woodenly.
(8) Don't take notes obviously.
(9) Don't show shock at anything the child tells you. (If he "tries you out" with obscenity, let him see you know what he is up to and are unimpressed.)
(10) Don't try to handle problems that require expert handling in a particular field.
(11) Don't betray confidences. You should repeat what you hear only where by doing so you may actually be giving help or protection. (The child should never be allowed to feel imposed on.)[7]

[7] Modified from Teagarden (269, p. 337). Parts in parentheses have been added.

Naturally the approach to both parents and child will differ somewhat in the case of teachers actually in service, especially if they are dealing with a child in their own class. In other cases, also, it will be necessary to adapt your procedures to suit individual circumstances.

Planning Observation

Limiting the Field. There is practically no limit to the number of things which can be observed about any child of any age. A detailed and exhaustive study of a child's family relationships alone would take many weeks to complete. And even then it would be necessary to check every conclusion against further observations in order to insure that the study was based on permanent attitudes rather than chance occurrences. For a brief study such as you are about to make, it is especially necessary to discover as soon as possible what are likely to be the most important factors in the life of the child under observation.

It is impossible, however, to set up a rigid list of the "most important factors." What is most significant for one child may have very little significance for another. Thus, health is undoubtedly important; but health may play a very small part in the school adjustment of the child who has average health and vitality, whereas it may be the outstanding fact in the adjustment of another. Almost anything may be the most important factor in the child you are studying. We can, however, make certain rather general suggestions.

One of the most important areas to explore is the child's relationships with other people, especially members of the immediate family. Unfortunately, you will not have much opportunity to observe such relationships because of the limits of your study and prohibitory social conventions. A child's relations with his teacher are much more accessible and open to observation; and, so, in general, are the influences of schoolmates and neighborhood friends. In some cases a certain child may identify himself with a person not in the immediate family; his relations with that person are of prime importance.

Anything that makes the child a little different is always interesting and important: differences in physical size or appearance, in racial stock, in culture, in interests, in religion. You should be particularly alert to discover anything in the child's behavior that is unusual or that is personally characteristic.

Your preliminary observations, then, and your early interviews will provide you with certain "information" and, unless you are different from most persons, with certain rather vague impressions.

These should be neither accepted nor rejected at this time. Instead, they should be "put on ice."

First-impressions Record. For this purpose, it may be well to follow a suggestion I owe to Dr. Fritz Redl and write out a fairly detailed thumbnail sketch of the child very early in your relation with him—say after your second observation. Tell what you saw and heard, what seemed likely to you to be his chief characteristics, his chief problems, his probable background, and—here you must be honest!—how you felt toward the child. If he seems unattractive, don't be afraid that you are telling on yourself if you say so. While you should not lose contact with reality and write a merely imaginary sketch, you are encouraged *for just this once* to give way to your "hunches." This *first-impressions* record should be put aside and *not referred to again* until after the case history is finally written.

Then—and then only—bring out your *first-impressions* record and compare it with the conclusions of your study. This should be done in writing, and both the original note and the comparison included in the appendix to your study.

A word of warning. If, for just this once, you are encouraged to "let yourself go" in these initial "hunches," you are not thereby encouraged to take them seriously. Or perhaps I should urge that you be seriously skeptical of them. Too frequently we see only those things in another person's behavior that are in accord with our initial impressions. This is especially true when we have written down impressions, for then anything that contradicts the impressions means that "we were wrong." It may amuse as well as interest you to observe how readily you spring to your own defense, but you won't catch yourself unless you are constantly on the alert to do so. My purpose in having you commit your first impressions to writing is to have you become sufficiently aware of them that you will also beware! Don't let them blind you. Moreover, the accuracy or inaccuracy of your first impressions, as shown by the comparison in your appendix, is no indication of the excellence of your case study. The first impressions of even experienced personnel workers, psychiatrists, and psychologists are open to error. On the other hand, some few things turn out to be correct, maybe more than a few. Only a complete study can tell which judgments are which. Use the first-impressions record, then, as merely an informal experiment. Do not worry if your final comparison shows that you were either right or wrong in some or all of your first notions.

If, however, your final conclusions are to be sound, your tentative

conclusions must be checked and rechecked *continuously*. We speak of "final" conclusions only because all human enterprises must have an end sometime. Otherwise, quite clearly what is called your "final" conclusion is only the last in a series of tentative conclusions. In the next section is outlined a method of checking these conclusions which is much less formidable than its title indicates.

Getting Preliminary Hypotheses. The great physicist Michael Faraday was once asked to observe an experiment. "Before we begin," he responded, "just what am I expected to see?" He knew better than to believe himself capable of detecting, offhand and without guidance, the essential features of a complicated machine.

Now you are about to begin observing the most complicated "machine" on earth. You, too, need the guidance of certain preliminary hypotheses. Faraday, please note, hoped to get his preliminary hypothesis from someone who already understood something of the problem. And we believe that you, too, are likely to make progress more quickly in the early stages if you turn to the persons who know the child. Accordingly, after a brief visit to the class merely to acquaint yourself with the object of your investigation, you should talk with parent or teacher.

Certain precautions, however, are very important if you are to get off on the right foot. We have already noted that you will gain friendly rapport with an "interviewee" in proportion as you succeed in getting him or her to talk freely. Such free conversation also serves your purpose of learning what seem to be the child's outstanding characteristics and qualities. You should not, therefore, attempt to dominate the interview. Instead, cultivate the art of listening. If it is possible, avoid direct questioning and elicit the interviewee's spontaneous remarks. To keep him going and to show your interest, it is occasionally wise to say something which indicates your understanding, putting the matter in question form: "Do you mean that Harold seemed very happy when his sister was born?" Or you may somewhat direct the trend by such a question as: "He got over the measles rather easily?" Usually it will not be long before the interviewee has revealed his or her own major understandings of the child.

Now these understandings must be taken very tentatively. Suppose you are having your first interview with the child's teacher, who tells you that Robert seems to be neither a leader nor a follower but cooperates with his playmates and sometimes leads, other times follows. This statement, *carefully dated and duly ascribed to its author,* may be entered in your notes as a tentative hypothesis. Very tentative.

in fact, for your next interview may be with a former teacher who was very enthusiastic about Robert and tells you that in her class Robert was always a leader. Here you have a problem, with several possible solutions.

It may be that the present teacher has been inaccurate in her observations and that Robert leads in most of his activities. Or, it is possible that the former teacher was incorrect and believed as she did mainly because she liked him so much. And it is quite possible that Robert may have been very much of a leader while in the former teacher's room, but at present is just as his present teacher describes him, cooperative but leading only when he is especially proficient in the activity. Before accepting one of these three interpretations as a conclusion, all three should be kept written down in your notes as something to be checked against further observations.

Your next observation may be of Robert on the playground. It is tempting to plan to spend your time in confirming or rejecting the tentative hypothesis that you may have set up with respect to Robert's leadership. Since, however, this is your first direct observation of Robert on the playground you should not spend all your time in this way. In the first place, perhaps we hear a little too much about leadership in child study; it is an important characteristic but not the only one. In any case, the question of leadership cannot be solved unless it is seen in relationship to other variable factors, for example, health. Thus, if you were thinking only of how much Robert leads, it would be quite possible that you would fail to note that he hangs back and does not initiate activities because he is out of breath or suddenly very tired; these are the characteristics of a child somewhat lacking in health or physical vigor. So for your early observation, even though eager to check on the leadership hypothesis, you must work more toward a certain broad understanding, a bird's-eye overview.

In other words, at this stage, your observations should be directed *by the behavior you are witnessing* rather than by any preconceived questions you have formulated. Note *what* the child has been doing, *with whom* he is doing it, and *how* in general he seems to conduct himself. Note also the reactions of other children or adults to him and how he reacts to them.

In both these preliminary approaches—that is, in the first interview and in the first direct observations—make sure that you are seeing and hearing correctly what the other person or the child is saying and doing. The observation needs to be very concrete, very objective

and factual, very precise. Any appraisal or judgment not only may be, but should be, rather vague and indefinite. Yet out of all this there should emerge certain *tentative* hypotheses.

Keeping an Open Mind. At this point there is grave danger of taking these hypotheses too seriously. First, even when they are correct, they may be stated in too general a form. In Robert's case, for example, your information is derived from the school situation—that is, from the teachers' reports and from what you saw on the school playground. This may justify some statement about leadership, but it certainly does not justify a broad generality. It is not at all unusual to find a child a leader at school and a follower at home. Your tentative hypothesis should therefore not concern "leadership" but "leadership at school."

And secondly, there is the question of the correctness of the hypothesis. The behavior may not have been correctly observed or interpreted, or the behavior may not be typical. For these reasons, you will do better to frame your hypotheses in the form of *questions* instead of statements or conclusions. All of us are too prone to take direct statements as conclusions and read them into all our further observations, whereas the questions serve to remind us that the issue is still open.

Using Hypotheses to Direct Observation. But, in order that they take on a definite enough form to guide your observing, your hypotheses should be put in writing—early in your work with the child. *Before and after* each observation you should look over your notes, notice what seems *on the way* to confirmation, what seems disproved, which hypotheses need modification.

This part of scientific method seems time-consuming and is often neglected. Actually it is time-saving, since it enables you to get a greater wealth of really usable fact from your observations. The greatest vice of most child-study observation is *aimlessness,* dependence upon mere impressionism. Scientific observation is pointed, intensive search, not aimless gazing. Even in the first two or three observations you are not just looking around purposelessly; you are searching for your starting points. Hence I lay down one of the few rigid rules contained in this guide: Before beginning an observation period, formulate definitely the one or two questions or hypotheses with which your observation is to be particularly concerned. Ask yourself—in advance—what kinds of behavior will throw light on the hypothesis. After the observation is finished, report with respect to these questions (*a*) what you found, (*b*) what you did not find, and

(*c*) what you should look for another time. All this must be very concrete and specific.

After a conference with a teacher a student wrote:

> James's teacher says he is always cutting into the discussion in a way which she thinks is an attention-getting device. I noticed myself that his interruption was not to the point as it would be if it came from interest in the topic. I must see what I can observe in the home that bears on this. Does Mrs. T. tend to ignore him? Is there rivalry with Donny? Or at the other end, is he encouraged to be "cute"? If these leads fail, I'll try to find the cause of attention-getting in the school.

Note that the student has accepted someone else's interpretation—always a bit dangerous, though in this case fairly well supported. At any rate, having accepted the hypothesis, she begins an active *search* for relevant information to validate or invalidate it. How much more enlightening her observation of the home situation is likely to be when she goes with a definite searching attitude.

Should one ignore facts that do not bear on the hypothesis? By no means! Whatever else you observe and report is an "extra dividend." The *rule* given above is rigid, but *you* should be flexible and adaptable and sensitive to all sorts of child behavior. The whole situation may become radically unfavorable to finding out anything about the kind of behavior you had planned to study. A rapid change of plan is then called for. But there should still be a plan, a real search, not just aimless gazing.

Keeping the Records

Adequate records are essential if your case study is to be acceptable, but they have a wider value. To an extent often not realized, the attempt to put fleeting observations in words clarifies them and brings out their significance. I believe in the value of direct experience; otherwise I should not be concerned with having you observe children. But even the lower animals can observe children; dogs, notably, are excellent observers. It is only when we can verbalize that we reach the human level.

And be sure your record is complete. The Big Four of sound journalism apply here as well. Make clear *who* is the source of your information. If it was your own direct observation, let that be clear. If you are reporting what someone told you, be crystal clear as to just who told you what. The methods and circumstances of gathering the information must be given. If you observed the event, it is not too

WHO	**Make clear who is the source of your information. If you are reporting your own direct observation, let that be clear.**
WHAT	**Clearly set off facts from interpretation.**
HOW	**Describe how the facts were gathered—by what methods in what circumstances.**
WHEN	**Date every record.**

difficult to tell *how* you observed it. But if you are retelling something you learned secondhand, you have a double obligation. You must report how you got the information from your informant; and you must tell how your informant got it—if you can. Finally, tell where and when the event occurred.

As a double-check, you should always indicate when you wrote the report.

Taking Notes. While observing the child in class, you can generally take notes freely. In interviewing the teacher you will be expected to take notes. Many parents, on the other hand, are made nervous if you bring out a pencil and notebook. When you have become well acquainted with them, or when certain objective facts are being given (such as the date of Harold's attack of measles), you might ask permission to jot down a memo. If anyone seems concerned about your taking notes and asks for an explanation, you will find it best to say frankly that you are making notes merely to help you think things through afterward. It is obvious that only rarely may you write down things in the child's presence, though in case of need you can tell the child you are writing yourself a reminder of something to do. (A friend of mine who overworked this device in a group situation became known to the children as "that man who is always remembering something he's forgotten." They thought him queer in that respect, but took it in their stride.)

If you have been unable to take notes during the observation, write them as soon as possible thereafter. In every instance record the time (day and hour), the circumstances of the observation, the place,

the purpose you had in mind in making the observation, and the time elapsing between observation and writing. All five of these essentials are illustrated in the following:

Jan. 7, '51. 10 A.M. Record made at the time at school. Class at work painting. Originally planned to study Mary's initiative in recitation. In light of the program, changed to observing extent of physical activity and distractability.

Field Notes. The notes you thus take on the spot or write down immediately afterward are known as *Field Notes* and should be included in the appendix of your final report to the instructor. *Unless they are very illegible or untidy, they need not be copied.* It is desirable, however, that they be uniform in size and in plan. We suggest that you use full $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$ paper. This can be conveniently folded in half or quarter for "on-the-spot" notes and still fit in with the rest of your written or typed report. Make sure that the field notes are uniform in size and securely fastened together, so that they do not get out of order.

The Distinction between Fact and Interpretation

While it is impossible to keep the human or personal element out of your observations, it must be your constant effort to reduce it to a minimum. This implies that you must distinguish what actually happened (observed fact) from how the fact impressed you (interpretation or meaning of the fact).

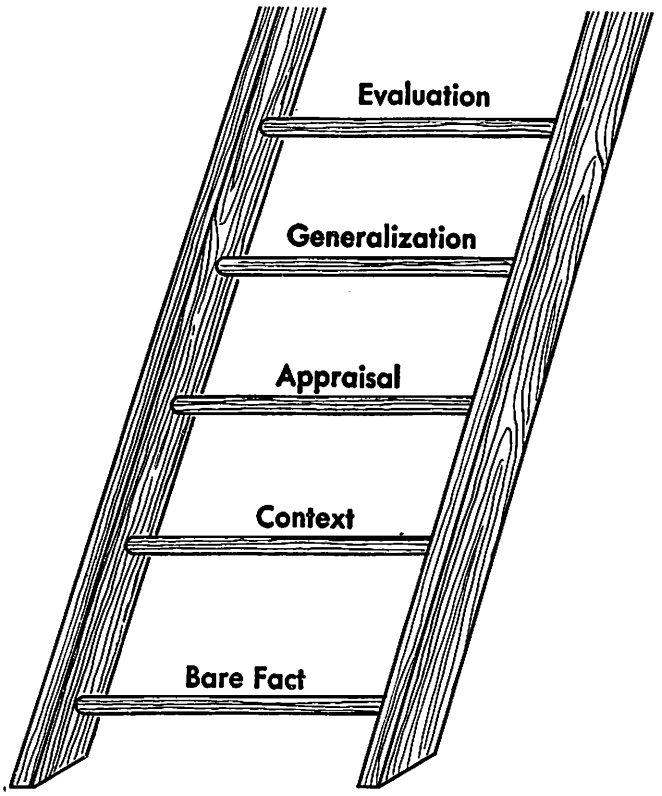
For present purposes we may think of observed fact as a percept—something seen, heard, smelled, touched, or tasted. As a rough criterion, whatever an actor directly conveys is observable. If he strides up and down, we actually observe a "nervous manner." Similarly we can observe a child's "happy smile" or "puzzled frown." These are the basic materials of observation.

In reacting to such "facts," however, we almost invariably indulge in a certain amount of interpretation. Several levels of interpretation may be usefully distinguished.

Consider the following statements:

(1) He replied, when his mother spoke to him, in a very cross tone. (2) He was irritated by the interruption to his work. (3) Besides that, his mother tends to nag him quite a lot and that makes him snappy in his replies. (4) This habit of making cross replies is getting to be general; he might be described as a cross or surly boy. (5) No wonder he is unpopular

Figure 3. The Ladder of Factuality



A Scale of Closeness to the Immediate Facts. The first statement is reasonably factual. You observed a cross tone—although it may be difficult to state what, in physical terms, a cross tone is.

The second statement goes somewhat beyond the bare fact; it is obviously an interpretation or explanation of the fact. But the explanation is stated in terms of the immediate setting of the event and is necessary if the event is to have any meaning. We may call this a *meaning* or *context* interpretation. Unless it is obvious, it should always be given as a part of the observation. Without it the bare fact would be too bare.

The third statement goes beyond the immediate situation; it is an *appraisal* in terms of quite a number of facts which have previously been observed and in the light of quite a complex psychological

theory. (The hypothesis that a nagging mother leads to snappy replies seems so self-evidently true that we forget that it is only an hypothesis or theory.)

The fourth statement even more obviously goes beyond the immediate facts. It implies enough observations to warrant a judgment that the behavior in question is habitual or characteristic. This may be called generalization from the facts.[8] And once more we see a theory as to cause-and-effect relationships.

The last statement involves us in another theory and obviously implies moral and social evaluation as well.

We have here, then, a sort of scale of closeness to the immediate facts of experience: first, *observed fact;* second, fact plus immediate *context* or meaning; third, *appraisal* of the fact; fourth, *generalization* from the fact; fifth, *evaluation.*

Now perhaps all of this is justifiable. In a full study of an individual we have to come to rather far-reaching judgments; that, in a sense, is what the study is for. But most of this interpretation has no place in what purports to be a record of *factual observation.* The field notes should therefore give only a minimum of interpretation; any interpretation we do make should be clearly distinguished from the facts, and its tentative nature made clear. Let us see how the above statements might appear in your field notes.

Replied to mother's question in very cross tone [Apparently irritated by interruption to his work. *Query:* Does his mother nag him a lot? Does this make him irritable in relation to his mother? Or irritable in general? Wonder if this explains the unpopularity of which his teacher spoke.]

Note that the statement about interruption (the meaning) is set forth as a positive statement, though it is enclosed in brackets to show that it is your interpretation not your observation. But the wider interpretations, the judgments or generalizations and evaluations, are set down as questions for further investigation.

Particularly troublesome is that form of interpretation which consists in attributing some "trait" of character or personality to the child—as in (4) above (p. 28), where the child is said to be "surly." Since "traits" are always a matter of inference and not of observed fact, they have no place in a factual report.

Such trait descriptions, moreover, cover up our lack of full knowl-

[8] Generalization *from* the facts must be distinguished from generalization *of* the facts. The latter may be illustrated by such statement as: "He answered crossly every time his mother spoke to him the entire afternoon." Generalization *of* the facts is not interpretation at all but simply a short way of stating them.

edge. A child is said to have shown "strong will" because for three hours he refused a half stick of gum when he had asked for a whole piece. But saying this was "strong will" merely says he persisted in his refusal. It does not tell us *why*. It does not give us a clue as to how often or cunningly he was tempted with the half stick. It does not tell us what he gained from the refusal.

Compare the usefulness of these two reports:

1. Chester is very quick tempered, as was seen in the way he acted when his sister jogged his elbow while he was working on a model airplane.
2. While Chester was working on a model airplane, his sister accidentally jogged his elbow. He was instantly angry and pushed her away. [Of course, the model is fragile and very dear to him and his sister did endanger it. Yet I wondered whether that was the whole story. Does she pester him a lot? Or what is his relation to her? Does he think she is mother's pet just because she is young and rather doll-like? Does he feel that he must defend his possessions against her? I shall have to watch closely for indications that will bring out this. I wonder whether his mother has insight and objectivity enough to know. I think I shall not ask her directly, but she may have some evidence for me.]

The writer of the second report is looking for facts, the writer of the first found a ready-made conclusion.

Secondhand Information. You will note also that the writer of the second note considers getting some secondhand information—in this instance, from the mother. That, of course, is quite legitimate, provided we know what we are doing.

In the first place, what people *say* about a child is a fact, even when what is said is untrue. We simply have two sets of facts: what the reporter says and the way things really are. Get both into the record if you can.

The *way* people talk about a child, the tones and the facial expressions, the turn of phrase—all these are observable facts, however difficult they may be to set down on paper or to interpret. And they are important facts, too, for they may influence the child or others in the child's environment; they may be indicators of attitudes toward the child. However uncertain the interpretation, such facts should be reported; when correlated with other data, they may later assume significance.

Field notes, then, represent an attempt to capture fleeting events and commit them to paper before they are forgotten. We seek a maximum of accuracy and completeness rather than that ordered design which marks a work of art. Abbreviations may be used freely; full sentences are unnecessary; form and logical order give way here

to the order of reality, even though that order may seem to us to be disorder. There is an art in *making* observations, but in their *recording* we should try for photographic and phonographic reproduction, ignoring considerations of style. The place for literary art is in the final report.

Methods of Gathering Information

Psychologists and professional case workers have developed many methods to be used by professionals in studying the child. We have selected and adapted only those which are practical and useful to the teacher or prospective teacher.

Diary Observations. Everyone knows how to make diary observations or what are sometimes called anecdotal records.[9] You watch a child and make a record a little later of everything that happened. Or that you observed happening! Or that you thought you observed happening! Or that you remember having thought that you observed happening! It is the simplest, the most easily understood, *and can easily be the most erroneous* method of getting data.

The reasons should be readily apparent. What a child is *really* doing is difficult enough to observe in any case; certainly we don't know by observing isolated movements. It takes time for an "act" to develop, even the simple acts that constitute child behavior. And if the act is to be understood or even fully observed, one needs to see the events that lead up to the act and the consequences that follow. We should not expect, therefore, to get a clear picture in less than a fifteen-minute period, usually in less than half an hour. Yet during fifteen minutes so many things can happen that it is extremely unlikely the observer will notice them all or will be able to remember them accurately. Since we cannot report everything, cannot indeed even observe everything, we observe and report what we are prepared by some kind of bias to observe. Prejudice and selective observation of every sort is thus almost inevitably a distorting influence on diary observation. This is dangerous. Important facts may be entirely neglected; trivial facts may assume an importance that does not belong to them at all.

A second major difficulty in the diary method is distinguishing the *facts of observation* from an interpretation of these facts. We have

[9] The use of the method by teachers is examined by Traxler (279). A distinction is sometimes made between *diary observations,* in which one tries to record all the salient events of a period of time, and *anecdotal records,* in which one records more selectively only "outstanding" or characteristic happenings. The difference is clearly only of degree—and of no large degree.

spoken of this before, but it is necessary to emphasize it again and again whenever the method of direct observation is used. Over a long period of years we have all learned to read meanings into what we observe. For example, a loud shout is interpreted as anger. Obviously, such interpretation of the meaning of people's behavior is essential to our getting along in the world. Nonetheless, we all know that such interpretation can be quite faulty.

In order to overcome this tendency to read meanings into observations, it is necessary, as mentioned in an earlier section, first to report the *facts* in the barest and most objective fashion possible, then to state separately what seems to you to be the meaning of those facts in the light of all the attending circumstances. *Report both facts and meanings, but keep them distinct.*

That is a sound principle, even though it is almost impossible to follow consistently. Let it stand, nonetheless, as your ideal. In writing diary observations, enclose your own interpretation or statement of the meaning of the behavior in square brackets. Suppose, for instance, you are observing a child on the playground. Your report might read, in part, somewhat as follows:

> While the other children were playing "cops and robbers," John stood watching quietly at one side. [Due, probably, to lack of interest in the game rather than to timidity.]

In this illustration the line between fact and interpretation is obvious. It is instructive, however, to ask why. Mainly, is it not because the interpretation is rather dubious? To me it seems rather improbable that John would stand and watch a game when he is uninterested. Well, whenever a thing is thus a matter of probability, it is not a matter of fact; opinion or interpretation have entered in. Even the person who would stoutly defend the validity of his opinion would admit it wasn't a fact. Such cases give us little trouble.

The real difficulty comes from interpretations that are so "common-sensible" that it seems pedantic to doubt them. Often enough they *are* correct, but in the exceptional case they lead us astray—mainly because we have not recognized the possibility of error. In observation we must beware of what "everyone knows," for what we "know" may influence us more than what we *see.*

The greatest difficulty in thus distinguishing between facts and interpretation comes when we are observing emotional behavior. Here the facts and the meaning of the facts are so closely woven that at times it is almost impossible to disentangle them. To revert to our

earlier illustration, to say that a person shouts and not to note that he shouted angrily is certainly a failure to give all the pertinent data. Yet we know that it may not have been a shout of anger.

We do not suggest leaving out the interpretations, especially those interpretations that you consider of primary importance. By all means report that it was an angry shout. But it will be better training to indicate that the anger part of it was not quite so much a matter of direct observation as of interpretation. In short, report: "He shouted loudly [in anger]."

It is easier to keep the distinction between fact and the interpretation of the fact *if you record concrete details and avoid vague statements.* Within the limits of practicality, diary observations cannot be made too concrete. For instance, two observers watching the same child at play made the following reports. Note how superior the second record is to the first in concreteness.

1. Charles was so angry at the boy who bumped into him accidentally that he looked like he could burst. He wanted to fight right away and looked as though he would injure the other boy before he thought better of it.

2. Another boy bumped into Charles [accidentally?] as Charles was going down the slide. Neither child was going fast, but Charles turned around at the bottom and looked very upset. He clenched his fists and kicked the slide while shouting at the other boy something about "You did it on purpose! You always do!" Then he stopped shouting and walked quickly away. [Did he decide against fighting because he thought better of it? Was he afraid of the other boy? Or was there some strictly enforced rule against fighting on the playground? Did he suspect he might get into trouble if he fought?]

That the insistence upon a distinction between fact and interpretation is not merely of academic or theoretical importance may be seen from a specific case. Recently a third-grade teacher appealed to me in a letter to help her make certain practical and immediate decisions about one of her pupils.

It seems that Donny's previous teachers had considered him a "problem child." Was he really abnormal? Should he be taken to a specialist? My correspondent thought not, thought that Donny had been misunderstood; but she wasn't sure. For my guidance she submitted about fifteen pages of "field notes." These notes gave a clear statement of what this teacher herself *thought about* Donny but scarcely a single fact, clearly and fully described. Thus her comment that he "does not reason well" or is "troublesome" are hardly factual observations; and "speaking with a loud voice to get attention" combines observation with her own interpretation. This teacher had appealed to me for, and genuinely wanted, my *independent*

judgment of Donny; but the data supplied were so colored by her judgment that they gave no help in forming any other.

Direct questioning of this teacher brought out a few *facts.* As an example of Donny's troublesomeness, I learned that he gets up without permission and runs up and down the aisle. How often? Practically every day. When? Usually past the middle session. Is he more likely to do this during study time? Yes, during arithmetic. "Of course arithmetic is his worst subject." I suggested that it might be well to find out whether Donny's "nervousness" might not be his way of escaping from a task which was too much for him at his present level of development. This suggestion, you will note, grew out of the *facts;* and it sent the teacher back for more facts before a judgment should be formed or action taken.[10]

If it were feasible, a sound-motion-picture recording device would be used instead of the fallible human observer. Since it is not, let your ability to remember and write down what you saw or heard be the only limitation placed upon concreteness and specificness. On-the-spot notetaking helps to increase reliability, but it is often an unwise procedure on the grounds of tact.

You gain some reliability when you choose a limited area of conduct for observation during a particular period. You should still report as much as you can about other things that occur, but your attention should be centered on some one broadly defined aspect or area of behavior. For example, after the first few periods of general observation, you might decide to observe the child's behavior with members of his own sex. Decision to focus on this area of behavior should be made *prior* to the observation period. Again, you might decide to observe the child's speed of movement when on the playground or in the classroom. Such specialized periods of observation are of great benefit in testing the validity of a conclusion you have reached from other observations.

All these cautions—separating fact from inference, notetaking, concreteness, specialized observation periods—improve the diary-observation technique, but for practical purposes they fall short of making it foolproof for gaining information about a specific child. Only in skilled hands should the diary-observation technique be so used, and the more skilled one is, the less he trusts conclusions derived from diary observations alone, and the more he looks around for confirming evidence from other sources.

Why, then, include it? First, because with all its faults, diary observation is almost unavoidable. The more analytical methods, such

[10] It should be unnecessary to add that there were many other aspects to Donny's case —only a fragment is here reported.

as tests, have to be supplemented by a synthetic or over-all type of observation. This the diary technique can supply.

In the second place the diary technique is a fairly good one for the objective of this course. You are asked to make this case study, not in order to gain useful information about the child who chances to be your subject, but in order to deepen and intensify your understanding of child psychology. The relatively unfettered observation of a child in various situations seems to serve this purpose. We are, therefore, prepared to see a fairly large proportion of your time devoted to diary observation. We urge, however, that you recognize its imperfections and limitations.

The following sample record illustrates the technique of reporting diary observations.

Mar. 1, '51. 9:30 A.M. 20-minute observation in class.
For general orientation.

First visit to school after seeing the principal to get his O.K. When I entered the room, Miss Hughes took me back to a small group of children who were playing a game of tit-tat-toe. She introduced me to Julie along with the rest of the children and told them I was here to watch the school as I was planning to be a teacher. Then she took me aside, as the class was broken up into groups for play and reading, and asked me about my study without telling me anything about Julie. I sat and watched for the rest of the time as Miss H. began a marching game right away. Julie joined in the game smiling and laughing with frequent comments to another girl who stayed close by her. (See my "First Impressions" p. 26 for a description as I saw her then.)

Whenever it was Julie's turn to run past the desk and grab the flag, she laughed heartily and got hold of the stick with more fumbling than most of the other children. When she dropped it her second try, she looked hurriedly at the teacher and then at me before breaking out into a loud peal of laughter. [Somewhat upset by her mistake?] Her third time around she reached for it very slowly and then turned to smile at the teacher. Her "girl friend" patted her on the shoulder, and she and Julie held hands during the rest of the trip around the room. One of the boys tried to trip them. [He seemed to do it on impulse] and the girls just pushed him aside without stopping to do anything further. At the end of the game (it lasted about ten minutes) Julie was flushed but seemingly wasn't very tired, as she immediately ran to her desk and began rummaging in it [apparently quite happy]. Her friend sits in the desk just ahead of her. The friend is slightly larger than Julie and seems to take a slightly protective attitude. She and Julie whispered just as Miss H. called for order. Julie seemed to start the whispering and do most of the talking. Both girls stopped and sat quietly the second time Miss H. spoke.

Time Samples. We can avoid the chief errors of the diary method, if we seek merely to record how often in a stipulated time a certain

carefully described kind of behavior occurs. In school, for example, we might check on the frequency with which the child makes little nervous movements (pulling ear lobe, tapping teeth with pencil or fingers, and the like). We might find that these are more frequent in the afternoon than in the morning, in arithmetic than in history class, while studying than while reciting, etc.

Time samples are very valuable research instruments. They are useful in individual case studies wherever we have access to or can ourselves set up *standards for comparison.* These comparisons may be of different situations (as in the above example) or comparisons of different persons (Johnny has twice as many nervous "tics" as the average child of his age). Teachers-in-service find the device very useful as a check on subjective judgments. Thus, before characterizing Henry as "inattentive," one might count the number of times he fails to pay attention in a morning in comparison with another child who seems average or superior in attentiveness. If it appears that Henry is only slightly less than average, the teacher should be moved to ask just what gave her a contrary impression. She might well find conspicuous "inattention" to board work but good attention to books. Further inquiry might then show that Henry cannot see what is written on the board. No wonder he is "inattentive." One teacher thought that a certain child was "always dull and inattentive" yet somehow not really stupid. A check by means of a time sample disclosed a curious weekly rhythm. The child was "dull" on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday but not on Thursday or Friday. A week-end trip with the family which practically deprived him of sleep Sunday night was found to be the explanation.

The method of time sampling is, however, an utter waste of effort unless we have a clearly defined question to which we seek an answer. For the most part, also, it is best limited to relatively small bits of behavior of a sort likely to be found fairly frequently in short periods. It would, for example, be pretty foolish to time-sample a class for the number of fistfights taking place in an hour. You might, however, very carefully define two or three dozen kinds of behavior that indicate hostility and compare different children according to the frequency of occurrence in their behavior of such hostility reactions. And going further, you might find the kinds of situations or persons who evoke an excessive amount of such hostility.

It is clear, however, that the method requires much careful planning if it is to yield valuable and valid information. In your study it should be used when a specific problem poses a specific question as to the relative frequency of a certain kind of behavior.

Behavior Check Lists. Somewhat similar to the time sample is the *behavior check list.* The name conveys the essential features. There is a *previously prepared* list of important and rather specific kinds of behavior. You check whether these behaviors are characteristic of a given child. Only actual, concrete acts are included. It is necessary to emphasize that word *concrete.* The check list must name a clearly observed fact, not an inference. This means also that one must be specific. For example, "Acts as leader" is rather general. "Suggests a change of game," or "Tries to give orders" are more specific. "Quarrels" is less specific than "Tries to snatch play equipment from others—quarrels."

A number of behavior check lists have been published—the best of them always for some specific purpose.[11] For the kind of case study designed to broaden your insight into child nature, they are less useful than a "homemade" check list, one drawn up to throw light on the problems and behavior of the *particular child* you are studying.

Such a check list is not too difficult to draw up, though it must be carefully done. Do not make it too long or you will not use it. Point it directly at something you want to know. Suppose, for example, that you suspect George of being jealous of his younger brother. What specific concrete acts would throw light on that? If you had a list of twelve or fifteen "symptoms" of jealousy, you could ask yourself whether each is really characteristic of George.

One such symptom, for example, might be a rather consistent tendency to make disparaging remarks about his brother's performances. As an item in a check list, "Makes disparaging remarks" meets the test of being fairly specific and unambiguous; one would usually have no trouble in saying whether a certain incident did or did not come under that heading.

Of course "disparaging remarks" do not prove jealousy. Such behavior is only a *possible symptom* of jealousy. It might mean something else. Indeed, since the beginning of time, there has never been a bit of behavior that might not reasonably be interpreted in more than one way. We approach moderate certainty in our interpretations only *when many bits of evidence point in the same direction.* And that is where the check list, with its numerous indications pointed in the same direction, shows its usefulness.

But if the *interpretation* of a particular item is thus ambiguous, the reference to the specific kinds of behavior must not be. What George does at 10.27 A.M. on November 22 may have several possible

[11] For example, see Willard Olson's check list of nervous habits. (216).

meanings, but it is only one fact; and the check list is an attempt to state that and other such facts, not the meanings or the interpretations.

Suppose you were to observe that George said "Aw nertz" when the playground supervisor suggested a soft-ball game. That's more or less the bare fact. It might *mean* many things: that George didn't like the game, or the leader; that George was trying to show off; that George wanted to finish the horseshoe game; that George was eager to initiate something for himself; or merely that in the circles where George has been trained, you have to show your manhood by saying "Aw nertz" to practically everything.

Obviously, you cannot have a check list with every possible specific and concrete bit of behavior listed. An item such as "Replies 'Aw nertz!' to playground leader" is just a bit *too* specific, especially when we remember that the items of a check list are prepared in advance. We have to group things in a little more general fashion, even at the risk of involving some interpretation. Thus we should be inclined to suggest some such item as this to cover the kind of behavior just alluded to:

Verbally impolite to supervisor's suggestion.

There is, however, no sovereign rule which enables us to tell just how specific and concrete we should be. Fact and interpretation can never be wholly separated. But we want to get as close to the indisputable fact as possible and involve as little as practicable of our own interpretations and inferences.

A check list should be used at least twice. Undoubtedly, use will bring out inadequacies. You should, therefore, include in the appendix of your report, a suggested revision of your check list with any comments designed to show how your thinking has progressed.

And finally, beware of overinterpretation. So much depends upon the circumstances in which a sample of behavior is observed. For reliable conclusion one needs oft-repeated observations.

Rating Scales. A *rating* is probably the most familiar of all ways of saying what you know—or think you know—about a person. When we say of a friend that she is charming and vivacious, loyal and responsible, that is a rating—or rather four ratings. Every direct judgment about a person is a rating.

Our everyday ratings, however, suffer from many faults. For one thing, they seldom permit a quantitative statement. If someone asks you just how great is your friend's charm or loyalty, it is difficult to answer.

It is difficult, also, to insure the reliability or validity of a rating. We are all prone to judge on an inadequate basis of fact. Or, more serious, we are likely to be overinfluenced by a single fact out of many, so that our rating is prejudiced or biased.

And finally, the selection of the "traits" to be rated is a difficult and technical problem. Thus, evidence shows that it is foolish to rate children according to their "honesty." It is not that "honesty" is such an intangible trait that one's answers are too likely to be wrong. The real difficulty is that "honesty" in children is not due to one trait but to a mixture of traits. Thus any answer one might give would be confused and confusing. There just isn't any *right answer* to the question as to whether a child is "honest." Some traits—perhaps we should call them alleged traits—simply cannot be usefully rated at all.

And yet people do make ratings all the time. So psychologists have tried, with some success, to find ways to improve the accuracy and validity of the ratings. They have devised special *rating scales* with rather elaborate rules for their use. We have selected a few of the best of these scales for inclusion in Appendixes 4 and 5 (pp. 484–496). To use these ratings efficiently, you need not understand how they have been constructed any more than you need understand gas engines to drive a car. But in both cases you must follow the rules carefully.

The first rule for rating is to know the person rated. *Hence ratings belong to the later stages of your case study.* In case of doubt, don't. Indeed, there is some question as to the advisability of including rating scales in a case study to be made by beginners. Early experience with ratings in the army, in industry, and in schools has made us all skeptical of the reliability of ratings, unless they are very carefully done. I have been encouraged to include them, however, for several reasons. Improvement in rating-scale construction has helped to make them much more usable, for one thing. More important is the fact that the rating is after all, as we just noted, simply a device for doing better something we all do in one form or another, namely, express a judgment. To say that ratings are subject to error is simply to say that our judgments are fallible—which nobody can deny. Since, however, we are certain sooner or later to form judgments, it seems better to take advantage of the help which rating forms give. A good rating scale helps us to select important characteristics to judge, helps us to avoid the undue emphasis upon some characteristics which we get when terms overlap, helps us to obtain at least rough comparative standards. And it permits at least a partial overview and summing up without undue emphasis upon specific details.

Reputation Ratings. An interesting variant of the rating technique is to have the rating made by the child's peers. Obviously we don't expect children to make valid judgments of personality—we have just said that such judgments are almost too much for adults. But equally obviously, what other children think—and say—about Harold is a very important fact.

The teachers in the Euclid, Ohio, public schools have prepared simple forms for systematically collecting such information. The first is called, "Who's Who in My Group." The teacher reads to the children a number of brief descriptions such as the following:

> There are some children who are very poor at playing games. When it is time to choose sides for a game they are almost the last ones to be chosen. You wouldn't want these children on your team. Sometimes they try very hard, but they just can't play games well. Who are some children like this?

The children simply write down the names of any in their group who seem to them to merit such description. The number of times that a child is mentioned as fitting any of the descriptions (especially when this is compared with the frequency with which others are so mentioned) is a measure of his reputation with the group. Unless, however, the rating can be secured from a fairly large number of his associates—all the children in his class on a certain day, for instance—it is of little use.[12]

Another form of reputation rating goes under the name of a *sociometric scale.* The persons in the group are asked to state which kinds of social relations with others in the group they find acceptable. Thus Jeanne declares that Susie is one of her very best friends, that Mary is all right but not a friend, that she doesn't like Josie and prefers not to play or work with her. The Euclid teachers have prepared a six-step scale, but it is my experience that a three-step scale secures all the information that is likely to be made use of for practical purposes.

The pupils should have a list of all the children in the room and should be instructed to give to each a number as follows:

> 1. This pupil is one of my *very, very best* friends. I like to play or to work with this pupil, to visit with him or her. I spend time with this pupil when I can. I like to go places with this person. I tell this person some of my troubles and secrets. I would do anything I could to help this person

[12] This type of rating has quite a long history and has been rather extensively used. The one here described is discussed by Raths (229). The forms for administering this rating (Form G-4-B) may be obtained from the Ohio Scholarship Tests Division of the State Department of Education, Columbus.

out of trouble. I will put the figure 1 before the names of those pupils in my class who are my *very, very best* friends.

2. I speak to this pupil only when it is necessary. I do not like to work with this pupil and would rather not talk to this pupil. I will give the figure 6 to all the pupils in my class whom I dislike quite a lot.

3. This pupil is not one of my *very, very best* friends but is also not one of those I dislike. This person is *in between.* He or she may be a *fairly* good friend, or a person I dislike a *little,* or one whom I hardly know. I will give the figure 3 to all those pupils who are *in between.*

These ratings are easy to administer and relatively easy to score. Both what Arthur thinks of Henry and what Henry thinks of Arthur must be recorded, since one of the most interesting facts is lack of mutuality. A careful study of the responses is needed to reveal the salient facts. That four children rate Kathie as a *"very, very best* friend" needs to be interpreted in the light of the fact that the average number of ratings is above 3. Thus Kathie is only slightly above average in "popularity." Note also that seven children rate her as "disliked." Note further that the four girls who like her form with her a little, self-sufficient clique, quite isolated from the rest of the class. With such facts put side by side you will have the beginning of an understanding that should lead to very practical action.

Interviewing. Since the purpose of your case study is to give you firsthand acquaintance with a child, direct observation is clearly to be preferred to indirect. But your direct observations are necessarily limited, and they always will be if for no other reason than that one person never does live with another all the time. Remember that teachers especially are likely to see chiefly one "area" of a child's life and see that only during a limited time. To understand what we observe, therefore, requires more than observation. The past history of the child must be brought into the picture, generally through interviews with parents or others close to the child, sometimes with the child himself.

A well-conducted interview, however, is more than an indirect observation. It is also a very direct observation on your part *of the social factors in the child's world.* The kind of persons the child lives with, their attitudes toward the child and the child's attitude toward them—all are among the most significant determiners of the child's behavior.

Each interview is therefore approached with a double purpose: to elicit information about the child, especially about his past history and development; and to observe part of the social environment which has been and still is molding the child.

Do not fail to keep this double purpose in mind also when inter-

viewing the child himself. And do not neglect to "interview" the child! A child's attitude toward himself—when you can get it—is much more helpful in explaining his behavior than any other fact. If, for example, a child feels that he is "just a poor reader" when his other schoolwork is better than average, and there seems to be no sensory defect, it is quite possible that this poor reading is a result of his firm conviction about his reading, coupled with a consequent dislike for reading activity.

Interviewing Parents. We have already discussed on pp. 17–19, some of the more important principles which should regulate your relations with parents. Most parents are only too willing to talk about their children, if the interview can be arranged at a time convenient for them. Since it is much more difficult to arrange an interview with the father, most of the following will refer to the mother. It is, however, worth while attempting to see the father also, if only for a short time such as on a Saturday afternoon when you have called to take the child to a movie or on a similar excursion. Beware, however, of trusting too far any impression thus obtained as to the relations between father and child, especially in the absence of confirmatory information. The situation is too special and the observation too short to be reliable.

Most mothers will talk freely about their children; they are less likely to talk freely about themselves or their background until a certain degree of friendship is reached. Since your contacts with them will be limited, do not expect to get too much information about *their* backgrounds, but try to guess at such things as type of home the mother came from, education, cultural interests, intelligence, by the same means you use in judging your acquaintances. Remember always, however, that these are only *guesses,* and if you include them in your report note them as such. Teachers often *must* act on the basis of very inadequate information about parents; but they should preserve a lively sense of what they are doing and be ready to change their opinions.

As remarked earlier, you want the first interview to be guided by the parent rather than by prepared questions. Should the parent prove inert or suspicious, you should try to take the lead in such a way that the initiative goes back to the parent as soon as possible. General questions often serve this purpose. Ask how the child gets on with other children rather than whether he is a leader. Reserve the more specific questions for follow up, if necessary.

You can frequently secure considerable information and keep the mother talking by summarizing what she has just told you rather

than by asking a question. After the mother has spent ten minutes telling you in great detail about Robert's eating habits, you could say something like, "You mean that he takes after his father and seems to like the same things his father does." This may be an exact repetition of what the mother has said, but she will take it as a sign of your interest and appreciation and commence another long discourse on the other things Robert does because of identification with the father. Or, it may result in her telling you about the father.

It is not uncommon for the mother to tell the interviewer a tale about the child's school relationships that is quite at variance with the school's account. Be most careful in such cases not to take sides; an umpire is never popular and it's not your job. If you have reason to think that the parent is *misinformed* you may do a service by telling the school about it. Very seldom should you assume the task of correcting a parent, even when you know she or he is wrong. Our culture encourages parents in being very jealous of their "rights" and responsibilities for their children, and a case study such as yours does not provide a suitable opportunity for reform.

If the mother asks you about the child's conduct in school, answer briefly, pleasantly, and always with an indication that you are not sure that you have the facts. It is nearly always possible and entirely truthful to say that you aren't sure or that you haven't had a chance to observe that well enough yet. Never report the child's misbehavior at school to the parent or say anything to the mother which is likely to get the child in trouble at home.[13]

In later interviews with the parents you may be able to ask more specific questions. These should generally be for the purpose of throwing light on hypotheses you have formulated earlier. Again, it is necessary to be careful how you probe into personal affairs. Income, diseases in the family (especially mental diseases), marital discord, and even the educational history of the parent are not things to be freely discussed with comparative strangers (though relevant facts of this sort will sometimes be volunteered where they could not be elicited by questioning). After all, these parents are under no obligation to answer your questions. Any probing into such areas should therefore be extremely cautious and indirect. The education of parents might be casually mentioned along with a number of other things in which you are interested. The parent is then free to take up or ignore that point.

During the interview you will have a good opportunity to note the

[13] I am obviously addressing here one who is not currently the child's teacher. The latter has her responsibility, not as a student but as teacher.

parent's attitude toward many things beside the child himself. These attitudes may not be expressed in words but be implied by tone of voice, gestures, selection of topics, interest shown, etc. The mother's attitude to the school or the child's teacher, to his playmates, to his progress in school, to the father or other relatives, to other children in the family, to the neighborhood, etc., may be very significant factors in the child's environment. A clever teacher can frequently utilize such impressions to build a more complete picture of the child's environment. Noting these attitudes is thus important; but—again the note of caution—they should be recognized as impressions and not accepted as fact unless you have corroboration of them.

In understanding the child, it is often helpful to take into account the family's socio-economic status. Most students tend to place the "average" far too high and thus to underestimate the status of many homes. It will give objectivity to your estimate if you answer the following twenty-one questions about the home you are studying. (But don't, for goodness sake, bluntly ask the parent to answer them.)

Items-in-the-Home Index

1. Is there an electric or gas refrigerator in the home?
2. Is there a telephone in the home?
3. Is there a bathtub in the home?
4. Is the home heated with a central system, such as by a furnace in the basement?
5. Does the family have a car?
6. Did the child's mother go to high school?
7. Did the child's mother go to a college or university?
8. Did the child's father go to high school?
9. Did the child's father go to a college or university?
10. Does the home have a fireplace?
11. Is there a piano in the home?
12. Does the family have a servant, such as a cook or maid?
13. Does the family leave town every year for a vacation?
14. Does the child's mother belong to any clubs or organizations such as study, art, or civic clubs?
15. Does the child's father belong to any civic, study, service, or political clubs such as the Lions' Club, Chamber of Commerce, etc.?
16. Has the child ever had private lessons in music, dancing, art, etc., outside school?
17. Does the child have his own room at home?
18. Does the family take a daily newspaper?
19. Does the child belong to any clubs where he pays dues?
20. Does the family have a radio-phonograph combination?
21. How many books does the family have?

In estimating the number of books, figure that the average bookshelf holds about twenty books. For question 21, give 2 points for 500 or more books, one point for 100 to 500 books, no point for less than 100 books. Remember that books may be stored in different places.

For the other questions, give 1 point for each positive answer. The total range of scores is thus from 0 to 22. The top third of the population gets a score of 14 or more, the bottom third a score of 6 or less, the average a score of 10. (See a brief description of this inventory by Gough (103). To help you interpret the scores, you may wish to score your own home on the same scale.

Should you ask me, however, just how you are to use such a rating of the home in studying the child, I am afraid I would be hard put to find an explicit answer. It certainly makes a difference whether a child grows up in a home without a bathtub. But what is the difference? Of course "cultural advantages" affect the child even more than the bathtub, but no more than in the case of the tub do they act in any uniform fashion. Are children from "higher" homes more "secure"? Perhaps they tend to be; but a given child is more likely to compare himself with his neighbors and associates than with the general population. Having a car is not enough if it is a cheap car of ancient vintage and your neighbors have shiny new limousines. In interpreting the score, therefore, you should take the neighborhood into account.

And in fluid American society, it is not safe to assume that a child of better than average socio-economic status will have imposed upon him the ideologies, moral standards, or the manners which are usually associated with that status. A good deal too much has been written lately about "middle-class mentality" or "lower class ideals" as if these were really dependable entities. At best, we get broad general trends within which there is an almost infinite degree of individual variation.

The home status, then, is to be taken as only a background in front of which you focus upon the specific individual child.

Interviewing Teachers. Much that has just been said about interviewing the parent applies to interviewing the child's teacher. Since you will have occasion to see her several times during your study, it is well to plan the interviews with the teacher in order to save time —chiefly her time! At the first interview allow her to do most of the talking if she will. In other words, allow her to tell you what she thinks is important to know in describing "your" child. At the sec-

ond interview, have a few questions to ask her, but see if she will volunteer additional information. For succeeding interviews, it is often a good idea to have your questions written out—at least have them carefully formulated. Sometimes it is wise to talk also to the child's previous teachers. Teachers are ordinarily a good source of information and opinion in checking your interpretation of the child's most important traits. In general, they tend to indulge in rather broad judgments, but if you tactfully seek specific factual observations, these are usually forthcoming. A good way to get these is to ask for concrete illustrations so that you can be sure you get the point clearly.

CAUTIONS. Where many students are studying children from the same teacher's class, the teacher will usually have time for only a few very brief talks with each student. In that case you are on your own and must remain aware of the teacher's lack of time for detailed discussion of each child while still striving to obtain as much information as possible.

Furthermore, while the teacher probably has more opportunity to observe the child than anyone except the parents, the teacher usually sees the child only in the school situation. Her observations and interpretations are therefore limited: while they may be valid for the child-in-school, they may be wholly erroneous when it comes to describing the out-of-school personality of the child. Moreover, while the teacher's interpretations of what she sees the child do *may* be correct, there is the possibility that her interpretations are wrong. So you must consider her testimony as just so much more information to be weighed against the other things you know about the child and against the teacher's expressed attitude toward the child.

Interviewing the Child. While you need feel fewer constraints in direct interrogation of the child, you should exercise caution in asking questions about the family. Should the child repeat your questions—as he well may, and in distorted form at that—the parents may resent what seems to them unwarranted snooping. For the same reason, be careful not to display too much interest in any information volunteered about the family.

Occasionally a child will tell some fabulous or scandalous story about his parents or himself just to create a stir and to see how his auditors react. Let him run on as long as he likes—you may learn a lot about his understanding of social relations from his tall stories. (Incidentally, parents also are sometimes not above a little fabulation of either a scandalous or grandiose sort in order to impress a stranger.

One must be careful in such cases not to offend by expressing skepticism, but neither should one seem too much impressed.)

In interviewing children, the best results can be achieved by allowing the child to direct the course of the conversation. Impose on him as few limits as possible—that is, don't ask too many and too specific questions which he can't answer. Again as with the adult, additional information can frequently be obtained without questions if you merely summarize interestedly the information already given you. Children as well as parents are flattered by a good listener.

Avoid staring intently at the child and also avoid gushing over him, unless it appears that such gushing is what he expects. Most young children dislike being "put on the spot" by a smirking older person who makes laudatory comments for which they have no reply. With most children, the more casual your approach, the sooner will they enter into unself-conscious conversation. It is necessary to show the child that you like him and like to be with him, but don't smother him with endearments and expressions of rapt interest. The mere fact that you single him out in school or at home is likely to be sufficient proof to the child that you are a friend and someone to be trusted—so far as he will trust any stranger or any adult.

Most of your interviewing of the child should be indirect, since it is unlikely that the children of the age you are studying would respond very well in the formal interview situation of question-and-answer. Some of the best "interviews" are made when walking home with the child, playing around the house with him, or under like distraction. He will then open up with less self-consciousness. Get him to tell about his friends, his school interests, his family, etc.

But a direct approach to the child also has its value. To be sure, the child's replies to direct questioning may be rather monosyllabic, a mere "Yes" or "No," or, above all, "Okay." This in itself is significant (though it may mean only that you have rather bungled your approach). It is still more significant if he talks freely on some things and shuts up on others. You should try to understand what is the common element in the tabooed or repressed topics; correlated with other things this is very revealing. A child's attitudes, like those of adults, are frequently expressed as much by what he does not say as by what he does say.

We, as adults, are rather habituated to ignoring a child's verbal statements of attitude or to distrusting their validity even more than we do those of his elders. Of course in childhood, as in later life, there may be a great gap between verbal statements of attitude and

actual behavior. Nonetheless, there is also a relationship. Besides this, the very existence and the nature of a discrepancy is revealing.

Moreover, the child's opinions have importance in their own right just as opinions. A teacher may seem to you to be fair, impartial, and friendly. You may be right; but a child who has been the victim of some particularly wounding experience, and who has in any case only a limited life experience and understanding, may have the opposite impression. The child is reacting to the teacher as *he* sees her, not as *you* think she is. Later when you come to help children you will find that the discrepancy between objective facts and the child's view of the situation is one of the most suggestive leads to treatment. (Only be sure *you* see the objective facts yourself!)

While the direct approach thus has its values, it is well to remember that the youngest children have begun to dissemble at times. It is therefore necessary for you to depend—also with due caution—upon unintentional gestures and other expressive movements.

Immediate experiences are likely to be talked about more easily than those long past. Remember also that children will frequently agree with a broad generalization such as "You like to be the leader in your groups, don't you Julia?" because they don't care to disagree with you or don't fully grasp the implications of your statement. (This would usually be a very poor question to ask.) Try to follow up general questions or statements with specific questions.

Records Kept by Others and Samples of Child's Work. While it is obvious that school and parental records are a rich source of information, they must be critically used. Parental records are often almost as inexact as parental memories. If possible, determine whether the record was made at the time and was dated. Ask yourself whether it is a record of relatively factual material or is impressionistic and subjective. (Not that the latter need be rejected; it is often full of interest, but it must be differently interpreted.) Consider, also, whether anything is likely to distort the report. There is one thing that practically always gives a distorted perspective: only striking and exceptional events are likely to be recorded. (If mothers' reports of "cute sayings" were taken as typical, how many geniuses or near-geniuses there would be!)

The richness of school records varies enormously from one school system to another, but even meager records may throw light on a given case. A record of much absence, for example, suggests the need for a careful check on the health and physical development history—if it is not that, it must be something else of sharp significance such

as a disordered and indifferent home. You should, at any rate, examine any school records available and make what use of them you can.

By themselves, samples of a child's work are generally of little value. In exceptional cases, however, they serve as concrete evidence of special ability or disability. *Properly interpreted and related to other evidence,* they add to both the interest and the completeness of report. Two rather contrasted errors are to be guarded against: the work must be genuinely typical and representative of the child's behavior, yet it must not be so humdrum that a few descriptive phrases do the work better than a stack of papers. I have had case studies which included a whole series of fourth-grade arithmetic papers. The errors, which were not without interest, could have been described in two sentences. But a short composition or drawing *might* have given some of the flavor of the child's personality—or it might not. When you save some sort of tangible expression of the child's activity, *do not fail to set forth its significance*—at least, as you see it. Also, as with all evidence, give dates.

Much research has shown that portrait photographs by themselves are of almost no value as true indices to personality. In some cases, however, a picture may give some hint as to the way the child impresses others—and, as has been repeatedly pointed out, people's opinions and attitudes toward a child are an important determiner of the psychological climate in which he lives. It may, therefore, occasionally help us understand the child you are writing about if a snapshot accompanies the report. It is, of course, wholly optional.

Projective Procedures. Frequently a child will reveal more of himself in a play situation than in any other form of observation. While he is engrossed with his playthings, a young child is more likely to talk freely about his environment and his attitudes. Sometimes a play dramatization of a feature of the child's environment proves illuminating. Of late, clinical psychologists have found it very useful, for example, to encourage a child to "play house" in order to learn what the child thinks about his parents and other members of his family.

The child's written compositions also are sometimes revealing of personality trends. Too often they are overlaid, however, by the attempt to write according to the teacher's prescriptions, and hence interpretation is not easy. Much the same is true of children's art. Few children have sufficiently mastered their medium to allow their drawings or their modeling to speak forth their inner motivations with any clarity to the unskilled observer. But it is sometimes possible to encourage them to use such art forms as a means of telling a

story. Young children in particular may talk and explain their drawings as they work at them. Another technique, especially useful for untrained observers, is to get the child to talk about his favorite stories or radio and television programs, to tell what he likes about them and why, even to dramatize them in retelling them. By one or another of these means, you may get a hint of something the child thinks and feels but cannot put directly into words. It can be enormously revealing.

But you must also be unusually cautious in making interpretations in this area. For one thing, even small children have a sense of artistic fitness and of what makes "good drama." Their reactions may be three fourths art and one fourth inner nature. I have seen a little girl acting out the part of a mother belaboring her doll-child unmercifully. Nothing seems more obvious than the interpretation: "Ah, ha! so that's how her mother treats her." In fact, her mother does not believe in corporal punishment and has never used it.

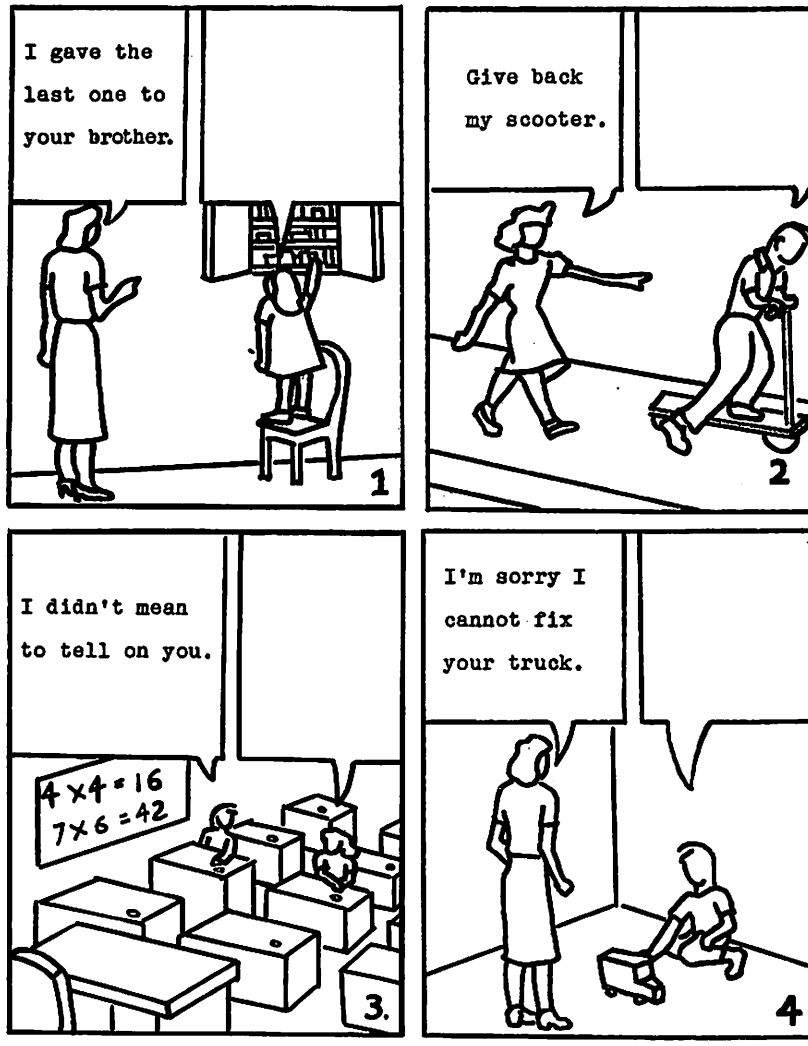
Does this, then, represent the release of some "repressed sadism" or "unconscious cruelty"? It would be very risky to say so, quite unjustified on the basis of this little incident.

On the basis of a careful study of this little girl's behavior in *many* contexts, it was found the play acting had a somewhat more commonplace but far from insignificant explanation. Her behavior first of all revealed her understanding of certain traditional notions or "social stereotypes," as they are called, about the cruel mother—stereotypes she had gained from much reading. In the second place, it revealed her quite real talent as a "playwright" and "actress." She was, in short, simply putting on a good show according to the rules.

In these indirect approaches, it is particularly important not to ask leading questions or to inhibit in any way the child's candor. And nowhere is it more important to bear in mind that the proper explanation of a child's action requires considerable understanding of its background.

The preceding paragraphs may be recognized as an attempt to simplify the basic ideas of the *projective techniques,* techniques that seek to have the child "project" his inner life upon or into the environment. Thus, the child "projects"—or *may* project—upon the doll the suppressed feelings and attitudes generated by her own relations to her mother. There is real danger, however, that the "projection" which is actually operative will be that of the unskilled observer "projecting" *her* inner life upon the child's behavior and interpreting it accordingly. The layman—and the expert, too!—is on

Figure 4. The Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study


I gave the last one to your brother.
1
Give back my scooter.
2
I didn't mean to tell on you.
4 x 4 = 16
7 x 6 = 42
3.
I'm sorry I cannot fix your truck.
4

One sort of projective "test."

The child is directed to write in the blank space what he thinks the boy or girl would answer. All the pictures represent frustrations, and in many cases the reply gives a clue to the child's own frustrations and his open or hidden response pattern thereto. Interpretation, however, requires professional ability.

These are only four of twenty-four pictures. They are reproduced with the author's gracious permission from the form for children. Copyright, 1948.

very shaky ground when he attempts to make interpretations in terms of the "deeper and hidden layers" of personality. Let us remember that according to the very theories that most emphasize these deep-lying mechanisms of personality, they are very hard to uncover. I am convinced, therefore, that the classroom teacher should make such interpretations with exceeding caution. For most of us, projective techniques yield only very tentative "hunches."

Tests. And finally tests! Many of you must be surprised to find psychological tests mentioned last among the sources of information—especially by a psychologist. As a matter of fact this psychologist does not believe in "giving tests"! When people speak of "giving tests," they nearly always mean administering a series of paper-and-pencil tests to a more-or-less obedient group of children just in order to "learn more about them." A series of scores is then duly tabulated—and filed safely away. But what is learned under such circumstances is usually very little.

I do believe, however, in getting answers to specific questions about children—answers as accurate and significant as possible. Test scores are frequently just that: the *best* answers to a specific question. They are almost certain to be more reliable than an answer otherwise obtained. The answers given by test scores are also usually more precise. And if the test is a good one, the meaning of the scores is less open to misinterpretation—that is, is more "objective." So by all means we should learn to get answers to our questions by tests. No case study can be considered even approximately complete which does not make some use of appropriate tests to answer important questions. If you find that you have no questions about a child to which tests will return an answer, you are either unimaginative about the child or ignorant of test resources. But the question about the child comes first, not the testing. We shall accordingly deal with tests in connection with the several aspects of child nature to be discussed later when we have raised the questions for which the test may have an answer.

Where to Study the Child

The obvious answer to where to study the child is, "Wherever you can find him." We agree, but we suggest that a little ingenuity may result in your being able to find him in many different kinds of situations. Your aim is to study the child in each of the major environmental "contexts," to discover how he behaves in each, and how they affect his development.

Pre-eminent among the environmental contexts are the family circle, the school, the neighborhood. But each of these is not a single environment but a whole collection of environments. Home, with one's sibs, with one's mother, with one's father—they are all home and family, but they differ vastly. So also with the school, though perhaps less strikingly, and with the neighborhood.

Nor should we neglect the influence of church and Sunday school, radio and television, theater, travel, relatives. And every different environment gives the child a chance to show a different facet of his developing personality.

The Final Report

We shall make certain suggestions about writing up the case study in Chapter 17. Here it is in order to observe only that when you come to write the final report the "whole child" reappears from out the welter of concrete detail which has been gathering. Here at last you give free rein to your desire to understand the child as he really is.

Exercises

The best "Exercises" for this chapter are those involved in making a careful study of a child. Where that is not possible, the following will help to point up the student's understanding of the important principles involved.

1. What is meant by the contrast between cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of children? Suggest appropriate uses for each.
2. Try to define each step on the "Ladder of Factuality" in your own words. Give an illustration of each.
3. After observing a child for about 25 minutes, try to write down an accurate and reasonably complete account of what happened. Go over your statement and very carefully distinguish between fact and interpretation.
4. Make a *Time Sample* of a particular child's behavior for 15 minutes. Decide on two kinds of behavior and carefully define what actions you will include under each. After making the observation, list or describe any behaviors about which you were uncertain as to whether they should or should not be counted.
5. Make a rating on the *Child Behavior Rating Scale* of some child you know very well. Interpret your rating. What difficulties did you have in making the rating?
6. Administer a *Guess Who* form to a group of children. Tabulate your results and try to interpret them. Or, give a *Sociometric Test.*

11 Discipline and Authority

3 Discipline and the Child's Response to Authority[1]

Discipline—everyone talks about it. What is it? Is it necessary? How does it work? Discipline is found to depend upon four interlocked attitudes toward authority which the child learns in the home. How they affect behavior and how they can be modified are discussed in this chapter.

► Teacher Failure and Discipline

Ask school administrators the chief cause of failure among young teachers. Poor discipline, they reply, is the commonest cause of dismissal; it is given as the major factor in nearly one half of all failures to reappoint and is a contributing factor in most others.[2] Granted that being dismissed does not always prove that one's teaching was actually poor, it is certainly difficult to teach well unless one has a job. Dismissal for "poor discipline" must thus be taken seriously even when we think it is mistaken.

Ask parents what is wrong with the schools or with a teacher. The National Opinion Research Center did ask them in 1944 (210) and found that about three out of five condemn the school's discipline or, rather, lack of discipline.

Ask the teachers themselves what is wrong with the school. They, too, stress the difficulties which center about discipline. Thus Flesher (89) found that the most conspicuous deficiency of teacher education, according to the teachers themselves, is lack of preparation for meeting disciplinary problems. More than one third of the entries in a representative series of teachers' diaries examined by Wightman (305) concerned disciplinary problems. James (124) asked a group of experienced teachers to write down the names of all teachers known to them who had failed, together with the causes of failure. Three fourths of the causes listed came under the head of poor discipline.

Suppose we see how important you yourselves think discipline is.

[1] Some of the material in this chapter, though written for this book, has been previously published in *Progressive Education* (78).

[2] See, for example, the statistics cited by James (124), Morrison (199), and Barr (23).

Below is a rather typical list of "problem behaviors." Some are rather serious, others are less so. Now, paying no attention to the question of what to do about any of these actions, rate them as to *how serious they are from the standpoint of the child's development.* Mark the most serious 10, the next most serious 9 and so on down to 1.

	Rating		Rating
a. unsociableness	( )	*f.* disrespect to elders	( )
b. daydreaming	( )	*g.* excessive modesty	( )
c. rudeness	( )	*h.* shyness	( )
d. suspiciousness	( )	*i.* contradicting elders	( )
e. disobedience	( )	*j.* impertinence	( )

(Before you read further, record your rating either in the book or on a separate sheet.)

In Figure 5 (p. 60) these items have been rearranged in the order of their relative seriousness as judged by a large group of mental hygienists and child psychologists. The items referring specifically to disciplinary problems are shaded.

You will note that the specialists concerned with the healthy and wholesome development of children do not consider these disciplinary problems very serious; only "disobedience" gets into the top division. The average rank of the disciplinary items was 3.4. By averaging your own scores for the same items, you can see how much you overestimate this sort of behavior as compared with the experts. To keep you from feeling too bad (in case you were out of line), Figure 5 includes the ratings of a large group of representative parents. (Their average rank for the disciplinary items was 8.)

Parents, of course, have a vested interest in reducing disciplinary behavior, so naturally they overestimate its seriousness. Teachers take virtually the same position and for the same reason. A whole series of investigations beginning with Haggerty's (110) in 1925 have shown that most teachers regard offenses against discipline and good order as very serious—more serious indeed than the kinds of behavior now known to be indicative of unhealthy personality development. (The nondisciplinary items of Figure 5 are examples of these behaviors.) If a child is quiet and "makes no trouble," he may be ignored or even praised as a "good" child, though his "goodness" may be due to shyness and a morbid tendency to withdraw from social contacts. But if a child be active and up-and-coming, there is much likelihood that he will upset "discipline," be impudent, impertinent, and disobedient, and in general be considered a bad case.

All too many teachers prefer a "good child" to one who is "good for something." [3]

And students? Especially those in training to be teachers? Unfortunately, their difference from parents or teachers-in-service is slight. It is true that Bain (16) in 1932 found some improvement since Wickman's much quoted study (304) four years earlier. But the Kelley and Perkins (142), and the Thompson (273) investigations in 1940 still showed the teacher's preference for "well-disciplined," obedient behavior. Fortunately, it was also found that the study of psychology is slowly altering this situation.

So . . . how did you do? If your average rating of the disciplinary items was less than 5 you are laying claim to a pretty modern and progressive attitude; try to live up to it! If you rated them 7 or 8, you are out of step with expert judgment and need seriously to consider your position.

Finally, even the pupils consider the teacher's discipline important (James, 124; Barr, 23; Corbin, 63); they do not want a teacher whose discipline is "weak."

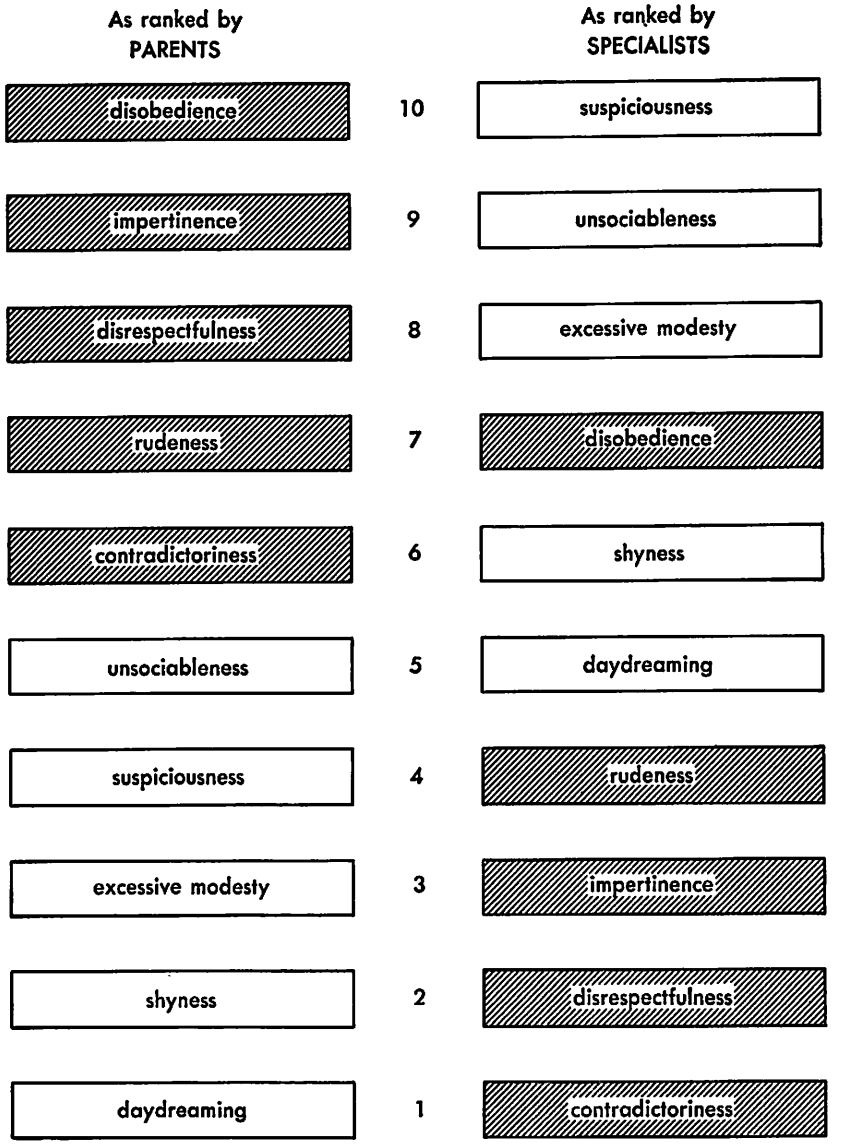
School administrators, parents, teachers, pupils—all are thus deeply concerned with school discipline. Parents, you may be sure, are equally concerned about home discipline. (Whenever I offer a parent group a choice of two topics for an address, one on Discipline, that one is invariably chosen—and in the forum hour vigorously discussed.) The unanimity is broken, however, by some of the foremost educational philosophers who proclaim that discipline is an outmoded and illegitimate objective. Such flagrant contradiction must give us pause. Surely the majority of experienced school administrators are not so unjust as to dismiss teachers for failures in discipline while leading theorizers say we don't need discipline. Before we condemn either group as wrong, perhaps we should raise the question as to whether the two groups mean the same thing by discipline.

► What Does Discipline Mean?

Discipline comes from a Latin root which means to flog or beat. Discipline was originally the process of beating into submission such inferior persons as slaves and common soldiers

[3] Stogdill's (258) bibliography in 1936 lists sixteen investigations in this area and several others have been published since—all disheartenningly consistent in the general picture of parent and teacher preference for "disciplined" children.

Figure 5. Relative Seriousness of Children's Behavior Problems



Adapted from Stogdill (259). The items used are selected from a longer list of problem behaviors.

—and pupils. That is a clear enough idea, and it is still a part of our notions about discipline even though nowadays the "beating" is likely to take the form of depriving a child of some cherished experience. But that is not the whole idea involved in discipline.

In the Latin there is another root spelled the same way but referring to learning. This is the root from which we get the word *disciple* —that is, one who learns, and also the word *discipline* meaning a branch of instruction (as in the expression, "Economics is a learned discipline"). Because they were spelled the same, the two notions flowed together into a strange amalgam: on the one hand, the idea of learning or "mental training"; on the other, the idea of the training that comes from being flogged into submission. A disciplined mind was obedient in thought to the dictates of reason, just as a disciplined body was obedient in conduct to orders of superiors. The means to discipline, also, were thought of as similar. Any kind of severe and strict treatment—so long as it seemed to be for a person's own good—was *disciplinary*. Physical punishment or the imposition of difficult and distasteful intellectual tasks were alike the means to discipline.

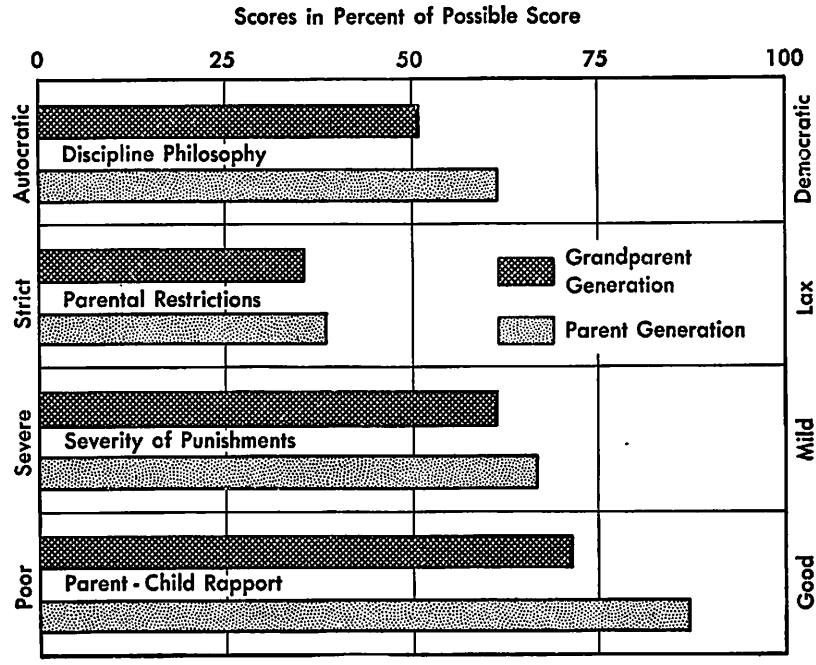
The Changing Concept of Discipline

Presently, however, harshness toward our fellow men went out of fashion; brutality, even toward criminals and animals, was condemned. The temper of our whole civilization became more humane—though many contemporary events show how readily people slip back into brutality.

This changing temper of the times could not fail to affect school discipline. Within living memory, for example, there has been a tremendous decline in the severity and amount of corporal punishment. In 1881 in St. Louis there were 141 cases of corporal punishment per 1000 pupils. By 1924 this had declined to 1.7 per 1000 (Davis, 66). Many states now forbid corporal punishment, and everywhere legal enactment or public opinion has hedged it about with many restrictions. Other punishments also have become less severe and fewer actions are subject to punishment. Where once people thought that frequent punishment was a sign of good discipline, today we take just the opposite position. This attitude is carried over into the home, too; fewer parents now favor "heavy discipline." (Radke, 228.)

The doctrine of "mental discipline," also, came under attack as a result of psychological experimentation. It was shown that "mind" does not develop, like muscle, with exercise. Mental growth comes

Figure 6. How Parents Compare Themselves with Their Parents in Matters of Discipline



Note that it is the parents who judge both themselves and the grandparents. To a statistically reliable degree, parents believe that they have a more "Democratic Philosophy" and better "Parent-Child Rapport." It means something that they believe this—and doubtless try to act accordingly—whether or not an objective record would confirm the judgment. Parents do not to the same extent judge themselves to be less "Strict" or less "Severe." (The middle two comparisons are statistically unreliable.) Adapted from Radke (228).

from learning what we need to learn whether that be easy or difficult. *The growth of mind is a process of enrichment, not of disciplinary restraint.*

Obedience or Self-direction. An even more important change is the shift in attitude toward the value of unhesitating obedience, either in action or in thought—the very heart of the older concept of discipline. Thoughtful people have begun to say that, even for children, self-control rather than obedience to others is the end to be sought. They have begun to question that one learns to control one's own conduct by being forced to obey others. And there have even been voices raised to urge that intelligent self-direction is a finer

ideal than self-control.[4] Thus *discipline* is beginning to lose out on all counts; we are discarding severity as a *means* and unthinking obedience as an end of education.

Yet the old doctrine dies hard. The twelve-volume report on the schools of New York State made by the Board of Regents revealed the continuation of a highly disciplinary and regimented approach to education as late as 1938. As Agnes Benedict puts it, "Though you see no whips in the classroom, you hear voices that carry the sting of a whip. . . . They [still] paste adhesive tape across the child's mouth. They use terrifying threats. . . . Such disciplinary devices are far more prevalent than is supposed" (27). Obviously, dictatorship in the political sphere also is a reversion to the more primitive outlook in which obedience and subservience to a dictator are exalted as the supreme duty of the citizen. This primitive spirit is not limited to Europe. It continually crops up in this country: for example, in unsupported but dogmatic assertion that what we need is severe punishment and *discipline* as a curb to juvenile delinquency. That a fair percentage of delinquents come from homes where as a matter of routine they are beaten for every trifling disobedience or other offense seems not to shake the faith of these advocates of cruelty as a means to character formation. (For a British view, see 286.)

In this whole notion of disciplined obedience there is something contrary to our professed social ideals. On the one hand, as Bruce and Freeman (38) point out, we pay something more than mere lip service to the notions of "rugged individualism" and "sturdy independence"; but on the other hand, we want discipline, obedience, and the uncritical acceptance of authority; and we cling to an industrial system where large masses of men are dependent upon the will of a few. It may be suggested that democracy is—or can be, when achieved—the way of life in which these apparently contradictory aspirations are reconciled. They are not to be reconciled, however, in the too-common attitude that discipline is for others and rugged individualism is for oneself.

We shall presently inquire why we so cling to the notion of discipline; meanwhile, we must note that there will for a long time be pressure upon the teacher to "discipline the little rascals and learn 'em to behave." (Cf. Kanner, 140.)

We must, however, acquit most school authorities of such anti-

[4] When, however, the contrast is stated as discipline v. self-discipline, the issue is clouded by the use of a word in two basically different ways.

quated notions of discipline. What, then, do they mean when they complain that a teacher fails in discipline? Too often they mean only that she does not keep the pupils quiet. (This is also called "maintaining order.") The more thoughtful educator means more than that, however; he means that the teacher is failing to regulate the conduct of individual pupils in such fashion that *they do not unnecessarily or unfairly interfere with others or with the group.* With such a concept of discipline, negative though it may be, it is difficult to quarrel.

Because our thinking about "discipline" is so thoroughly infected by old notions, it is probably desirable to drop the term whenever we can and speak rather of the teacher's control of pupil behavior or use some similar phrase that simply describes what is happening.

► The Teacher as Leader

Thus viewed, discipline or teacher control becomes only part of the larger problem of the teacher's leadership. The purely negative procedures of "discipline" are seen as subordinate to more positive measures. The teacher's job is not merely to keep one child from interfering with the others; it is to promote in all of them the ability and desire to cooperate with their peers. Instead of "discipline" to prevent wrongdoing, emphasis should be upon positive motivation toward desirable behavior.

We should notice that, whether positive or negative, the teacher's control is still but a means to an end—that end being the best possible development of the pupils. It is not, like self-control or self-discipline, an end in itself and thus a goal of education. As we shall see, the instrumental or means-to-an-end character of the teacher's control of pupils imposes very definite limits on how and when it is to be exercised.

Is Positive Leadership Enough?

At first blush one is tempted to say that if positive motivation to do the right thing is provided, no other form of control is necessary. Every experienced teacher or parent knows the contrary. For one thing, children get into difficulties out of their very zeal. A nursery-school tot may need to be saved from literally breaking his neck; an eighth-grader must be kept from imitating the sports of a college man to the detriment of his health. And, one of

the commonest classroom problems is tactful restraint of the intelligent, eager, and genuinely interested child lest he monopolize discussion.

Moreover, it is only in Utopia that pupils do not somehow select undesirable goals. The movie-crazed child whose chief ambition is to be a gangster or a two-gun Western outlaw is only an extreme example of the way our culture imposes on immature minds ambitions and ideals that education must reject.

Yet false objectives are probably the smallest part of the problem; more important is the failure of any sort of stable goals to emerge. The three-year-old who within the space of five minutes wants to be a policeman, a doctor, and a storekeeper is amusing; his analogue in the schoolroom, who can never settle down to anything for over five minutes, is a problem to his teacher, to his fellow pupils, and, not least, to himself. Neither learning nor personality development is likely to emerge from too much capricious or aimless drift. The child needs help, therefore, in selecting appropriate goals, and such help involves the occasional denial to the child of presently tempting but actually disappointing ends.

Even when the child has succeeded in finding or adopting a suitable goal (whether it is immediate or relatively remote), the problem is, of course, not solved. What kinds of actions will lead to the goal still remains to be discovered. It takes wisdom and maturity to see the true relation between the ends of life and the conduct which is the means to that end. And while it is an important task of education to foster such wisdom, *we must not expect to find at the beginning of education that which we hope to develop as its final outcome.* The child's goal may be well chosen; yet the means which, to his understanding, seem obvious may actually lead away from that goal or involve him in other difficulties. At this point adult control must often step in.

Note that we say *often,* not *always.* Sometimes the child should be left to work out his own salvation, but whatever the value of "learning the hard way by sad experience" (which we shall discuss later), it is obvious that the consequences of the wrong behavior are frequently too serious to be permitted. We thus reach the conclusion—which to most of you will doubtless seem obvious—that the pupil's immaturity, both in understanding and in conduct control, involves as an inevitable corollary some degree of constraint upon his conduct, some substitution of the adult's guidance and control for the pupil's self-direction.

Constraint and Conflict

It would be unfortunate to give the impression, however, that such constraint necessarily involves the teacher in conflict with the pupil. Children, for reasons which will be discussed presently, often crave adult direction. It is entirely possible to inhibit and regulate the pupil's behavior without arousing antagonism or resentment, and to do it without running into other difficulties. This, indeed, is what is usually called "good discipline."

The more natural and common case, however, is that wherein constraint does involve some degree of conflict. This is what is called the "disciplinary situation." Now you may regret the existence of such situations, but if you are to be successful teachers, you must learn not only how to avoid them when they are avoidable, but how to deal with them when they are not.

It may help if we put the distinctions just made about the teacher as leader in outline form.[5]

I. Leadership by positive motivation
II. Leadership by constraint—teacher control
  A. Without conflict ("good discipline")
  B. With conflict ("disciplinary situation").

The distinctions here made are not to be taken too seriously; they serve as the basis for our discussion rather than for classifying the teacher's behavior. Positive and negative control in a given case may, and often should be, inextricably combined. Conflict may be present in the situation in varying degrees: from none at all to practically complete domination of the scene. But our thinking will be clearer if we distinguish control or constraint from positive guidance, and if we note what differences are present when conflict rears its rather ugly head.

► Authority

Leadership and Authority

Many volumes have been written about the personal qualities that make for leadership, but it is now fairly commonly recognized that this is to approach the matter from the wrong end. Leadership is an art that can be acquired; or, rather, it is not one art but many, for there are many kinds of leaders, and different

[5] It should be noted that such summary outlines as this one are even more of a help when they are made by the student for himself.

social situations require different behaviors in the leaders. The arts of leadership require certain skills in dealing with people which can be learned like any other skills—and knowledge of how to motivate people to the desired kinds of activity. Leadership also implies knowledge or skill in the actual activities themselves. Jack (123) and Page (221) have shown that even a retiring child will exercise leadership when he and he alone knows what to do. And without such knowledge, leadership is weak and wavering.

But, primarily, leadership is a relationship between the leader and the led. *The psychological basis of that relationship is the follower's recognition of the authority of the leader.* Without recognition of the leader's authority there is no leadership. It is, therefore, particularly important for teachers to consider the nature of the authority upon which their leadership rests.[6]

Origin of Authority

Dependence and Compliance. Man's reaction to authority, like all his social behavior, has its roots deep in his earliest years. Above every other animal, our species has a prolonged and helpless infancy. During all his most plastic years, the child is dependent upon parents or other adult superiors for his very survival. To them he turns for food, protection, support, and assistance of varied character. Where, even in the most totalitarian society, do adults live under any authority such as that which rules the behavior of infant and very young child? Later, as Gardner Murphy reminds us, the child may indeed reign in the home as a veritable king; but this experience of ruling over his environment is projected upon the background of an earlier experience of necessary subservience. Moreover, even in the most indulgent of homes the child is apt to be not an absolute monarch but a constitutional ruler subject to some restraints. Even for the child as king there is some authority. Dependence upon adult authority and compliance with the suggestions of authority—which are not always in verbal form of course—is thus one of his earliest social responses. It is never wholly lost.

> From the fact that dependence-reactions very similar to our own are found in apes and other mammals, it seems likely that these responses are not simply the result of training or tradition but have an innate

[6] Curiously enough, although the demand for "discipline," even severe discipline, still rises loud throughout the land, a climate of opinion hostile to authority, or at least to the *word* authority, has developed. I hope that my readers will postpone any tendency to reject the whole idea until the nature of authority has been set forth.

basis.[7] They are not to be thought of, however, as a single "instinct" of dependence-compliance but rather as a group of learned ways of reacting to authority. Because of our prolonged infancy we all learn some of these dependent-compliant reactions; but because of differing experiences, we do not all of us learn the same ones. Those we do learn, however, are more or less equivalent to each other just as different modes of walking may be, and so form one mode of behavior for each person. Compliance then, is an inevitable mode of behavior, but the particular modes of compliance are not inevitable. Whether dependence and compliance be regarded as one set of reactions or two is mostly a matter of convenience. Since compliant responses are more dynamic, more active, and therefore more important, they will receive most of our attention.

Fortunately, of course, in their care of the child, adults are usually tender and loving, especially in their care of the very young child and infant. We laugh at the Duchess's admonition, "Speak roughly to your little boy, and beat him when he sneezes," because it is so foreign to our usual treatment of the helpless young. Thus, authority is first present to each of us in a mainly benign and friendly form. She who is the first authority for the child is also the source of satisfactions and the first object of love. Attraction, not compulsion, says Morton (200), is the primary condition of authority.

Identification. When we love someone, we tend to identify ourselves with him or her. His goals become ours; compliance with his wishes, yielding to his direction, does not involve self-abasement or personal loss. In the very young the beloved person's suggestions are simply carried out with satisfaction; the mother says "Show Daddy how big you are" and the child complies with a happy smile. Later, the identification may become more conscious, and we may feel that yielding to the beloved authority is the way to the attainment of some of our own most enduring purposes and values. This has been recognized in religion, where identification with Supreme Authority is set forth as far nobler than mere obedience. Thus we find such expressions as: "I have no will, but to do the will of my Father in Heaven"; and "In Whose service is perfect freedom." Discipline in this case is a form of discipleship. On a more mundane level, the identification with a beloved parent, or with society as a parent substitute, is the motivation for a large part of our socially useful activities. Without some degree of such identification, education would

[7] See the experiments and observations with apes of Carpenter (50), Koehler (148), and Yerkes (316).

scarcely be possible. Indeed one may question whether without it society would not fall apart.[8]

Affection and compliance thus grow together out of the same soil, are displayed toward the same loving and powerful adult. In early infancy they are probably not distinct reactions; and throughout life they are closely connected. For most of us the basic social response is compliance with an authority who is loved.

> Bridges (36) finds evidence for the appearance of a distinct emotional pattern of affection at eight months, but this affection is a refinement of an earlier appearing, vaguer emotional pattern which she calls "delight." When we have "delight" in the attending adult, as we do as early as the third or fourth month, we have the basis for the loving identification of later years and months. Sometimes we find writers speaking of identification (or altruism or love of others) as if it were developed as a counterpoise to self-love. Later in life some such relation does, of course, exist. In infancy it is probably not so. The child's earliest personal perception, as Murphy (204, p. 491 ff.) points out, is not of himself but of his mother. She is associated with satisfactions and with positive, seeking responses. When a little later the child begins to notice his own bodily self as like that of the mother, he transfers or generalizes the positive, seeking responses from mother to himself. Thus the primary fact is not that in identification one surrenders himself by merging self with another self; it is rather that a sort of identification comes first and that out of this one's own self emerges. The infant must identify with his mother before he can become a self at all.

Resistance. From the first, however, the attending mother is also, and inevitably, the source of dissatisfactions as well as of satisfactions, the author of deprivations, and hence the object of resistance, displeasure and anger. Resistance to the parent's authority, therefore, like compliance, begins early—in the nursery, if not in the bassinet. Adequate controlled studies of its early development are lacking, but the investigations of Rust (237), Caille (43), and Reynolds (232) indicate that in our culture certain manifestations have already reached their peak at about age two or three.[9] It is at this time that the child is most likely to resist even the simplest suggestion or verbal request.

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[8] The topic of identification has been dealt with extensively, especially in connection with family relationships. See, for example, Levy and Monroe (162), Taft (268), Benne (29), Courtney (64), Hutt and Miller (122), and Stoke (261).

[9] Murphy (204, pp. 218–219) has a very interesting explanation of negativism in terms of learning.

It will be noticed that we speak of a *peak* in resistance occurring at age three as being a fact of our culture; in other cultural groups it may not be so. However "natural" resistance may be, the form and occasion of its occurrence is determined by the culture.

The concept of "culture" here so casually introduced is an exceedingly important one for psychology. Culture is the totality of the ways of life of a particular social group: the complex tissue of habits and skills and ways of earning a living; beliefs and customs; institutions such as church, school, and government; and the tools and machines which find use in the group. Within the pattern of a larger culture, such as that of a nation, subcultures may be distinguished: the culture of a locality, of a religious group, even of so small a unit as a family. The individual lives in constant interaction with his culture, is molded by it. No other animal has a real culture; man is inconceivable without one. (A good popular account of culture as viewed by the anthropologist is to be found in Kluckholm, *Mirror for Man* [147].)

The earliest deprivations, of course, are of primary organic needs, and there are some very significant studies which tend to show the importance of such early deprivations for personality growth. (These will be considered in Chapter 8.) It is only, however, when the deprivation is perceived as emanating from a person that it gives rise to resistance. And it is surely significant that resistance and negativism come to the fore at about the time when adults cease treating the baby like a doll and begin to try to "socialize" him. We insist that the child shall not eat between meals although hungry, shall not fight but instead "cooperate" or "give in" to sibs and playmates, shall keep quiet when father is reading or mother is resting, and above all, in most homes, that he shall not touch his genitals. No wonder the child resists so many and so rigid a set of prohibitions.

Most of these things a child must indeed eventually learn, but the pace of the learning is too fast, especially in most middle-class homes. There will be fewer negativistic personalities when parents learn to ease up on the process of socialization.

Popular opinion and many psychologists have made much of the negativism and resistance to authority in adolescence. Not without reason. For although there is less of it than is sometimes alleged, adolescent resistance, when it does occur, is a difficult problem. Where a tactful and sensible adult should have little difficulty in circumventing the negativism of a three-year-old, he might find it hard to get around the relatively infrequent, but more troublesome, resistance of the fifteen-year-old. However, the way adults deal with the sort of resistance

Ewing Galloway, N. Y.

Figure 7. One Resistant Youngster

found in infancy probably has greater consequences for the total development of the individual than what happens in the acute crisis of adolescence.

It may be well to note that, as Reynolds has shown, different children show their resistance in highly individual ways; and Jersild (129) makes a very practical point when he says that much of the resistance of the two- and three-year-old springs from the simple fact that he just doesn't understand what he is to do. In other cases, resistance simply means that the child has grown up enough to make a choice between alternatives and that the one rejected just happens to be the conduct ordained by some adult. It is thus by no means "bad," either morally or in terms of personality development.

It is clear that both compliance and resistance, and their correlated feelings of love and hatred, are displayed quite early in human development.[10] And different as they are, they are nonetheless responses to the same person or kind of persons—the attending adult superior. Compliance and love, resistance and hate spring from the same source in the infant's dependence upon the adult for satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Only slowly are distinct emotions and attitudes differentiated out of a common matrix of personal relationships.

Differentiation

The concept of differentiation here introduced for the first time is of such fundamental importance in the psychology of development that it must be considered briefly even though it is a parenthesis to the discussion of authority. The term is taken over from the study of biology where it is applied to the development of different kinds of tissues out of parent cells which are all alike. In the embryonic stages of life the cells which cluster together as the beginning of the individual are at first similar, if not identical. In this stage they are undifferentiated. But as these cells multiply by dividing, the "descendent" cells gradually take on distinct characteristics; until eventually we have skin cells, nerve cells, blood cells, muscle cells, and so on. The different kinds of cells,

[10] We are here following a common usage in speaking of all relatively enduring attitudes or sentiments characterized by affection as love. Despite all the differences between the manifold varieties of love—love of mother or father, love of mate, love of comrade, love of country, love of pets, love of God—it is believed that a common element runs through them all, so that all genuine love responses belong together in a distinct class. (The occasional figurative use of "love" where joy is really meant—as in "love of nature" or "love of good food"—is not likely to be confusing.) Our use of hate or hatred for all the contrasted varieties of sentiment which are characterized by antagonism may be less readily accepted. Social or ethical taboos upon hating have made us unwilling to admit the essential identity of our "dislike" with mild hatred; but the identity is just as truly there as in the case of love.

all developed from a common ancestor cell, are said to be differentiated.

Just as the primal cells or units of structure are undifferentiated, so are the early units of behavior. The young infant reacts to an irritation on his right leg "with everything he has." The early responses are "all-over" responses with little regard to the nature of the stimulus. But little by little the reaction becomes more adaptable. Not the whole body but only the leg moves when the leg is irritated. A light falling in the baby's eyes may at first cause widely diffused squirming, later a turning of the head toward the light, still later a turning of just the eyes. (Note, however, that the original restless squirming and the intermediate response of turning the head are not necessarily abolished.) The acquisition in this way of a more specific, more nicely adapted response out of an earlier diffused response is what we mean by differentiation.

The thoughtful reader will not fail to notice that there is a difference between the development of anatomical structures and of behavior functions. The differentiated cells are literally descendants from the original, undifferentiated fertilized egg. And step by step we can trace the way the actual structure of the earlier cells turns into and becomes the later cells. A response or an activity, on the other hand, takes place and is over. The tottering step of an infant is not literally a part of the coordinated walking of an adult. An early behavior is evidently parent to a later one in a somewhat different sense from that in which the fertilized ovum is parent to all the cells in our body. Yet no one questions that there is a very real sense in which one behavior does father a later behavior. Each action so modifies the whole person or organism that thereafter a more adaptable response is possible. When this new response specifically relates to the earlier one as a sort of "natural" successor, we say it has differentiated out of it.

The primal social response then—that of the child to the mother—is relatively undifferentiated. Gradually, however, distinctions and differences appear: the undifferentiated social response gives way to the differentiated responses of loving and complying, and of hating and resisting, and these in turn take on further variations. A whole cluster of reactions—emotional dispositions, sentiments, attitudes, habits—form round the parent as authority.

Bipolar Attitudes to Authority

There is reason, however, to believe that because of their common origin these apparently divergent responses are closely connected throughout our lives. The case has been well

put by a perceptive contemporary novelist and poet, Rebecca West: [11]

> Every human being is born the enemy of all others with the instinct to fight for his existence and appetites against his kind. Our fathers and mothers, our husbands and wives, our children themselves . . . find their egotism broken down by their irrational disposition to love us, and our own egotism is broken down by our response to their love. Divided by . . . our fluctuating partisanship to love and hate, we wrestle together. . . . Those who are outside our mystery, who cannot be trusted to see that however much we hate we also love, should not be permitted to observe us.

Indeed some students of behavior problems hold that we are always thus somewhat bipolar in our attitudes, so that to hate is also in some degree to love, to resist authority is also to be ready to comply with it, and in each case vice versa. Perhaps this is an extreme view based on the study of more or less abnormal cases. Yet we cannot deny some connection. As Congreve says, "Hell hath no rage like love to hatred turned," and we may also note cases of the easy progression in the reverse direction from angry rage to tender affection. This much, then, is clear: that we pass from one of these attitudes very freely over to its opposite, especially in childhood.

Likewise important is the way these feelings complicate the overt behaviors of complying or resisting. We have already implied that originally the dependence-compliance reaction is correlated with love and the resistance reaction with antagonism or hatred. But other combinations also develop in the course of the child's experience. The combination of compliance with hatred is by no means uncommon—it gives us a dull, sullen yielding to authority quite unlike that found where there is loving identification of the child with the parent. And strange as it may seem, love and resistance may also get entangled. Thus curiously intertwined are the attitude and emotions which constitute the basic reactions to authority.

Individual Differences in Reaction to Authority

So far we have stressed the universal or at least the common features of a child's reaction to authority. These grow out of the common features of early life: all of us are born as babies and have attending mothers (even if the attending "mother" is only a hireling), and all of us are dependent for many years upon adult care. The similarity of experience thus involved imposes a great simi-

[11] Quoted by permission from *Harpers Magazine*, 1945, **191**, 57.

larity upon us in our reactions to authority. We all learn many of the same lessons because the same things happen to us.

Yet within the framework of these universal relationships are great individual differences. Even infants do not have exactly the same experiences, and as children grow older the range of variability in individual experience becomes enormous. Much of this variability is due to accident. By accident we mean merely an unforeseeable relation between the child's momentary inner state and some concurrent event in the outer environment. Thus the removal of the nursing bottle just at the moment when a sudden colic spasm takes place within the child's body may initiate a chain of learnings which in the end will have quite striking consequences. Again, the mother's casual interference with a child's activity on one occasion may have almost no permanent effect; on another occasion her interference may run contrary to a strong impulse and give rise to strong outer or inner opposition. In such case there may be initiated a habit of resistance which in time comes to dominate the mother-child relationship. From the cumulation of accidents of no greater consequence than these, proceed many little turns of personality.[12]

Of greater importance, however, are the variations in the pattern of development due to regular and more or less predictable differences in the individual's experience. The obvious differences between parents make for equally great differences in the children's reactions to authority. Let a mother be conspicuously fair-minded, just, and self-sacrificing and, also let us suppose, the most gorgeous, attractive, and lovable person to come within the child's vision. Thus embodied, authority (even strict and severe authority) will ever after seem attractive—at least if embodied in a not-too-unattractive person. But if the beloved mother be lenient in her authority, if her hand be light and gentle, the child may be ill prepared for severe authority, may be likely to reject any authority that makes greater demands than hers. The personality of the mother thus invests her kind of authority with a sort of halo; her kind of authority is expected and preferred.

The manner in which authority is exercised is, of course, no less important. In some homes a certain frigid and unaffectionate rigidity

[12] One is inclined to suspect that the chief significance of the famous principle of "conditioning" is that we learn by just such accidental concomitance to associate a great many things which have no intrinsic connection with each other. We learn them, moreover, without thought or intention. Important, however, as such "unconscious" learnings may be, it is a mistake to suppose that most of our learnings are of this sort. Most learning is intentional, motivated, and directed toward a goal.

of control is uppermost; in others we have insistence upon affection as the basis for obedience; in still others anger and punishment are almost the only instruments of parental control. A few modern mothers try to "reason" with the child almost before he can talk; others seem to believe that the louder they shout the more prompt and more certain the child's obedience. Some parents try to enforce obedience by the threat of withdrawing their love. In few homes do they display a consistent pattern of authority, and in some homes inconsistency is elevated almost to a ruling principle; injustice and overseverity alternate with overindulgence. (See, for example, the careful study of parent behavior in Baldwin *et al.* (17).)

As the child develops, his different attitudes toward authority interact with each other, which brings further changes. The way he has learned to comply influences the way he resists; his experiences of resistance influence his compliance. The child whose parents are domineering and authoritative is, of course, usually compliant, if not submissive; when he does kick over the traces and resist duly constituted authority, his rebellion has a characteristically different form from that of the truly independent child or even from that of the habitual rebel. Similarly the child who has learned to defy authority at home may indeed submit to superior force, but his submission will be very different from that of the habitually meek. The child whose security has been threatened by punishment in the form of withdrawal of love is apt to be overdependent or attention-seeking or both. Even the child who lords it over his parents must recognize, in some things, the superior authority of adults. Children thus come to school having learned an almost baffling diversity of ways of reacting to authority.

Primacy of Early Experiences. We have emphasized in all of this the importance of early experiences. Such early experiences set the stage for later experiences, create the patterns which, unless interfered with, determine very largely how the child will react to subsequent circumstances and thus what and how he will learn. Early experience tends to create later experience in its own image; later events are reacted to in terms of what one has already learned to do.[13]

It is this fact which makes it impossible—as well as undesirable—for the teacher to "treat all children exactly alike." Teacher behav-

[13] A "law of primacy" is sometimes appealed to as explanation of the stubborn persistence of early habits. The first response to a certain situation is supposed to retain a peculiar potency as compared with later ones. We believe most of the facts in question are explainable as above in terms of the influence of the early responses upon later learning.

ior, objectively the same, is seen and reacted to by the children in extraordinarily different ways. Consider the effect of a traditional "strict disciplinarian" upon three different children. To a fairly sharp reprimand Ann responds with cringing submission combined with a hurt appeal to the teacher for signs of affection. Susan ignores the reprimand until it becomes even more severe; obviously she believes in sailing as close as possible to the submerged reefs of punishment. But once she "gets the teacher's number," she is astute in judging just how far to go. Billy is openly defiant. It is clear, is it not, that the psychological value of the "same" reprimand is entirely different for these three children, and that identical treatment, so far from making them more alike, will make them more and more different. Each has reacted to the reprimand in the light of his own earlier experience with authority.

Of course this is to judge the effect of the reprimand in terms of its effect on the children's development—which is so obviously the correct thing to do that we must ask why teachers so often fail to look at it in this sensible way. Let us try to look at the situation through the teacher's eyes. The three children were all being "disorderly"—that is, they were interfering with the smooth routine of group learning of a unit in personal hygiene. Reprimanding Ann, Susan, and Billy, if properly done—"and I try to take individual differences into account and ease up on Ann more than on Sue and Billy"—will bring them back into line and permit the group learning to proceed. So the disciplinarian can claim that she, too, is thinking in terms of child development—the development of all the children, at that.

We must, I think, recognize the validity of such an attitude and even the *contingent* correctness of this teacher's procedure. It *is* correct to maintain order and thus to promote group learning, if we do not at the same time provide the stimulus for other (and unfortunate) kinds of learning. In the case set forth it is clear that the learning of personal hygiene may have been purchased at the expense of distortion—minor, perhaps, but real—in the personality pattern of Ann, Susan, and Billy. In a perfectly legitimate attempt to promote group learning, the teacher was overlooking the effect of discipline on the authority responses of the individual children.

It is difficult, then, to change the early or primal patterns of behavior, and it is important to notice why. It is difficult because *it is necessary to select the environmental influences that, in the light of the individual child's background, will be effective in his particular case in producing desirable changes.* The pattern of his reaction to authority remains the same because we seldom take the trouble to understand it.

The Teacher as Parent-Surrogate

Positional Authority. We have all along implied that the child transfers his attitude toward parental authority to other authorities. At long last, then, we get an answer to our question about the source of the teacher's authority. Some of it, at least, is due to her status or *position* as the motherlike adult, to her motherlike superiority in size, strength and knowledge, her motherlike helpfulness. The pupils, in varying degrees and in part dependent upon how they have learned to react to these qualities at home, implicitly recognize the positional authority of the teacher.

They are confirmed in this by a whole tissue of conventions, of family and social expectations. Even the traditional defiance of the teacher's authority implies a recognition of its existence. Thus the negativistic little child who refuses some request of the teacher with the remark: "You aren't my mother!" is admitting that in fact he does recognize her partial identity with parental authority. Progressive teachers and schools have altered in many ways the emotional tone of this acceptance of the teacher's authority, but they have not altered the essential fact. *The teacher is inevitably a sort of mother-substitute or "mother-surrogate."*

> The transference to outsiders of family patterns of behavior, particularly the acceptance of mother substitutes without knowing it, has long been recognized by poet and novelist and is dealt with by many psychologists. The transfer of authority reactions which we are here considering is easily the most important form of such transfer. Recently, it has come to be recognized as an important factor not only in school but in industrial relations. It is not any less important at any age for being what W. Koehler calls "silent"—that is, showing in our attitudes without our knowing why we feel as we do.

Though the child's identification of the teacher with the mother often goes so far that he will say, "Mama—I mean Miss Rood," it is never complete.[14] The teacher's position is indeed similar to the mother's in many respects; but she does not afford the child the privileges and satisfaction of food and shelter and personal care, nor can she usually demonstrate the same degree of love.

> The mention of the mother's direct care of the child may serve to call attention to one of the advantages of middle-class and lower class home-

[14] Two slightly different meanings of identification should be distinguished. In the first and more basic meaning, we identify *ourselves* with a beloved person. In the second, we recognize, usually unwittingly, the partial identity of one person with another and hence react to one as to the other.

makers over upper class mothers. In the eyes of a small child, the really important things done by adults are household activities. Cooking is important, and setting the table and serving meals and making beds—and, of course, helping Junior bathe and dress. Planning a day's menu or ordering things from the store are, for the small child, too abstract and remote a form of service to confer upon any one the sort of importance which is given by direct service. The mother who turns all the simple household tasks over to hirelings may be equally or more glamorous to her child but she risks losing a large part of her importance for him. Obviously also, most fathers cannot hope to compete with mothers in thus gaining importance. Father does something mysteriously called "making a living," but mother visibly directs and creates the processes of living in the home. Stoke (261) cites the case of a nursery-school boy who sought to identify himself with his father in playing house or, more properly, "family." He would ride off to "work" after "breakfast" but was completely unable to imagine what work was. The little girl, meanwhile, was happily imitating her mother's household duties. Clearly identification with the mother is much easier in our predominantly urban society than with the father. And teachers? Need we add that teaching the history of colonial times is not, in a child's eyes, as significant an activity as preparing a meal?

Moreover, the teacher's authority is soon seen to be more limited, less absolute. And while it is regarded as merely naughty not to like your teacher, it is downright wicked not to love your "mummy." You must be prepared, therefore, for a very qualified acceptance of your authority; sometimes, indeed, there will be open defiance. This does not usually mean that the child rejects you as parent-surrogate, for curiously enough the defiance may spring directly from the child's identification of you with his mother. But neither does it mean that the child defies his mother all the time—or even at all. The child may simply be taking out on you rebellious impulses that were held in check at home by his greater affection for his mother or by social pressures. As a parent-substitute you will often inherit mostly the less lovely of the child's reactions to parental authority.

The Teacher's Personality as a Source of Authority. Personality differences also enter in. The child's tendency to identify the teacher with the parent-as-authority will depend very greatly upon the teacher's resemblance in relevant ways to the parent. Sometimes, the likeness or difference which thus affects the transfer from parent to teacher is a bit surprising. "I do not like you, Dr. Fell, the reason why I cannot tell," is true of children as it is of adults. Our attitudes are strongly affected by so-called minimal cues—little things in the

total situation to which we do not give specific attention. Thus, a little trick of expression or an unimportant mannerism serves to increase or to decrease sharply the natural tendency to identify teacher and parent, or to give it a special turn or twist.

The way in which the teacher's personal qualities minister to the child's particular needs also greatly influences the child's tendency to accept or reject the teacher's authority. The self-confident teacher who succeeds in imparting some of that quality to the insecure child greatly enhances her authority thereby. Even one's defects sometimes become a sort of asset, as when the somewhat gawky teacher establishes a particularly effective relationship with the child suffering from the same malady. (Of course others may be alienated by her gawkiness; I am not suggesting that the teacher should give in to her defects, let alone glory in them.) Any teacher can intentionally alter the manifestations of her personality, can therefore by taking thought greatly affect the basis of her leadership, especially since the needed changes are often quite superficial or in some minor trait.

There are thus many and fascinating variations in the child's reaction to the teacher, but the basic relation is a continuation and development of that originally established between child and parent. The authority of the teacher, her ability to exercise leadership, rests first of all upon *her role as a mother-surrogate.*

Authority and Authoritativeness

We must sharply distinguish between *being* the person in authority and *acting* in an authoritative manner. *Authoritativeness is an attempt to bolster up authority by demands that it be "recognized" and by the exercise of repressive constraints or compulsions.* Instead of evoking willing compliance, it compels obedience by punishment or the threat of punishment. Authoritativeness, so far from being the same as authority, is a sign of the breakdown of authority, a sign that the teacher or other adult does not have sufficient personal or positional authority and must resort to other means to control the child's behavior. Authority is a relationship between the leader and the led, not an act of the leader. *Real authority does not need to be asserted; it is accepted, and it works.* It does not require, and is not benefited by, bossiness or authoritative behavior.

Yet our whole culture is so shot through with authoritativeness that it is difficult for those of us who are in authority over children to keep clear the distinction. Moreover, authority is so pleasing to

our own egos that when we find it limited, we are tempted to bolster it, as we think, by demanding obedience. (In the armed services, authoritativeness is known as "throwing one's rank about"; even there it doesn't work.)

Because, however, they have too often been brought up in an authoritative atmosphere, children at first may fail to recognize true authority, unless done up in the trappings of an authoritative and domineering manner. When they meet—perhaps for the first time—a teacher whose manner is less strident, they frequently fail to recognize her genuine authority.

At this point, too many of us go wrong. Democratic authority having "failed," we regress at once to authoritativeness. "I tried leading him, but he just doesn't understand anything but coercion—." A true statement but the wrong conclusion! We need to give children time in which to recognize true authority. And not merely time but guidance and even instruction.

The Teacher's Role in Changing Reactions to Authority

The child's reactions to the teacher's authority are formed, as we have seen, long before he comes to school. But, despite the so-called "Law of Primacy," they are not ineffaceably fixed and changeless. Indeed the *child's attitude to authority undergoes some degree of change whenever he responds to it*—the direction of change depending, of course, upon the kind of authority-situation involved. It thus lies in your hands to alter the child's reactions to authority in very fruitful ways.

Impersonalizing of Authority. Even in the best of homes, perhaps especially in good homes, "authority" is likely to be too personal, too wrapped up with the ties of affection. Most authority is centered about the beloved mother (or occasionally the father). This is wholly natural, as we have seen. Yet it represents a phase in development which must be overcome. A young friend of mine has lost position after position because he simply cannot work for a man whom he does not look upon as a sort of father. He gets stubborn and mulish, resistant to even the most reasonable of suggestions. It is a terrible handicap in adult life to be able to recognize authority only in persons one can love.[15]

All of us must learn, then, that authority need not be identified with a beloved parent-image. Other persons, less beloved, may come

[15] See Strecker, *Their mother's sons* (263) for a vivid but sometimes exaggerated account of various kinds of mother-domination and the outcomes in immature behavior.

to be in authority over us. The authority of the social group also must be recognized—this, indeed, is one of the most important lessons of the school years, and teachers must not resent it when more and more what "the gang says" is accepted as authority.[16]

Eventually we must all learn the value of *impersonal* authority. The sinister effects of purely personal authority are all too easily seen in those great nations where dynamic personality hypnotized the people into the acceptance of puerile and dangerous ideas and ideals. If dictatorship is to come to America also, it will come because we have not learned to go beyond the kind of authority that is exercised by the beloved human personality, have not learned to act instead under the authority of facts and things, of reason and critical reflective thinking.[17]

It is thus pure gain, ironical as it may sound, that in general the teacher is not loved as much as the parent. When the child finds authority outside the family circle and outside the circle of strong personal affection, he has taken an important step toward socializing and generalizing his attitudes. Naturally this step should not, cannot, be taken too fast or be too large. The teacher as authority is still chiefly a substitute for the beloved parent. We do not suggest, therefore, that in the interests of depersonalizing her authority, the teacher make herself hateful to her little charges! On the contrary a great deal of affection must pervade the new relation if the transference from home ties is to be effected.

But the loss, if not the danger, of basing authority *primarily* upon an appeal to affection must be squarely faced. There is a kind of child who is, we are told, "very easily managed—no disciplinary problem at all. All he needs is kindness." Of course that is not *all* he needs. Such an affectionate and affection-demanding child requires very careful handling, if he is to develop a more mature differentia-

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[16] What happens is that while parents and teachers remain authorities in some things, the group of one's "peers" takes over authority in other matters. Political ideas and most ethical ideals (but not all!) come from elders, along with geography and arithmetic; dress and speech are chiefly referred to the authority of one's peers. Just why the difference is not clear; perhaps the peer group takes over authority as fast as its concrete experience permits. Authority, we remember, is a correlate of superior, or at least of acceptable, *ability and knowledge.*

[17] Newland (212) seems to be making much the same point when he defines our goal as "respect not for authority [but for] what makes authority respectable." It is a mistake, however, to speak as he does, as if authority were always a person. Fairchild (83) has better stated the relation, though he was speaking of older students: "He needs a sense of loyalty and reverence toward a world of impersonal truth, and he will therefore benefit from contact with scholars, in whom this loyalty and reverence are particularly deep, austere and compelling."

tion between affection and submission. Excessive identification with another person means a failure to develop one's own self.

The Teacher's Own Needs. Here, as is so often the case, there is danger that the teacher will react according to her own needs, not the child's. Most teachers in the elementary grades have chosen their work because they love children, and such love craves return. The teacher needs the occasional reward of a child's affection to sustain her in the often ungrateful routine of her work. It would be churlish indeed to deny her this satisfaction, and, fortunately, it is unnecessary. I am not arguing for the complete abandonment of affection. On the contrary I have been insisting that, in or out of school, love is an essential basis of human relationship. Yet parent and teacher alike must face the fact that, important as it is, affection is not enough. It cannot be the sole basis of the child's social relations. When it is too strong, affection can easily be too absorbing, too inhibiting of other reactions. This is particularly true of the affection which is fixed upon the mother or the mother-surrogate.

As teachers, therefore, you must learn to find your own satisfactions not primarily in the child's affectionate response to your fostering care but in the evidence that he or she is growing toward a happy adult personality. Like the parent of an adolescent, you must learn to find satisfaction not in the child's growing love and attachment to you but in his independence and his growing away from you. All children need some impersonalizing of authority; none needs it so much as the "good" child who is so often described as "no problem at all."

Loveless Authority. If there are some homes in which authority is yoked too closely with affection, there are also those which divorce authority from love. The varieties are many, the ramifications in the child's development equally various. Many parents, though they love their children deeply, do not know how to show their love. Some, though otherwise loving and tender, believe that in their "discipline" they must be severe and thus seemingly unloving. Many parents believe that the best way of punishing a child is to withdraw all signs of affection from him when he does not conform to orders. ("Mummy won't love you if you do that.") Perhaps worst of all are those who seem to make the continuance of love contingent upon achievement and thus fill the child with a wordless anxiety lest he fail to live up to unstated and vaguely defined standards.

In an astonishing number of cases studied in our psychological clinics, the child is found to believe that his parents are sending him

to school to get rid of him. (One three-year-old defined nursery school as "where your mama sends you so you won't be in the road.") This he interprets, reasonably enough, as desertion and the withdrawal of love. No wonder if he sits silent, withdrawn, hating teacher and school and all that goes with it. Of course he usually is mistaken about his parents' motivation, though there is often more than a small element of truth in it; and to an extent which most laymen will not credit, there are parents who really do not love their children and make such poor pretense that the child easily sees through it.

In all such cases the child's normal, wholesome identification of himself with authority is thus made difficult or impossible. He cannot find self-realization in compliance or conformity, only in rebellion. Even when the parental authority is recognized as just and fair and wise, it seems harsh and unlovely and limiting to his independence. Some resistance to authority is, as was pointed out earlier, natural and helpful in the process of growing up. But the child is to be pitied who feels that, if he is not to surrender some part of his own independence, he must always resist.

The teacher's role in such a case should be obvious. She should take special pains to make the child feel the warmth of her acceptance of him. As far as possible, commands and requests should be accompanied by recognizable signs of approval, as when the teacher says to a boy: "I am asking you to do this because I know I can depend on you." Seeking the child's active participation in decisions and welcoming his initiative and assumption of responsibility are here particularly necessary.[18] And there should be special care taken that any necessary reprimand or reproval—even when it is merely mild criticism of academic work—be accompanied by evidence of the teacher's continued friendly acceptance of the child.

This is not an easy program, for here is the sort of child who is called a "rebel"—if not more unpleasant names. The other pupils are on the watch to see how you deal with him. They expect you to "show your authority," to reject the rebel and punish him. Parents, alas, and school administrators all too often take the same attitude.

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[18] Did you agree without question when you read that the teacher should welcome the child's initiative and assumption of responsibility? "Why, yes," you may say, "these, surely, are good techniques in all cases." But suppose we had spoken of a child's attempts "to run the show." That, of course, is different. Or is it? Might not exactly the same behavior be characterized as assumption of responsibility or as trying to run the show? It is very hard, you see, to *describe* conduct without adding a little moral evaluation. And such evaluation may completely alter one's attitude toward the child. It is for this reason that in Chapter 2 such stress was laid on *objective and factual statement* in observing children.

Finally, here again the teacher's own motives come in. It is not easy to "accept" the child who defies you, flouts your authority, weakens your position with the other children, and, in general, disrupts the whole class. If, in the previous section, I seemed to urge too strongly that teachers must learn to keep their love for children under control, I now make full amends. Here is your chance to prove that you *really* love children and that your love has real strength rather than mere sentimental intensity. Anyone can love a sweet child who obviously desires affection and shows affection in return. Most people can love a child who is patently starved for a little kindness. It takes doing, however, to continue steadfastly to love and accept the child who rejects and defies you and cannot at first believe that you do not reject him. Patience, tact, imagination, and again patience are the signs of such a real concern for the healthier development of this rebel.

A word also must be said about the teacher who unwittingly feels a strong need for strict obedience and compliance with her will. Such a teacher not only risks resentment; she risks also a real distortion of the children's personality development. The teacher, of course, rationalizes her demands on the grounds that they are for the good of the school or of the children. The children are seldom able to examine this rationalization critically, though more often than the teacher thinks the pupils are apt to sense that the argument is "phony."

In general, however, and in proportion as the teacher is an "effective disciplinarian," she is able not only to compel outward obedience and subservience but an uncritical acceptance of her values and ideology. Now even when the values are sound, this is dangerous business. As authority figures we cannot avoid imparting something of our own feeling and attitude toward life to the children entrusted to us. When, however, we find ourselves too greatly enjoying the role, then it is time for us to look out.

Authority and the Feeling of Guilt. Hedged in by innumerable restrictions—as, perhaps, he must be and, at any rate, certainly is—the child inevitably finds himself violating parental injunctions. Equally inevitably, he is made to feel how shameful it is to have thus fallen short of "proper" or "good" behavior, how sorry he should be to have thus grieved his beloved parents. A little later he finds himself violating the code of the school and of the larger social group and violating the precepts of religion; and for this also he is asked to repent. Onto the child's growing sense of selfhood is thus grafted a feeling of inadequacy and of guilt.

Various cultures have found different ways of ridding themselves of the discomfort of these feelings of guilt. In the classic Greek tragedies, the hero always was punished for his violation of moral law but he was represented as feeling no remorse because he was driven to his deeds by inexorable fate. And the spectators, viewing the tragic hero suffering but guiltless, went away relieved of their sense of guilt for their own lesser offenses and encouraged to endure their own lesser sufferings. (This is what Aristotle meant by the drama as "catharsis.")

The ancient Hebrews had a magical ceremony in which they put all the sins of the people upon a "scapegoat" which was then driven forth into the wilderness to suffer and die; thus the people were freed from past sin. And in other cultures there are similar expiatory rites and ceremonies to take away not only guilt but the sense of guilt.

The Western world has a very mixed attitude toward the sense of guilt. This is shown in religion. Both the Christian and the Jewish faiths declare the need for repentence, which is usually taken to mean a deep awareness of one's own failures and unworthiness. In some circles a groveling admission of depravity is required as a prelude to admission into the "fellowship of the saints." On the other hand, the doctrine of the atonement is clearly intended to *relieve* the believer of his sense of guilt and remorse. We can't seem quite to make up our minds whether guilt feelings are good or bad.

The same ambiguity infects our treatment of criminals and delinquents. They must feel guilty, must repent, and be deeply remorseful, yet they must also become self-respecting. And it is greatly to be feared that in this circumstance as in many others, we regard children as merely one species of young delinquent.

There are many reasons for our divided mind in respect to guilt feelings. For one thing, feeling our own guilt, we find a satisfaction in having others reveal theirs. Then, too, when a child has thwarted us or hurt our feelings, it is very satisfying to receive his expressions of regret. Moreover, the suppliant child is an appealing figure who brings out our tenderness and allows us to luxuriate in the experience of comforting him.

Equally important, probably, is our belief that a sense of guilt helps to prevent future wrongdoing. There is clinical evidence, however, that the contrary may be the case. Children are sometimes driven to repeated offenses by the very realization of their guilt, whereas when they find themselves "accepted"—in full knowledge of their misconduct—the compulsion to continue to offend is wiped out. As a means to "reformation" a sense of guilt is obviously a two-edged weapon which may cut the wrong way. Nor does it need any

argument that a persistent sense of guilt breeds insecurity and anxiety and is thus unfavorable to the development of a strong and healthy personality.

The task of the teacher when a child is found with an anxious or "guilty" sense of his responsibility to authority is a delicate one. Retaliatory punishment, which is always bad, is particularly so in these cases; and so is any suggestion that the teacher is hurt and disappointed in the child's behavior. Even self-criticism, otherwise so valuable, will often lead the child to self-recrimination and anxiety. As much as any other—perhaps more—such a child needs for a time the security that comes from a strong guiding hand. But his offenses against authority must somehow be "accepted" without being condoned—or rather, the *child* must continue to be accepted and to feel accepted, while the *offenses* are not. On the constructive side, we should help the child to replace his preoccupation with wrongdoing with a realization of how many fascinating and satisfying activities are open to him.

There are innumerable other varieties in the home pattern of authority.[19] There is the home where undeviating submission is so drastically exacted that the child is either cowed or only inwardly resistant. There is the home where excessive resistance is tolerated, even encouraged, where impertinence and insolence are mistaken for strength. There are homes where authority is infirm and weak, to be wheedled, cajoled, or circumvented. There is the home where the rule is "Find out what Frankie is doing and make him stop." In most homes, perhaps, authority seems to the child somewhat arbitrary and capricious; and there are many homes where parents evidently believe that a peculiar virtue lies in the attitude expressed by the harsh reply: "It's none of your business why! You mind because I tell you to." Such homes are the breeding place of fascism with its emphasis upon complete subordination of the individual to authority. Democracy will always be unstable and inadequate until we introduce more democracy into the home—and into the school.

To help correct these and countless other false conceptions of authority requires highly individualized treatment of each child. And note that I say *treatment* rather than sermonizing. For the child's concept of authority rests squarely upon personal *experience* and can be changed very little except by further experience. Thus Charles needs to feel warm affection coupled with firm control over his con-

[19] Some of these patterns have recently been studied and their effects assayed by Champney (54, 55), Radke (228), and Baldwin *et al.* (17).

duct. Henry needs to learn that he cannot wheedle you into changing your mind. Janet needs to have reasons carefully set forth.

Even those needs that are common to nearly all children must be met by means adjusted to the individual. Thus a universal need in our society is to find security in authority, yet also to become independent. A judicious and individually adjusted blend of adult guidance, on the one hand, and opportunities for personal initiative, on the other, is required to meet this need. Every child needs to find in the teacher a worthy source of authority because she can actually help him; but the help each child requires varies. All children need to see the teacher acting consistently; yet while being consistent she must act with due regard to the differing personality of each child.

It is a tall order, certainly, when you have to teach thirty or forty children. Let us review what you have to do. First, you have to modify the reactions of those who are either too submissive or too resistive to authority, encouraging independence in the first, teaching the value of reasonable compliance to the second group. Then, *to each according to his need,* you must try to give an improved conception of what authority is: consistent, gentle, firm, reasonable, and helpful. You must finally lead the children little by little to the acceptance of new forms of authority: the authority of the group and of society rather than of the beloved parent alone, and the authority of things, of facts, of justice, and reason.

It may well seem an impossible task. Yet very gratifying progress can be made if you really face this problem as one of your major responsibilities. You may well do so; for the development of a balanced reaction to authority is a major part in the growth of character.

Authority and Democracy

In a text on the psychology of the child, it is natural to approach the issue as we have done in terms of the child's inevitable recognition of authority, and to stress the teacher's role in constructively altering the nature of the child's image of authority. A complementary and highly important approach would be to study the techniques which are designed to develop in children vigorous democratic attitudes and skills in the light of their own reactions to authority and the authority attitudes of adult society.

Our culture is peculiarly ambivalent about authority. The Founding Fathers rejected the authority of the British Crown, and the most vocal of them believed that political authority of all sorts was an evil to be kept at a minimum. (Hence, the famous system of checks and

balances in our Constitution.) But the family life of the period was sternly authoritative and was defended as such. The same duality characterized pioneer life: individualism often rampant, but a sternly authoritative family life and religion.

Later, as Gorer (102) points out, came wave after wave of immigrants—men who abandoned, if they did not reject, the authority of the homeland. And their children in the effort to become "good Americans" were compelled to reject the "authority" of the father with his old-country speech and ideas. They thus reinforced one strand in the complex ideology of American culture. To be independent, to become weaned from the home, to resist all adult authority, is preeminently the pattern of American adolescence. "Rugged individualism" in adult life is more than a catchphrase; it is a part of the American dream.

But it is only a part! We not only act authoritatively, we defend authoritarianism with a good deal of emotional fervor. As was pointed out earlier, *discipline* is still a magic word in home, school, and factory. Progressive education with its appeal (among other things) for less authoritativeness is still acceptable to only a minority, even among educators. But the prevailing ideology tends to ignore these facts and stress resistance to authority.

This head-in-the-sand attitude is unfortunate. We need to take a good look at the problem of authority. For it is clear that the persistence of authority reactions creates a special problem for a democratic society. Under autocracy all one has to do is to find out who is in authority and obey; in a democracy each of us must learn how to fuse his own authority with that of others in cooperative enterprise. We have made great progress in this country toward political democracy, but we have much to learn about democracy as a way of living that permeates all human relations. Progress will continue to be slow unless we clearly recognize how "unnatural" democracy is.

For, as we have seen, each and every human being starts life under the benevolent autocracy of his parents. For years his immaturity inevitably imposes upon infant and child the more-or-less willing acceptance of authoritarian guidance and control. Moreover, as Lewin points out (165), these habits of submission to autocracy can be—and are—reinforced by the exercise of compulsion, whereas habits of democratic cooperation cannot in their very nature be imposed. In a very real sense, each individual must achieve his own freedom. The development of a democratic society thus faces peculiar, though not unsurmountable, difficulties.

It has become fashionable to see in the autocratic family pattern of fascist countries, particularly Germany and Japan, the seeds of their political autocracy.[20] One certainly does not wish to challenge that position. The family pattern in Germany has indeed for generations been extremely authoritative, and the fruit of that fact was the failure of the attempt at democracy as embodied in the Weimar Republic and the subsequent enthusiastic adoption of nazism. Apparently a move toward greater democracy in Japan died aborning at about the same time. Authoritativeness in the home and school *is* the seedbed of authoritarianism in the state.[21]

But how different is it with our own country? American children are certainly free to come and go as in no other Western nation, and the area of noninterference by the parents is undoubtedly large. We have, probably, fewer restrictive rules for children than any other country. But the *manner* of our control, when it *is* exercised, tends to be authoritative and to be defended on authoritarian principles (288). Moreover, most parents seem to believe that their discipline is too lax. Thus in Gardner's study (93) 25 percent of the fathers blamed themselves for "weak" discipline, while only 3 percent felt that they were too stern.

When pupils come to school they are likely to find little change—unless it be toward more authoritative control. School readers bombard the child with stories which emphasize the values of conformity and obedience. (See the analysis of the third-grade readers by Child, Potter, and Levine, 59.) Thus by the time they reach adolescence, far too many have settled down into a comfortable acceptance of benevolently authoritative leadership.

> A typical finding in one study [writes Lippitt (175)] was that 70% to 80% of the actual social interaction of the leaders being studied with their groups fell into classifications of "ordering," "pressuring," and so forth. Observation of the groups under their leadership indicated a satisfied, dependently apathetic followership. Such patterns of human relationship can hardly be expected to serve as the backbone for the democracy many of us have talked about so hopefully.

We seem, then, to be caught in a vicious circle. Helplessly subservient in infancy, we grow up accepting authoritativeness and pre-

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[20] See, for example, *Father land—a study of authoritarianism in the German family* (239) and *The chrysanthemum and sword* (28).

[21] The situation in Russia is apparently more complex; certainly we know less about it. For a time the Bolsheviks encouraged an almost *anarchic* family pattern, and they talked of "free" schools. They quickly retracted. But we know that the older Russian culture was a peasant culture; even among the upper classes it was patriarchal, autocratic. One suspects that it has not greatly changed under the new dictatorship.

pared in turn to impose it on children or other "inferiors." Society reinforces the tendency to dependence and compliance and in innumerable ways long after childhood and adolescence have passed.

> Industry in our civilization [says a distinguished industrial consultant (182)] is organized along authoritative lines. In a fundamental and pervasive sense, the subordinate is dependent upon his superior for his job, for the continuity of his employment, for promotion with its accompanying satisfactions in the form of increased pay, responsibility and prestige, and for a host of other personal and social satisfactions to be obtained in the work situation.

Labor organizations, it is true, represent an attempt to reduce this dependence of the worker upon management. In this attempt, however, they challenge not only the desire of management to be "free from outside interference" but certain deeply rooted attitudes of the workers themselves. "Fair treatment" rather than independence seems to be the goal of a large proportion of industrial workers. Now "fair treatment," psychologically, means a relationship in which compliance with orders from those in authority brings rewards and approval. It is, in short, a yearning for a continuance of that linkage between compliance and "affection" which characterizes the early years of our species. Labor-union policies designed to secure *independence* thus meet resistance from many of the very persons the policies are intended to benefit. Intuitively recognizing this situation, union leadership sometimes seeks to substitute dependence upon the union for dependence upon management—psychologically not much of a change! The development of independence and cooperation is evidently a peculiarly difficult problem within the structure of industrial society.

> Without using the term, we have been implying that our problem is the persistence of "infantile" reactions—in this case of infantile authority-dependence-affection-hostility reactions. Perhaps, then we ought to add explicitly that infantile responses are not, as much popular psychoanalysis implies, inherently "bad" when carried over into adult life. Breathing, for example, is clearly an infantile reaction, but we haven't developed any better way of behaving in order to oxygenate our blood. Infantile reactions to authority are to be deprecated only when we know that it is possible for people to modify them for the better—in which event we call these other responses more mature.

We are beginning to get concrete evidence, moreover, as to the unfortunate effects of too much authoritarianism in the family. Watson (291) questioned a group of graduate students about their home background. Those who reported a repressive atmosphere in child-

hood were found to have many more problems of adjustment. McKinney (183) found that students whose replies on a psychoneurotic inventory indicated some maladjustment more frequently came from dominating homes. Anderson (11) found that junior-high pupils who described the authority of their parents as nagging, overcritical, and punitive were not well liked by their classmates who found them quarrelsome and nervous. The maladjusted adults studied by Willoughby (306) came predominantly from "old-fashioned" homes wherein the children were severely treated. Ayer and Bernreuter (15) found that children subjected to severe punishment were less attractive, less able to face reality, more dependent upon adult affection. And Lewis (170) found that elementary-school pupils with desirable personality traits were more likely to come from homes with a "liberal" attitude toward child care and training. Two investigations dealing with persistence may be added: Wolf (309) and Morgan and Banker (198) both found that persistence in the face of difficulty in children is correlated with "moderate" home discipline.

More important are the careful studies of Champney (55) and of Baldwin, Kalhorn, and Breeze (17) at the Fels Institute. Here the development of children coming from different, carefully evaluated homes was followed through a period of years. Both the intellectual and the personality and social development were better in the homes where democratic freedom prevailed.

Finally we may add the evidence of the solid research reported in *The authoritarian personality* (2). The authors have studied with great care two groups of young adults: those who display greater and less prejudice than is common. They find striking differences in the entire personality. With high degree of consistency, prejudiced persons were brought up in authoritarian homes and have themselves developed a rather rigid authoritarian attitude in personal relations and in political, economic, and social affairs. They conclude:

> [An] authoritarian, exploitive parent-child relationship is apt to carry over into a power-oriented, exploitively dependent attitude towards one's sex partner and one's God and may well culminate in a political philosophy and social outlook which has no room for anything but a desperate clinging to what appears to be strong and a disdainful rejection of whatever is relegated to the bottom. Conventionality, rigidity, repressive denial and the ensuing break-through of one's weakness, fear and dependency are but other aspects of the same fundamental personality pattern (p. 971).

The crucial role of the teacher in the face of such facts should be apparent. The basic structure of the home is authoritarian—inevitably and wholly so in infancy and largely so in the later years of child-

hood. It is peculiarly difficult later for parents to divest themselves of these habits of affectionate control of the child's behavior which were formed at an earlier period.

The teacher, however, has a chance to start afresh without such specific habit-patterns clustering about the individual child. She has not formed the habit of pandering affectionately to "Billy Boy's" helplessness, of severely regimenting Mabel's obstreperousness. And the child also, despite the tendency to transfer his response to authority from parent to teacher, soon learns that he has a new personality to deal with, a new embodiment of authority. The stage is thus set in the school for a revision of his old habit patterns, for moving away from subservience toward intelligent, cooperative self-regulation.

But what happens? The rigidly ordered, teacher-directed behavior of the traditional school offers little scope for the development in the children of democratic followership, still less of democratic leadership. All too easily the teacher adjusts to and continues the old non-democratic patterns the child had acquired in the home.

The freer procedures of the progressive education movement, on the other hand, at least *open the way* to pupil growth in the area of authority and the correlated area of cooperation (though it must be insisted that "progressive" precedures are of little use when the teacher actually continues in the autocratic spirit). Studies by Lippitt (173, 174) and Bavelas (24, 25) at the level of adolescence, and by Anderson (6) at the level of childhood take the next step of studying specific techniques to be used by "teachers" or leaders. Interesting sidelights have also come from the effort in a few great industries to train foremen as democratic authorities. A psychology of democratic leadership—which is the same thing as democratic teaching—is clearly in the making. Pending its further development and organization, however, much can be done by any teacher who will have as a goal the use of her authority to develop in the child independence and cooperativeness.

The Uses of Authority. Note that I conjoin the terms *authority* and *cooperation, democracy* and *authority*. This is intentional, for both are essential. In some quarters, however, there has been in recent years a tendency to disparage authority, and especially to deprecate the deliberate use of authority by the teacher. In part this is due to the confusion between authority and authoritativeness of which we spoke earlier; in part it is due to abuses of authority. There is no question that real dangers and difficulties are here.

None the less, the solution does not lie in surrender of authority.

In the first place, we cannot. Children crave and naturally seek authority. There is point to the kindergartner's plaintive query: "Do we *have* to do what we want to do again today?" As John Dewey (70) says: "Docility, desire for direction, love for protective control are stronger . . . traits of human nature than is insubordination." So long as we adults are actually superior, so long *must* we be authority to children. Authority exists as a fact in our relation to them. And the existence of authority adds a needed element to the stability and security of the child's world.[22] Authority enables the teacher to exercise direct control over her pupils without constraint and conflict and, by means of such control, to help children work together cooperatively rather than competitively. It is not when the teacher's authority is strong but when it is weak that guidance and control of pupil activities must constantly depend on force and punishment, with results we shall presently seek to examine.

Authority and the Mores. Authority is important, moreover, not only in the control of conduct but in the transmission of ideas and ideals, the whole complex of traditional ways which make up our customs and mores. Authority gives enormous prestige to the suggestions of the teacher—including the "suggestions" that are carried by her own behavior as well as those she makes in so many words. Far more than we commonly realize our notions of what is good and bad, right and wrong, proper and improper are unwittingly absorbed early in life from those in authority.

Thus, studies of race or minority-group relations show that seldom is the *origin* of prejudice to be found in any kind of unpleasant experience with the minority group. Almost invariably members of the majority group learn their prejudice from their elders—sometimes it is from those only slightly older, but these, too, are listened to with the respect which is given to authority. They are told that the minority race has certain "bad" characteristics. Once this idea has been absorbed, examples in actual experience are easily found to "prove" the "truth." [23]

In the above example what is learned from authority happens to be false—as is often the case. But the process is not different with our moral codes, our manners and customs, our tastes and the whole of our outlook on life, good and bad. Much of all this is fairly firmly

[22] Mowrer (201) is making much the same point when he holds that "discipline" (by which he means what we have called authority) is necessary for mental health.

[23] Most texts in social psychology have full discussions and citations of investigations. Of the latter, one of the best is Horowitz (120). A sensitive account of the way prejudice is inculcated indirectly by elders is given by Owens in "After I moved in" (220).

learned before the child comes to school—learned the easy way by casual acceptance of that which is obviously the pattern of thought and action in the family circle. A vast deal more is being acquired during the all-important years between six and twelve. There simply isn't time enough for the child to have all the necessary direct experiences, to examine them critically, and to generalize from them. Whether we like it or not—and there are obvious dangers—*the child inevitably takes over from authority the greater bulk of his ideology.* It is not too much to say that the whole tissue of culture, which more than anything else distinguishes human societies from those of the brutes, could hardly be transmitted from generation to generation were it not for the facilitating effect of authority.

Valuable, indeed inevitable, as authority is thus seen to be, the dangers of its abuse remain. There is consequently a tremendous challenge to the teacher to be fair in her use of authority, to choose wisely the things she says and no less the things she does—for always she is investing these with some of the prestige of her authority. But even more important is her responsibility, of which we spoke earlier, to help the child develop more mature attitudes toward authority. Specifically, the teacher may use her authority to encourage a thoughtful and critical challenge to authority and the critical examination of authoritative and traditional ideas in the light of facts. Society in general and most parents will give the teacher little support here; for the most part she must carry the banner of a rational skepticism alone. It is fortunate then that in such matters the children tend to look up to her as their chief authority.

► Summary

Nearly everyone agrees that "good discipline" is important, but the concrete problems that arise in this area are better understood if we think of the teacher not as a disciplinarian but as a leader. The teacher's ability to lead depends most of all upon the children's reaction to her authority.

Authority has its origin in the universal experiences of the human infant which lead him to react to adult superiority with a complex of interwoven attitudes: (1) *dependence and compliance,* (2) *resistance,* (3) *love,* (4) *hatred.* The pattern which these attitudes form toward different adults and in different situations constitutes the child's reaction to authority. The authority pattern is first formed

in the home and is transferred almost intact to the school, where it determines the way in which the child accepts the teacher's leadership.

The parent's or teacher's authority must be carefully distinguished from authoritativeness: authority is a *relation* which exists; authoritativeness is a way of acting which tries—usually without avail—to bolster up the authority which is felt to be inadequate.

The teacher has an immensely important responsibility in helping children to attain mature and socially acceptable relations to authority.

Exercises

1. Ask ten friends to write down in about five lines or less what discipline means to them. Summarize the results.
2. Describe the next three cases you observe of parental control of children in some public place: bus, store, street, etc. Make the observation as detailed as you can. What additional facts do you find yourself wanting?
3. What are some of the concrete difficulties a child runs into when he is controlled exclusively in terms of a loving relation between him and "authority" (parent or teacher)? Be specific and illustrate.
4. On page 87 the statement is made that there are "innumerable" varieties in the home pattern of authority. Several are then very briefly characterized. Add at least four more to the list.
5. Look up the analysis of third-grade readers by Child, Potter, and Levine (59) and report on their findings to your class. Or, use their technique and analyze three or four stories in a fourth- or fifth-grade book.
6. Read carefully the directions for rating a home given on page 492. Rate a home well known to you—your own will do very well.

4 Authority in Conflict Situations

What should you do when a child resists your authority? Resort to punishment? Most of us do. When to punish, and how, are hence important questions. In this chapter they are subjected to careful psychological analysis.

But punishment is never the whole answer. We do not want children to be merely "disciplined"; we want them to grow up to be "self-disciplined." The relationship between discipline and self-discipline is made clear.

► Sources of Conflict

It is an interesting paradox that we are more likely to be aware of the teacher's role when she is keeping children from doing something than when she is exerting positive leadership. Yet the reason for this is not hard to find. When the teacher succeeds in arousing a positive motive in a child, the action taken becomes the child's own. When the teacher must restrain the child, it is only too nakedly apparent that the teacher's purposes dominate, not the child's. That the teacher is acting for the child's good may not be believed—or, if believed, appreciated.

Most children are ready, are even too ready for their most constructive development, to comply with a teacher's directions most of the time. Yet there is always a limit. The satisfaction of compliance, which is real, cannot indefinitely or too long outweigh the frustration of being interfered with. "Hyper-organization and compulsive neatness (and order)—hamper all normal pleasure for everyday group interplay—and undermine the morale of an otherwise quite willing group" (231). Teacher constraint, therefore, is extremely likely to generate some degree of antagonism and conflict.

It is hardly a new idea that too much control evokes rebellion. As early as 1905, Theodate L. Smith studied 113 "obedient children" and pointed to the ill effects of too much discipline (253). Perhaps,

however, we need the celebrated experiment in group leadership by Lewin, Lippitt, and White (168) to show how easily we may exceed the boundaries of a "due amount of control." The experiment may be briefly described. Three groups of boys in a voluntary club were exposed in a carefully planned experimental sequence to three kinds of leadership. In one, the leader planned and laid out the projects, gave each boy his task, and supervised rather carefully the whole course of the work. While his manner was friendly and pleasant, the leadership was very directive and warranted the characterization given it of "autocratic." In the second type of "leadership," the group leader exercised no control at all. He gave a little help when requested and otherwise sat idly by, allowing the project to proceed without direction. This is the "laissez-faire" or "let-alone" policy. The third type of leadership was called democratic; cooperative is perhaps a better description. The leader here *participated with the children in planning the projects and in carrying them out.*

The major finding of this study should surprise no one, though apparently it has. Rigidly authoritative direction, even when benevolent, evokes not only some direct rebellion against the leader but also other and varied forms of "misbehavior": quarreling with and rudeness to one another, careless work and carelessness in the use of materials, slackness, lack of interest, general disorder. In short, *a great deal of what we call "naughtiness," misconduct, or "problem behavior,"* even though it bears no obvious kinship to rebellion or resistance, *is caused by too much adult control.* Control which the child finds excessive leads to just the sort of outbreaks that require more control, hence more rebellion, then more drastic control, and so on in a vicious circle.

It is necessary, however, to emphasize that it is the particular degree of control which the individual feels to be excessive *for him* that leads to those results. Winkler-Hermaden (307) many years ago found that most German children behaved best under rather authoritative direction, but a minority did better under more "liberal" conditions. It is a commonly neglected finding that there were similar individual differences among the Iowa children of Lewin's experiment just quoted, although fortunately the proportions were reversed; most of the American children reacted against "autocracy," but there were some who found that atmosphere congenial. In other words, the reaction to various kinds of authority depends upon the training and learning of the individual child. If, then, we set our

sights merely on maintaining proper order, we get conflict only when we exceed the children's limits of tolerance for compliance or submission. Where that lies depends on the several individuals' backgrounds and upon the resulting group atmosphere.

The group atmosphere, though compounded of individual attitudes, is likely to be the major determinant. Thus a child who by himself is readily compliant may become very resistive in a certain group. The problem must therefore be attacked in terms of group morale and group patterns of behavior. For the teacher's peace of mind it is fortunate that many problems, though they *rest upon individual differences,* can be *treated by group procedures* and in terms of an integration of the differences into a group pattern. Yet the truly successful teacher is one who is also constantly aware of the individual as such and seeks to guide group activity in such fashion as to meet to the maximum the individual needs. This interaction between the differing individual and the more-or-less unified group is nowhere more important than in the area of behavior here being considered.

Too little control, however—the laissez-faire leadership of this experiment—evoked much the same kind of misconduct as too much control. The alternative to authoritativeness is not the withdrawal of authority but the exercise of democratic leadership or democratic authority. This, clearly, is the chief significance of Lewin's investigation. Even for the short-run goal of avoiding conflict, then, we need authority but *authority* which seeks to integrate and harmonize the otherwise divergent purposes of the children, not to dominate them and impose its own.[1]

For the long run the case is even clearer. Genuine adult leadership, while not denying the child's limitations of maturity, is based upon genuine faith in his potentialities for growth. Dominance takes advantage of the child's weaknesses to secure subservience; democratic leadership seeks to release the child's strength and energy in constructive directions and to develop initiative and intelligent self-direction. Aware, moreover, that neither child nor adult lives to himself alone, democratic leadership seeks to secure for children more experience in acting cooperatively with their peers than they usually get.

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[1] Anderson's (7) investigations, though approached from a different angle, lead to essentially the same conclusions as Lewin's. Neither, however, emphasizes, though both imply, the critical part played by the child's acceptance or rejection of authority.

A large proportion of disciplinary conflicts are attributable to mistakes in leadership techniques.[2] Many also are due to the use of authority to impose on children essentially unnatural modes of activity—or, too often, of inactivity. Fixed seats, a carefully regulated timetable, long periods of "keeping quiet," undoubtedly play their part in building up toward revolt. Nor can we ignore the fact that many pupils come to school or to a particular room in school with very bad habits and attitudes of followership.

Finally, we may note that any kind of emotional tension may lead to the outbreak of revolt against a mode of teacher-control that otherwise would be acceptable. Indeed, since emotional distress is so important and so harmful in the child's life, we ought always to *suspect* its existence wherever we find disciplinary conflict—suspect it and look for it, find it and alleviate it. We must not think, however, to evade the problem of the adequacy of our own leadership techniques by ascribing every conflict to some "underlying tension" and letting it go at that. "Sympathetic understanding" of the child, which is certainly a good reason for not taking him to task, may too easily degenerate into an excuse for doing nothing. To know all may be to forgive all; but that does not mean folding your hands in pious resignation. The basic causes must be energetically sought out and attacked. This is, of course, the fundamental rule governing all teaching.

► The Emergency Treatment of Conflict

Only a perfect teacher in a far more perfect world than ours is going to be able to prevent the occurrence of disciplinary conflicts. What then is she to do *at the time?* One of the simplest, yet one of the rarest, things to do is just to give up the effort to control this particular bit of behavior, this specific situation. We may have had a perfectly good reason for wanting George to stop bothering Mabel; but we may also have decided it was not worth making an issue of. Like the Chinese, however, teachers are very apt to be afraid of "losing face"; authority is a wine which easily goes to the head. Once we have made our desires clear, it becomes a "matter of principle" to see to it that George does what we ask. Even those who prefer not to be in authority resent having their authority flouted or resisted—especially by one so obviously "inferior" as a mere child.

[2] Redl (231) has a helpful analysis.

Figure 8. Building up toward Revolt

Far too often, therefore, our almost instinctive reaction is to bear down on the child all the harder with some sort of disciplinary action.

That the ego-inflation of the teacher is the real object of much disciplinary action is clearly brought out in the long series of studies of attitudes toward children's behavior referred to in Chapter 3. High in the list of disapproved behaviors we always find "disobedience," "disrespect," and other ways of challenging the teacher's authority. The issue ceases to be whether or not the child's behavior is productive of development—his *development,* mind you!—and becomes one as to who is boss. More often than we dare openly admit, cases of "discipline" belong under the psychology of the teacher rather than of the child. Furthermore, we ought to know that we seldom deceive the children, though we may ourselves. "Shucks, Miss Shevline just wanted things her own way, that's all!"

Thus, the first thing to do in a conflict situation is to be sure that you are not taking action primarily to save your own dignity, your own ego. The rationalization that if you "let George get away with it this time, the children will lose respect for your authority," harbors a small truth but a big self-deception. There are many occasions when you should simply let the child win out in a conflict. Just how much "face" would you lose if you said: "George, I still think you are making more of a nuisance of yourself than is good sense. But if you can't see it that way, I suppose Mabel will have to put up with it or move her seat."

Coercion and Punishment

Sometimes we really do have to insist that certain things be done or not done. If the child does not comply, then we must use *coercion.* Coercion is compelling obedience by punishment or the threat of punishment. And by *punishment* we mean the deliberate infliction of dissatisfaction upon a person subject to one's authority as a penalty for some act or failure to act. These are just the ordinary dictionary meanings.

Is Punishment Ethically Justifiable? Punishment, as thus defined, has an ugly sound. For the more powerful or more powerfully placed person deliberately to hurt one less powerful is repugnant to our better instincts; [3] and whenever we find ourselves enjoying inflicting

[3] "But psychologists—really modern ones, anyway—don't believe in 'instincts'!" Astronomers don't believe that the sun comes up out of the East, either, but we still speak of sunrise. Since psychologists have quit using *instinct* technically, there is no good reason why everyone should not continue the perfectly good literary use of the word. Is there any doubt as to what one means by "better instincts"?

punishment, it is time to take ourselves in hand. Punishment not only sounds ugly, it is ugly. It can be ethically defended only when it can be shown that punishment really serves the child's interests.

Who is to decide that? Generally the parent or the teacher—a party to the dispute. Quite obviously, the ethics of the situation are against the indiscriminate use of punishment. It is a sort of court of last resort. Yet few of us are willing to dispense with punishment even in theory, let alone in practice. We say it is necessary.

Is Punishment Necessary? What does punishment accomplish? We say that it is sometimes necessary to teach a child what is right and what is wrong. We say it is necessary to keep order. And we say it is necessary to develop in the child a due and proper restraint of his own conduct, to develop self-discipline. These three, I think, pretty well cover all the reasons given for punishment—all the respectable ones, that is, for there are still "adults" who will openly punish a child to "show him who is running things around here." Let us consider the three in order.

Does Punishment Help Us Learn? We may begin by noting how very broad the notion of punishment is. There is, to begin with, a tremendous range of actions or situations which are called punishments. Corporal punishment, deprivation of "pleasures," scolding and reproof, failure to gain a sought-for goal, lack of success, pain as a "natural consequence" of failure, withdrawal of affection, social isolation, solitary confinement, extra work, and Heaven alone knows what else—all these are supposed to work as "punishments." There may be a common psychological factor running through all these varied things called punishment; it is doubtful to say the least.

> This may be the place to remind the reader that psychology is the study of *what a person does*. Now punishment is not something the child does; it is done *to* him. The psychology of punishment, therefore, begins when we ask what the child does in response to punishment. Does anyone really believe that there is any one kind of response that is made to all the varied kinds of things called punishment?

Faced with such variety of usage, experiment in the psychology of learning has tended to restrict the term punishment to mean "a negative motivating stimulus, e.g. electric shock" (289). This use ties down the term to more nearly manageable limits. The immense store of experimental data accumulated concerning negative motives has led to valuable insights into the nature of the learning processes; its contribution to the problem of punishment as normally con-

ceived in family and school is, however, much more limited—though here, too, there are useful implications.

Much of this experimental work has been done with animals. In the typical experiment, the punishment consists of an electric shock whenever the animal makes an "incorrect" response in a puzzle box or a maze. The "punishment" thus consists in a vigorous "signal" to the animal that he is on the wrong track. Rather strict parallels to such learning also occur in everyday human learning; in infants and young children they doubtless form a very large proportion of everything learned.

> In a crowded tenement district one hot summer evening a father sat on the curb smoking, while around him played a yelling mob of children. Ever and anon, a truck rumbled by or a taxi hurtled through the mean and rather narrow street. To the other children the man paid little heed, but whenever the youngest, a toddler of perhaps nineteen months came within a foot of the curb, the father reached out a grimy paw, turned the child over, and administered a resounding but not brutal smack upon the traditional place for smacks, then calmly resumed his smoking. Not a word was spoken, no emotion was displayed. He simply and methodically "punished" the child whenever he got too near the dangerous street. Presently one could see the child start toward the street, hesitate, and turn away. Once he even put his hands on his "spanker" before he turned back. Obviously the child was being "conditioned" as objectively as any rat in a puzzle box to regard the curb edge as a bad place to be. It is doubtful that either rat or infant in such cases is learning to regard his own behavior as wrong. It was the curb that was wrong; both organisms seem to be pretty object-minded or place-minded.

Learning in both mice and men under the influence of the experienced good or ill effects of their own behavior must then be accepted as a fact. But the relation is not simple. We cannot say that people automatically learn to avoid that action which leads to ill effects. Experiments such as Tuckman's (280) show that children may learn instead to persist in their errors, even though they suffer a distinct penalty every time they make one. In Estes's experiments (82) a rat punished when he faced a problem too difficult for him tended to develop a response that did not really solve the problem, and to persist in that response for hundreds of times, even though punished every single time; and this despite the fact that a learnable alternative was present. The punishment seemed to operate to prevent the rat from facing reality with an adaptive trial-and-error or problem-solving attitude. Everyday life is full of parallel examples.

A businessman facing failure may resort to alcohol, despite his recognition that he thereby incapacitates himself for solving his problem. A child finding himself rejected or unloved by his parents may resort to enuresis or exhibitionism despite the fact that even he can see how these behaviors only lead to more rejection.[4] Surely it is one of the saddest facts of human experience that men, like rats, often persist in errors, even though the errors clearly lead to ill effects.

Mowrer and Ullman (202) have recently shown experimentally with rats that the ill effects to be effective must be relatively immediate; and there are many data from school learning to the same effect. (Note in this connection how direct and immediate in the above example was the spank which followed getting too close to the curb.) We are probably justified in generalizing that the *ill effect of behavior deters a child from repeating it in proportion as the ill effect is, for the child, directly related to his behavior.*

A corollary to this principle is sometimes drawn to the effect that the "natural consequences" of misconduct are the most effective form of punishment. By this is apparently meant that the pain or discomfiture should flow from the child's own behavior without the intervention of the adult. Since, however, such "natural consequences" too seldom occur "naturally," the next step is to arrange things so that a penalty will fall upon the child without our "fine Italian hand" appearing in the situation. That is a neat trick if you can work it—which you seldom can. In any case, is it ethical? Do we seriously propose to cause the child to believe that he is hurting himself when actually we are responsible? Moreover, the very considerable ingenuity required might be much better spent in planning situations that will help the child to learn approved ways of acting rather than in devising traps that will catch him when he goes astray.

A more cogent corollary is that the punishment shall be consistent and inevitable. A firm bond between the misconduct and its punishment is thus more likely to be formed. But what a limitation this puts upon the real utility of punishment! Only the most Spartan teacher or parent can, regardless of all attending circumstances, visit upon *each* infraction its "appropriate" penalty.

It is clear that the requirement of a direct relationship between offense and penalty, workable under simplified laboratory conditions, is a difficult one to meet in the more complex conditions of home and school. If we state it negatively, its real value for practical application will be more apparent. *Punishment is not effective in*

[4] Clinical histories abound in examples of "persistent nonintegrative behavior" of this sort. Some authorities regard it as the essential factor in all neurosis.

deterring a child from future wrongdoing unless the penalty is directly related—for the child—*to the misconduct;* and this it seldom is. It is, of course, possible for human beings to remember that a particular behavior led to being punished and to decide, more or less consciously, to avoid the punished behavior. Possible, but how uncommon! Uncommon in adults, still more in children. Only in the relatively rare case where to avoid punishment *necessarily* requires that we "cease and desist" does punishment lead straight to "reform." A somewhat more positive way to put that is: *punishment helps the child to learn only when the effort to avoid punishment leads to a reward of some sort.*

Punishment as a Social Signal. Perhaps we ought not to neglect a related justification. Punishment, we are told, is a *cue* or guide to what is right, or more specifically, what is wrong. Murder, we imply, must be a very dreadful crime or it would not be punished so severely. Walking on the grass, by contrast, is a minor offense.[5] Punishment is thus roughly parallel to the signal *wrong* or to the electric shock of the laboratory experiment. It serves as a vivid link between the disapproved act and society's verdict upon it. One must certainly raise the question, however, whether a child in school or a man in society can be shown what is "right" or "wrong" *only* by such primitive means.

Sometimes, to be sure, the child almost literally asks for it. As Hilgard and Russell (116) put it:

> [He] "tests the authoritative adult by provocative behavior, to see how far he can go. If not punished (in order that the limits may be defined for him), his anxiety mounts as he does things which seem to him beyond the law. Prompt enforcement of the law may reduce his anxiety by clarifying the limits as to what is allowed. The alternative to punishing at this point is to understand what the child is trying to do. His behavior may represent rivalry with a classmate, or it may be a special bid for attention from the teacher. If the motives are understood, the tension may be reduced without punishment. The situation in which the need for punishment is great is an unusual one, and the teacher is unlikely to be able to detect these situations with sufficient confidence to justify a paddle in the cloakroom. (Quoted by permission of the National Society for the Study of Education.)

I believe the authors would agree to underlining the last sentence.

[5] Just why it is supposed to be so useful to inform a child that a certain act is only mildly wrong is a fascinating question in both ethics and psychology. If it is wrong at all, don't we want the child to avoid the act? One is forcibly reminded of Captain Marryat's excuse for the illegitimate child—it was such a little one! Are we trying to teach the child how to estimate just how much wrongdoing he can get away with without being too badly hurt—that is, punished?

It is true, however, that if the child accepts the authority of society, punishment may really help to deter from wrongdoing. But this use of punishment, while of some value as a sort of flaming social signal, fails to touch the really difficult cases: those who deny or challenge the authority of parents or of society. The school offender, the juvenile delinquent, the criminal—all may know full well that their conduct is condemned by the teacher, by society, by authority in general. Their reply is "So what?" Punishment, in such case, if it has any effect, seems designed to make them reject authority all the more.

For we must not forget that disciplinary punishment is an *interpersonal* phenomenon. The child of five who is slapped for being "impudent" certainly knows as little as the rat in a maze experiment *what* he is being punished for—indeed he knows less, for the rat can at least identify the locality where punishment is inflicted whereas the "locality" of impudence is a mystery to the five-year-old. Even so, the child is definitely aware that the adult authority in his world is deliberately cracking down on him.[6]

Emotional Effects. The interpersonal character of such "discipline" thus introduces a complication. When punishment is imposed by authority, it becomes one of the attributes of authority. It is not quite true, as one is often tempted to say, that a child learns *nothing* from punishment. He learns that persons in authority sometimes hurt him—deliberately hurt him. Even if he grants the "justice" of the penalty (and that is asking much of the understanding and the feelings of a child) he is still learning that authority in addition to being loving and kind—if indeed it *is* that—is also severe and harsh. *The one thing almost invariably learned during punishment is some degree of emotional antagonism to the person inflicting it.*

Nor is this emotional antagonism of trifling significance. In most children it is, so to speak, canceled out by other experiences. The parent who punishes is the same person who is often generous and loving and kind. Yet the hurt frequently remains, and our clinics have many clients whose maladjustments seem to hark back to severe home discipline.

Moreover, punishment by a wise, beloved parent is psychologically

[6] It is extremely doubtful that the rat in the maze has parallel awareness of the experimenter's authority. Neither, I am sure, did the child who was automatically smacked when he ran toward the street. Speaking for myself, I don't have it when I get a slight shock every time I make an error in memorizing a list of words. These impersonal "punishments" are of a quite different order from those designed for disciplinary purposes.

different, as Fenton (86) points out, from punishment by the less beloved teacher or still less beloved principal. In the latter cases punishment, being little counterbalanced by kindnesses and signs of affection, tends to produce a picture of authority as one who inflicts pain and frustration.

We must conclude, then, that punishment as *an aid to learning* is a pretty poor thing. It works as a deterrent only in a limited range of cases and then not invariably. It may indeed serve to inform the biddable and obedient what is expected of them by authority, but it seems an unnecessarily harsh and unimaginative technique for this purpose. And it does not help—rather it hinders—to reform those who are in rebellion against authority. Finally, it damages the emotional relationship between the punisher and the punished.[7]

A strong indictment, surely, and one that seems to leave little room for punishment. Yet the whole human race relies on punishment, and always has. Mankind often persists in error for a long time, but it is scarcely likely that we should be so persistently and so unanimously wrong. There must be *some* value in punishment.

Punishment as a Means to Order. And so there is. As we pointed out earlier, there is no escape from occasionally having to interfere with children's activities. We may have to prevent them from directly harming themselves, from learning bad habits, from interfering with others. When we cannot control disapproved behavior by other means, we may find it necessary to put an end to it by resorting to punishment or to the fear of punishment. Coercion is, in other words, a sometimes necessary and a sometimes effective way of *keeping order;* and order is of considerable value in the school as well as elsewhere in the universe. Punishment is thus to be looked on as an emergency method of stopping a person's behavior *then and there.*

As a sort of summary, let us consider a concrete example:

> When I was in the second grade I thought I saw a water wheel in the grain of the wood of the teacher's desk just in front of me. With my slate pencil I set to work "improving" the picture. For thus "deliberately scratching" the teacher's desk, I was whipped. At home, brooding over the injustice, I burst out, "I don't care, Miss Swan is an old fool." For such "impudence" I promptly got a second thrashing.
>
> Now what was accomplished here? Certainly, neither of the whippings seriously impaired my physical well-being. But Miss Swan needed no ruler across my shoulders to interrupt my attempts at "creative art."

[7] Lewin (163) has an interesting discussion of punishment in terms of his general theory from which emerges much the same conclusion.

A word would have helped me to realize the fault, and would have guided future behavior as well or better—and it needn't have been a cross word, either.

My mother's punishment was even less justified. What I needed was an opportunity to air my grievance in a sympathetic atmosphere. She missed a chance to help me understand adults, to gain tolerance of others. Instead of lessening my grievance, she increased it. And no one who knows me will think that she succeeded in her purpose of teaching me not to "sound off." Moreover, after more than five decades I still hold this incident against both of them, though of course now with sympathetic understanding.[8]

But what if the child is not overtly misbehaving but is *thinking* and *feeling* the wrong way? Do you really want to punish him for that? Even totalitarian countries do not find "thought police" overly effective, and it is one of the glories of our Anglo-American tradition —only lately called in question—that punishment and the law are concerned only with overt acts, not thoughts or feelings. The child's thinking and feeling are indeed important, but punishment is not the way to alter them. There is something both ludicrous and morally offensive in punishing a person for his thoughts, even more for his feelings.

This suggests another consideration. Little children often tend to act out their thoughts and feelings or, later, to verbalize them freely. When they get older, however, they learn "to keep their mouths shut"—at least part of the time. Now if it is illegitimate to punish a child for his inner thoughts, is it legitimate to punish the outwardly expressed thought and feeling? The answer again must be that it is legitimate only if the outward expression creates a socially intolerable situation and one that can be checked only by punishment.

The Right Kind of Punishment. Thorndike (277), possibly with his tongue in his cheek, once suggested five ways in which to "improve punishment." The first was to insure that the punishment belongs with the behavior in question. This, as we saw on page 105f., is difficult to achieve. The second, third, and fourth suggestions turn out to be substitutes that make most punishments unnecessary—a strange use of the word *improvement* but a good idea. But since some punishment must remain as an important form of control,

[8] It is a sad commentary on school that I remember vividly from the first six years only two classes of incidents: those involving competition and those involving punishment (of myself or of others).

Thorndike's fifth suggestion is that it be "scientific, or at least reasonable"—how, he does not say. We think we can do better than that.

If, as we have shown, the real value of coercion and punishment is *to inhibit present misconduct,* the problem of selecting the right kind of punishment is simplified. In the first place, since it is an emergency measure, we have to make use of a punishment which is at hand. Well, certainly that seems an easy recommendation, for we generally do use just the first punishment to pop into our heads. If our first impulse is not always judicious, at least it has the virtue of being —as recommended—prompt.

Exactly the opposite advice, however, is sometimes given: we should never punish until we—the punisher and the punished—have had a chance to cool off. Obviously this advice is based on a faulty notion of what punishment is for. Delayed punishment is almost a contradiction in terms; it is really a form of revenge. For delayed punishment does not stop the culprit's misconduct; it has already stopped! And if punishment is to have reformative effects—to act as negative reinforcement to use widely current psychological lingo—it must, as we noted earlier, be very immediate, a matter of a few seconds.

Moreover, delayed punishment is more likely to damage the adult–child relation. A child can readily understand—and even excuse—an adult who hurts him in a moment of irritation or anger; a delayed punishment seems like deliberate cruelty. I must confess that I agree with him—even though I accept, as the child seldom does, the claim that it is well-intended cruelty.

By a prompt punishment we do not mean one which is just momentary; it may last for some time as most punishments clearly do. If to stop a child's noise you say "no dessert for supper," the punishment is both prompt and long lasting, but it is not properly to be called "delayed." (Whether this particular punishment is *too* long lasting is another question; certainly it is rather arbitrary.) At any rate, legitimate punishment is administered at the time the misconduct is taking place.

Secondly, we need to select a punishment that will actually inhibit the misconduct. In general this means that the severity of the punishment is proportional, not to the supposed enormity of the offense, but to the child's momentary resistance to authority. A child engrossed in a television program may resist the call to bedtime more strenuously than one who just happens not to feel like sleeping. If

it is really necessary to secure obedience on this point and at this time by punishment—an issue to be settled on its own merits—then the former child will no doubt need a more severe punishment. Not, however, because he is "naughtier" (which he isn't) but simply because it takes more punishment to secure compliance. And if the punishment has to be really severe, surely we must ask whether compliance is worth it; and also why it is so difficult to obtain. (These considerations, however, are generally for one's reflection after the emergency has been met—that is, after punishment is inflicted and compliance obtained.)

Thirdly, *we must select a punishment which will as little as possible disrupt the rest of the behavior of the offender and of the group of which he is a part.* Obviously the third principle is a limitation upon the other two; and if we are thinking of the child's development, it is the most important.

What sorts of punishment come under this ban? That depends. With a small child, direct physical restraint or even mild corporal punishment is usually immediately effective and without untoward aftereffects—though there are important exceptions. But with older children, in our present culture, a whipping is likely to seem an intolerable humiliation; a milder social restraint can be invoked which will have a less serious aftermath. Especially important is the avoidance of punishment that implies rejection. Such punishment leads to counterhostility and is destructive of interpersonal relations—not only those between the punishing teacher and the child but between children. Very often punishment instead of preserving order so increases aggression that it breaks out, not so much against the teacher who may be too powerful, but against fellow pupils. When this aggression is punished the cycle begins once more full swing (126).

Tackling the problem the other way around, we should ask what effects *other than stopping the misbehavior* may be expected? That is not an easy question to answer. It involves knowing the attitudes of the community and of the child's family, and the psychological make-up of the child. Punishment is always a highly individual matter.

We thus turn our back squarely on Gilbert's famous advice in *The Mikado* to "make the punishment fit the crime." Indeed nothing could possibly be more stupid than for a school to have a standard list of "appropriate" punishments for each category of offense (though, alas, many of them still do). Even the notion of "making the

punishment fit the criminal" needs to be taken with much reservation. *Punishment by itself is an inhibitive, not a reformative, agency.* We should therefore be concerned first of all that the punishment inflicted be one which, in the light of the individual child's make-up, *will not actually get in the road of "reform"*—that is, of wholesome development. We sometimes find it necessary to punish for offensive behavior—that is, to disrupt it, break it up. Our primary concern, however, is not with *punishing offenses* but with *treating offenders.*

It can hardly be too strongly urged, then, that the task is not even half begun when we punish a child and let it go at that. Nothing constructive at all is likely to come out of punishment. The real job comes *after* punishment.

Not, however, immediately after! Some parents and teachers, on the theory that you should "strike while the iron is hot," attempt to explain the reason for the punishment immediately before or after it is inflicted. Nothing could be more ineffective. Just when a child is full of resentment and hurt self-esteem, how can we expect him to attend to and accept the teachings of "wisdom and morality"? If he makes any association at all, it is to associate the moral code with his resentment. A good switching does not "larn 'em to behave"; despite all the hue and cry in certain quarters, the evidence is all against such a notion. Pain and fear and anger do not facilitate learning; they disrupt it. Indeed, it would be hard to devise a more unfavorable learning situation than that which immediately supervenes upon conflict and punishment.

When, through punishment, we have temporarily inhibited the antisocial behavior, the best thing we can do is to give the child a chance to get over it. And when constructive teaching is later undertaken, *no reference whatever to the punishment should be made.* Our purpose is to build up in the child a firm relationship between the situation and the principles of *sound* behavior which apply. Punishment has nothing to do with that relationship.

> Nothing useful, that is. I was severely cracked on the knuckles in the first grade for spelling the word *horse* as h-o-r-c-e. As a result it was years before I really knew how to spell that word. It is significant, moreover, that the only other incident I recall from that grade is when Artie Gardner, to my great glee, successfully defied this teacher.
>
> Nowadays, of course, punishment for failure in "school learning," especially a corporal punishment such as striking the knuckles with a ruler, is nearly inconceivable. When we punish in today's schools, we say it is only for misconduct. Maybe so. Yet why we make a distinction

between punishment for "academic failure" and for "misconduct" is not easy to see. The traditionalist of fifty and more years ago thought both were "perverse" and therefore to be penalized. Surely we ought rather to recognize that both are merely "failure to learn." And it will help us to a due humility if we recognize further that "failure to learn" is generally a corollary of "failure to teach effectively." Do we want to chastise the child for our failures?

We must insist once more that it is not a matter of corporal punishment versus other forms. To substitute sarcastic reproof for a ruler is far from an improvement. It is not my knuckles I resent after over fifty years but the teacher's stupidity. What I needed was to get the idea that a certain word was spelled h-o-r-*s*-e. What I got from my punishment was an agitated uncertainty as between *c* and *s*. Right behavior, whether in spelling or arithmetic or morals, should be the direct and unhesitating sequel to the appropriate social stimulus. The thought of punishment in this connection is nothing but a disturbance.

Our long discussion of punishment may be briefly summed up in the words of a Sunday School pupil's definition of a lie: "A lie," he said, "is an abomination unto the Lord—and an ever-present help in time of trouble." We cannot quite get along without coercive measures, but we can and should resort to them as little as possible. For coercion and punishment seldom if ever directly contribute to constructive outcomes, and often directly hinder them. We shall have a healthier and happier tomorrow in proportion as we cease to imbue children at home and at school with the notions of revenge, of retribution, and of penalties for misconduct.

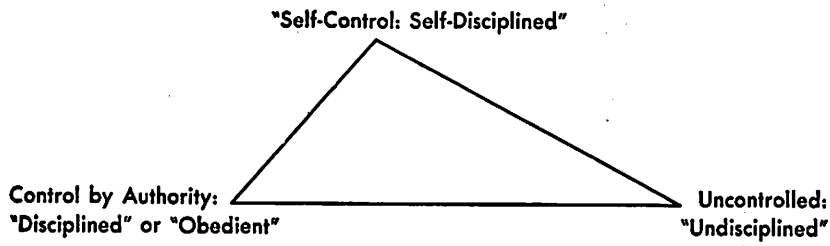
► Discipline *versus* Self-discipline

All along our treatment of *discipline,* especially in its negative aspects, has been highly critical. We do not thereby become advocates of "undisciplined" conduct, for in addition to control by others, there is also self-control, self-discipline. The child's behavior may be defined in terms of its close approximation to one of the three angles of the Triangle of Discipline. (See Fig. 9.) Wholly undisciplined behavior is farther from either of the other two angles, because it is truly an opposite of either of the two other sorts of discipline.[9] But it must not be overlooked that "Obe-

[9] Much, however, that seems to the distressed adult "in charge" to be uncontrolled is the child's immature groping toward self-control. This is true of much "disorderly" and "resistant" or "disobedient" behavior.

dient" and "Self-control" are also at opposite angles, though less distantly related.

Figure 9. The Self-control Triangle



By universal consent, self-discipline is one of the most important goals of life. External discipline and obedience have no value of their own; they are merely useful "instruments" whereby purposes are achieved. Self-discipline, on the other hand, is desirable for itself. Even self-discipline can be overdone, of course. All of us have known persons so firmly in control of themselves, so primly self-conscious—and so self-righteous—in their self-control as to lack all spontaneity and naturalness. Heaven protect us from such an "ideal"! But this is a perversion and does not prove that a normal self-control is not good. To become a self-disciplined person is part—a very large part—of what we mean by wholesome development. In older terminology, self-discipline is a "primary virtue"; external discipline or obedience, in my opinion, is not.[10]

It will be remembered, however, that the development of self-discipline is one of the three main justifications often given for external discipline and punishment. Does it really work that way? First off, we must not be confused by the fact that the word *discipline* is used in both cases. Self-discipline means that you restrain a present impulse in order to attain a more distant goal. Discipline by another person means that the present impulse is inhibited by what someone else does or threatens to do to you. Self-discipline is something you do; discipline is done to you. Psychologically they are thus very different.

Self-discipline, like anything else, is learned only by the child's own action—what the parent or teacher does helps the development of self-discipline only as it evokes *in the child* genuinely self-controlling behavior. Does punishment do that? Is there not indeed a

[10] If obedience is not a primary virtue, neither is freedom. Both are means to the goal of personal development or, rather, both *may* be such means.

genuine contradiction between controlling yourself and being controlled or coerced by others? Surely it is obvious that just to the extent that coercion is actually successful in its goal of controlling the child, it rules out the possibility of the child's learning *there and then* the lesson of self-control.[11] Any favorable effect of discipline on self-discipline must therefore be indirect.

A fair case for such indirect benefits of external discipline can, however, be made. In the first place, habits of impulsive and utterly chaotic and unruly behavior are too easily learned and may stand in the way of attaining real self-direction. Discipline from outside may help to check the development of these bad habits and thus *keep the way open* for self-discipline. This is a negative benefit but it is not negligible.

> I once visited the class of a young teacher who was an enthusiastic but uncritical believer in the virtues of freedom and self-expression. The program for the day apparently was the reading of original verse by members of the class. Half the class paid no attention but were engaged in small groups of four or five in only slightly subdued conversation—indulging in random and mostly personal remarks. Others who listened to the verse often interrupted or made insulting noises and "Bronx cheers." Not more than five out of perhaps thirty children were pursuing the supposed program. More important, not more than five were displaying a genuine axis of self-directed behavior. They were reacting to the whim of the moment.
>
> Now such anarchic, capricious behavior is just as foreign to self-discipline as is regimented behavior—perhaps more so. The teacher's defense of the situation was that, so long as the children had no chance to choose for themselves, they could not gain that ability to choose which is the heart of self-discipline. That is quite true. But the way the situation was actually structured, they were *not* choosing, however free they were to do so. Instead they were acquiring a variety of bad habits—socially and even ethically bad—including as the chief bad habit that of aimless drift and thoughtless (or, literally, thought-free) impulsiveness, which lies at the very opposite pole from self-discipline.

Self-discipline grows, then, not when the child yields to every passing inclination, and not when he yields, with or without constraint, to authority, but when he successfully masters and integrates his own unruly and conflicting impulses. It is the task of the teacher to create a social situation in which the children utilize freedom for genuine

[11] This is independent of, and additional to, the fact stressed earlier that the conflict-and-punishment situation creates emotional tensions that are radically unfavorable to learning.

choice. Freedom which does not lead to successful self-control leads away from the development of character. *Every undisciplined act is a loss.*

Thus we come back to the necessity of teacher-control, but we see the role of such control in a new light, no longer primarily negative and certainly not as a means in itself. The teacher's control of pupil's behavior is a means whereby she can create a social situation in which the children *utilize freedom for genuine self-direction.* The area of freedom expands as fast as the pupils move into that area with self-disciplined choice. Abundant evidence exists that when we thus give them a chance for growth under freedom they steadily develop in self-discipline. *The true measure of the value of the teacher's* "discipline" *is the rapidity with which it renders itself unnecessary.*

► Summary

Resistance to the teacher's authority is a reflection of her failure to exercise positive motivation. In large part this failure is due to too much regimentation of the child's behavior; but too little leadership also leads to various sorts of unfortunate behavior. To avert conflict, the teacher needs to display an authority which seeks to harmonize the children's purposes, not to dominate them or impose her own. Such authority does not restrict, rather it releases the child's energies in constructive directions.

Disciplinary conflicts, however, can't always be avoided. Here coercion and punishment enter the picture. What good does punishment do? It is a very slim aid to reform. Punishment seems to be justifiable almost exclusively as a *means of preventing, then and there, forms of misconduct which cannot otherwise be controlled.* Punishment, to accomplish this purpose must be not merely prompt but actually simultaneous with the misconduct. It should be adjusted not to the "crime," nor even to the "criminal," but to the difficulty of checking the offensive acts. And it must interfere as little as possible with the rest of the child's behavior.

Punishment thus conceived is purely negative. Constructive guidance of the child's behavior is best divorced from punishment. And the less we need to fall back on coercion and punishment the better.

Discipline imposed upon a child is thus to be viewed as at best a necessary nuisance. *Self-discipline,* however, is a positive virtue of the

highest importance. Discipline by others does very little to promote self-discipline, but positive leadership by adults may create social situations in which the children utilize freedom to gain practice in self-direction and thus learn self-discipline. Good teacher *discipline* is self-liquidating.

Exercises

1. Do you agree that disciplinary conflicts in school are inevitable? List a number of situations in which the conflict could not be avoided. Explain why not. If you cannot make a list of unavoidable conflicts, explain that.
2. Take an example of punishment of which you are inclined to approve. Analyze the situation leading up to the punishment. Could punishment have been avoided? Just what did the punishment do? (Be sure the effect is the effect of the punishment as punishment.) Could the effect have been otherwise secured?
3. Analyze in parallel fashion an unjustified punishment. How much difference is there between the two cases?
4. Make a list of possible punishments which might be used in a given grade—third, fourth, fifth. What are the values and limitations of having such a list in mind?
5. In many schools there is an attempt to set up self-government in the intermediate grades. Write a brief paper on the difficulties of "disciplinary actions" taken by student government. Do *not* limit your thinking to the fact that the pupils are often too severe.
6. Analyze the following selections from a syndicated newspaper "column." Write an open letter to Mrs. Ferguson commenting on her little essay. Base your letter on explicitly cited facts and principles of child psychology.

Our Over-privileged Children *
by Mrs. Walter Ferguson

Several thousand experts met recently in Washington to discuss the needs of American children. I hope it was suggested to them that what children need most is parents who can control them. . . . Many are over-privileged by being permitted to do as they please. . . .

Anyway, for years the little dears have been urged by educators to trample on the rights of their parents and teachers, while the latter are scared to protest lest the innocents would be injured. And so we've suffered from infant tyrants at home and from juveniles who are holy terrors to their neighborhoods. Children who demand too much of their parents usually demand too much of their society.

* From the Columbus (Ohio) *Citizen*, December 30, 1950, by permission of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance.

> The notion that a little hardship and struggle is bad for the young has worked great harm to them and to the nation. . . .
>
> Our plain duty, it seems to me is to teach them self-control and humility—which also is a virtue. . . .
>
> No expert can come up with more valuable advice than Grandma's, "Example is better than precept."

► Observing Authority Reactions

It is an interesting commentary that case studies of normal pupils seldom contain many observations about the children's reactions to authority. Apparently students believe that such observations should be reserved for the delinquent or the "problem child." It simply is not true that ordinary children do not react to authority in characteristic and highly significant ways. Of course, one reason for the omission is that many behaviors which are part of the authority-response pattern are reported in other connections. There are, however, good practical reasons for turning your attention specifically to the kinds of response the normal child makes to authority.

Most of your evidence on this point is likely to be presented in the form of diary observations. What then are you to observe and report? First, any behavior of the child concerned specifically with the parent or the teacher is likely to include the authority response. The child's reaction to you also inevitably reflects his picture of authority, though often in a rather indirect way. Thus rather extreme deference to your wishes may stand in sharp contrast with a hard-boiled treatment of a younger sib. Isn't that significant?

To understand these reactions, however, we usually need to find out something about the parental behaviors which condition them. Your task is thus the rather delicate and intuitive one of correlating what you note in the child's behavior with what you observe in the home. You may begin by noting any evidence of the child's freedom, spontaneity, and pleasure in his relations with authority. Or his repressed and regimented response—and beware of mistaking initial shyness for repression. Or note the ease with which the child complies with suggestions—sometimes excessive ease. Note also very carefully the conditions under which these contrasting reactions are exhibited.

Next, you may try to get an estimate of the temper of the home. Sometimes, of course, parents "put on a show" for your benefit, act-

ing either more or less authoritatively than usual. You will seldom be deceived seriously by such a show; neither parent nor child can act consistently in such "unnatural" fashion. More difficult is the question of how much difference the mere presence of an outsider makes in both parent and child. In detail, quite a good deal, of course. Yet in general the prevailing temper can be fairly well estimated.

Here are some of the things you may have a chance to observe; the list is based upon the Parent Behavior Rating Scales used at the Fels Research Institute (17, 18).

1. Restrictiveness of regulations, ranging from regulations so minute and detailed as to be beyond all reason to those so few and mild that they barely suffice to keep the child out of the hospital or the police station;
2. Readiness of enforcement: vigilant or lax;
3. Severity of penalties actually used;
4. Justification (to the child) of disciplinary policy, ranging from the completely arbitrary to the effort to explain all rules, even in emergencies when explaining is difficult;
5. Democracy of regulation: degree of child participation in policy formation;
6. Clarity of policy;
7. Effectiveness of enforcement;
8. Amount of friction: contentiousness or harmony;
9. Readiness to express approval-disapproval.

You may not get a line on all these modes of behavior. Whatever you do, do not try to fill up your notes by guessing. Indeed, remember that in the field notes of a diary observation none of the above characterizations of behavior has any direct place. A field note should not say that "Gwen's mother is severe in the penalties she inflicts." That is a generalization which belongs in the final report. The field note actually reads as follows:

When I called on the phone to confirm the arrangement to take Gwen on a picnic with other students and their subjects, her mother told me that Gwen had been very naughty—she had carelessly broken three dishes while clearing the table—and her mother had forbidden her any kind of "treat." Mrs. P's tone was very sour and vindictive. [The other girls had their plans all set, but I felt there was no use in telling Mrs. P. that. So Gwen loses out on the picnic, and I'll have to find something else to do with her. This certainly sounds as if the home discipline were pretty strict and the penalties severe. I wonder how Gwen reacts to it? I must get her to talk about it—if I can, without making an issue of it.]

Later: Gwen spoke of the picnic spontaneously. She certainly felt bad about missing it but not very bitter toward her mother. [She seemed rather

callous to severe penalties as if they were "normal." How about school regulations? Miss X spoke of her as careless but "easily corrected." I begin to get the picture of a child who has not learned any self-direction but who yields easily to authoritative control. She doesn't seem "crushed," however. I'll note how she behaves when Miss X "corrects" her again. Also how she responds to my suggestions.]

Note that the above report gives *facts*—not many, but, such as they are, significant facts. They are interpreted rather freely by this observer, but the freedom of speculation is recognized for what it is and is coupled with the search for more facts that will confirm or invalidate the hypothesis.

At the end of your observation you may find it helpful to complete one or more ratings dealing with the child's responses to authority or with the sort of home authority in which the child is growing up. If you make these ratings, be sure to *use* them in your final report. The rating needs to be interpreted just as much as does a diary observation, a test score, or a bit of secondhand testimony. The home situation particularly needs interpretation. After seeing it with your own eyes, you need to see it again with the child's. *And to see with the child's eyes you must watch his behavior.* But don't be in too great a hurry to perform this delicate task of correlation. Get relevant facts first, and let these facts gradually build up your judgment. Any interpretations which "just come to you" early should be kept most tentative, and the way to do that is to use them as great big question marks. Don't say "John seems very obedient." Say "I wonder whether John is always so obedient? What does this obedience mean? Where did he get it?"

If, through this case study you learn in some measure to fathom the authority response of your pupils, you will have done more than anything else you can do to make yourself a "successful" teacher. That may sound like a selfish goal; you want to help the pupils, not merely be successful. Excellent! But to be of maximum help to the pupils in guiding their development, you first have to become for each pupil the sort of authority whose guidance can be accepted.

III Emotion

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5 What Is Emotion? [1]

The word *emotion* is on everyone's tongue, but what emotion is, is not easy to say. What do we do when we emote? How does emoting differ from other behavior?

To their first day of school some children bring anxious dread, even stark terror; to the fear of the untried there is often added the prospect (so it seems to the child) of being abandoned by the mother. Other children, however, come full of triumphant pride in being big enough at last to go to school. Some bring into the schoolroom hostility to the teacher, some a shy affection; some bring an eager zest, some a whiny craving for attention. Sharp differences in emotional behavior thus mark the first day of school, and continue to mark every day until the children pass before the rostrum to receive their high-school diplomas—some elated, some cynical, some pretending boredom, some with naked joy at release from school, some sad and fearful for the days ahead.

► The Nature of Emotion

Emotional problems are apt to have a very considerable lifespan and to complicate every other sort of problem, interweaving with them in so complex a way that we can hardly tell which is cause and which effect. The objective difficulties of growth and of health are, as we have seen, complicated by the emotional reactions which go with them; these difficulties may set up habits of emotional response which persist long after the original cause of the problem has disappeared. Differences in intelligence may cause emotional distress. Failure in schoolwork may lead to depressed or angry frustration; or, in reverse, frustration at home or grief at the loss of a puppy or worry about an absent parent may be the cause of

[1] Much of the material in this chapter has appeared in slightly different form in the *Ohio Journal of Science* (79).

school failure. Julius neglects his study for the fun of teasing Genevieve; and Genevieve thereupon becomes so enraged she cannot work. It would not be greatly amiss, then, to say that all problems are emotional and that they are interconnected. Thus, of children brought to a child guidance clinic for "fearfulness," 65 percent showed sleep disturbances, 34 percent temper tantrums, 33 percent nail-biting, 29 percent enuresis, 18 percent crying and whining, and 6 percent stuttering. All except the last percent would seem to be well above the average figure of the general child population (140).

To hold our topic within manageable limits, we may distinguish between "emotional problems" and "problems of emotion." As an example of the first, consider a child who has never learned to accept authority without resistance. Certainly his behavior in a school situation will display many emotional responses—not to mention the emotions he stirs up in teachers and associates! He may thus be said to present an emotional problem. Yet the problem is better discussed in terms of his nonacceptance of authority than in terms of his emotions. A child, on the other hand, whose typical reaction is irritableness or anxiety or fear may be profitably discussed as presenting a "problem of emotion." The distinction is not a hard and fast one; perhaps in the end all problems are emotional, and no problem is merely a problem of emotion. In this chapter, however, we shall consider emotion and problems of emotion in so far as they seem relatively distinct from other varieties of experience.[2]

Even as thus limited, there is no question that problems of emotion are important; sometimes the harassed teacher—or parent—must wonder whether any other kind of problem is real. But it would be unfortunate if we thought of emotions merely as obstacles to be circumvented. The proper development of emotional behavior in positive and constructive ways is a major goal of education. To teach Charles in the primary grades how to master his fears (not merely to help him avoid them) is far more important than to teach him to master spelling. To bring gaiety and a capacity for joyfulness into the lives of children, to cherish or inculcate a zest for living, surely these are a challenge to our best endeavor. Education both *of* emotion and *for* emotion is clearly part of our task.

What, then, *is* emotion? You may be interested to compose a definition which will help anyone to identify the phenomenon referred

[2] Almost the same distinction is proposed by Meyer (191) in an article appearing after this chapter had been written.

to and to discriminate it from nonemotional behavior. You will not find it easy, particularly if you try to state it in objective terms. Professional psychologists have not found it easy, either.

The difficulty is not entirely due to ignorance. We now have available an astonishing welter of detailed fact about emotional behavior, especially in childhood. But when, we try to organize these facts in a coherent pattern, we run into many perplexities. Indeed, some psychologists believe that the kinds of behavior traditionally called emotional are so diverse that they cannot usefully be treated together.[3]

We need, in any case, to change the form of questions usually asked. The older psychology began by asking, "What is in our consciousness or mind during emotion?" This approach has on the whole proved rather sterile, particularly in child psychology. Contemporary scientific psychology no longer asks about the "contents of consciousness" nor even about "what's in your mind" (though the Freudian movement unfortunately often uses such a phraseology). Instead, it asks what people do and why and how. We must ask, then, what it is that we *do* when we emote.

> The verb *to emote* is still listed in the dictionary as colloquial. It is, however, sadly needed, not only for convenience but in recognition of the shift of emphasis in psychology from a study of "mental contents" (represented by nouns) to a study of activities (best represented by verbs). When old terms fail to express our meaning, we have two choices: to put forward a neologism constructed according to etymological rules (as in Bentley's suggestion of "to emove"), or to hunt for an acceptable current expression. The fact that *emote* is already in wide use as slang and is immediately understood indicates that it is in accord with the genius of the language. The step from slang to propriety should therefore be easy—and much preferable to the invention of a term that would need not only defense but explanation.

► The Components of Emoting

Emoting, it is sufficiently obvious, is a complex tangle of personal activities. Our initial task is therefore to seek the component parts of this complex behavior.

1. The first thing we do when we emote is *perceive* or *imagine* the emotive situation or object. Often, it is true, we do not specifi-

[3] Compare the argument made many years ago by Max Meyer (192) and the reply by Worcester (312).

cally attend to the emotion-instigating object, and we may not realize its role in thus exciting us. Some sort of awareness of the emotive situation, however, does clearly take place.

2. Then we do something to *alter* or *control* the external circumstances which constitute the emotive situation. If we consider an object fearsome, we flee from it or endeavor in some other way to rid ourselves of it. If we are angry, we no less obviously endeavor to alter the object or situation by "attacking" it. If our feeling is of the pleasant variety, our effort may be rather to maintain and cherish than to remove the object of emoting. Yet even here we also "alter" it—as when we eat a luscious tidbit or pet a dog or cat. In all cases we make, or at least tend to make, an objective or *external adaptation* or adjustment, an adjustment directed toward the emotive situation or some object in it.

In the infant these movements of external adaptation are very confused and chaotic and differ little from one sort of situation to another. Even so, there is activity directed outward upon the environment, as when an obnoxious stimulus leads to squirming or thrashing about. As the child grows older, the action tends to become less "all over," more precisely adjusted to the kind of situation, more differentiated and adaptive. A painful stimulus now leads not so much to all-over squirming as to adaptive movements which remove or avoid the stimulus. (But throughout our lives there is a great deal of ill-coordinated movement in emoting.)

> These external adjustments are effected by tugging at our bones with the so-called striped muscles. Many psychologists have therefore followed the lead of the anatomist and physiologist in calling them skeletal responses. Since there are other skeletal responses with a somewhat different psychological function, the classification is rather unfortunate in a psychological discussion.

Not to recognize these outwardly directed actions as an *essential* part of emotional behavior is to lose an important clue to understanding the problem. Particularly is this true in childhood. Unfortunately, such recognition is not always forthcoming. Laymen and psychologists alike often speak of these responses as if they were something tacked on, a sort of result or sequel of emoting rather than a part of it. As we shall see later, this leaves us with an incomplete picture.

3. For the third sort of thing we do in emoting there is no good name. Let us describe it first and name it afterward. The an-

cients localized the several emotions in the internal organs: the heart was the organ of love; the spleen, of anger; the bowels, of pity and yearning; and so on. They were partly correct. What we may call the "Department of the Interior" must indeed be heard from. Every time we emote, some of our glands (of which we hear so much) are directly involved; and, since the glands are intimately interconnected, it is probable that nearly all of them are active in some way in each case. Particularly important, however, so far as our present knowledge holds, are the secretion of adrenin, thyroxin, and acetylcholine.

Then, too, the muscles of the genito-urinary tract and those lining the walls of the digestive tract—"smooth" muscles the anatomist calls them, from their appearance under the microscope—are involved in characteristic ways. The diaphragm and breathing also are affected, and there are striking changes in the circulation of the blood in response to varied heart action and to changes in the tension of the arterial walls in different parts of the body. Even when emoting rather mildly we are apt to be considerably "stirred up inside."

Psychologically, these responses may be considered as a sort of *internal adaptation* to the emotive situation just as the skeletal responses constitute an external adjustment. There is much controversy, however, as to whether these internal responses should be considered adjustive or helpful. In some cases they seem to prepare the individual for external adjustments to come; in other cases, the internal responses, especially if violent, tend to interfere with and disrupt the external adjustment. My use of the term *adaptation* is not intended to prejudge this issue as to whether the internal response is helpful. It merely calls attention to the fact that these internal reactions are changes in the individual with reference to the emotive situation, and hence are a sort of adaptation to it, though possibly not a good one.

> Nearly all these reactions are controlled by the autonomic nervous system, and some writers therefore call this aspect of emoting "autonomic response." But there are other autonomic activities that, so far as we know, play no part in emoting, so the usage is a little dubious. The term *visceral response,* which is even more common, is open to the same objection. (Moreover, not all these internal changes are strictly visceral.) I prefer the term *internal adaptive response.*

4. For the next class of responses which we make when emoting, we may follow an old tradition in speaking of *expressive movements.*

To this class belong scowling, smiling, tightening the jaw, clenching teeth or fist, gesturing, perspiring, blushing, blanching, gooseflesh, and various tense and relaxed postures. Here also belong verbal interjections: groans, sighs, exclamations of surprise, pain, anger, or horror; and laughter and the cries of pleasure and joy.

All these are usually called *expressions of emotion,* as if the emotion were one thing and the expressions another. But these responses are truly *part* of what we do when emoting, not something distinct or added on. Indeed, no emotion is quite complete without them. Try, for example, to enjoy a beautiful scene or great music without making one such reaction. Or note how a great fear is lessened if there are few "expressions" of fear.

Darwin believed that all these "expressions" are vestiges of earlier adaptive responses—we bare the teeth in anger, he thought, where our primitive ancestors were getting ready literally to bite. Today few accept his view except in a very general form. These responses serve to adapt us to the emotive situation in a quite different way. Essentially they are a sort of *emotional language* and work upon other persons in the situation. The bared teeth may frighten off the anger-arousing person; the cry of pain may bring help or enlist sympathy. The expressive reactions are primarily social adjustments.

5. Likewise social in character are certain forms of *verbal activity* that make up part of emotional behavior. We threaten, cajole, plead, banter, verbally caress, coax, command, and otherwise attempt by our words to influence the persons who form part of our emotional situation. Such verbal conduct, while very similar to the interjections under class 4 above, is not so primitive as other parts of emotion and often seems not to integrate or "tie in" closely with the rest. For this reason it seems better to make a distinct class for it. No catalogue of the forms of emotional activity would, however, be complete without listing these language responses.

6. Lastly, we may distinguish an important but little regarded group of responses. This is the verbal response of naming the emotional behavior. The naming is not always audible; we say to ourselves: "I'm so happy," "I'm angry enough to bite nails," "I feel down in the mouth." Infants and animals, of course, have no such reactions, and they are often lacking in children or adults. Indeed, sometimes to our discomfiture, we find ourselves unable to name our feelings. But what we may call the *"secondary naming"* is a genuine part of many emotional behaviors.

Is thinking also a part of emoting? Certainly emoting and thinking

are not so mutually exclusive as has been maintained. Emoting often touches off some first-class thinking; thinking often causes change in emoting. Yet the two activities do seem distinct rather than one unified act, even when they take place concurrently.

Readers with some acquaintance with physiology and anatomy may be distressed by the proposed classification of emotional behaviors. These sciences recognize three broad classes of response: those of the striped or skeletal muscles, those of the smooth muscles, and those of the glands of internal and external secretion. Our classification obviously cuts clear across this pattern. The external adjustment responses of our class 2 are skeletal but do not include all of the skeletal movements. The internal adjustment of class 3 includes smooth muscle responses and both types of glandular responses; but again it is very doubtful that all such responses are involved in emoting. As for the expressive movements (class 4), here, surely, is confusion confounded if we look at the matter just from the physiological standpoint. There are skeletal responses (as in clenching the fist or scowling), smooth muscles responses (as in blushing), and responses of the glands of external secretion (as in dry mouth, weeping, perspiring). Some of these reactions belong to the cerebro-spinal system, some to the autonomic. Vocalizing behavior, moreover, which is skeletal for the physiologist, is found in no less than three of our classes. As for our class 1—the perceiving of the emotive situation—except for the activity of the sense organs immediately involved, no one really knows what, in physiological terms, is going on.

Our interest, however, is in putting the facts—often they will be the same facts—in order, not as physiology but as psychology sees them. Such a difference between the way facts are *classified* in two sciences should occasion neither surprise nor concern. Every science necessarily has its own structure. The facts discovered in one science must be accepted by all other sciences; but the classification and interpretation of the facts depends upon what one is trying to do. Indeed, the importation into one science of the concepts of another is apt to be dangerous. The unity of science is the unity of *common facts* and a *common logic,* not of a common conceptual framework.

It will be noted, moreover, that our statement is intended to be a pure enumeration of the responses made when emoting, not an explanation of these responses in physiological and anatomical terms. (Thus the schematic—and not very accurate—diagram of the cerebro-spinal nervous system and its relation to the autonomic, which appears in so many textbooks, is not reproduced here.) Some progress toward such explanations has been made. Thus we already know that both cortex and hypothalamus play an important part in emotional behavior, and

it will help enormously when we discover just how they interact. But even when our knowledge of these physiological mechanisms is vastly more detailed than it is now, we shall have to translate, as it were, the physiological knowledge into behavior terms before it can be used by teachers or for that matter by psychologists in the understanding of emotion. We cannot be good psychologists by being amateur physiologists; we must work with our own concepts, which are those of how people act or behave.

There is another distinction often made in describing emotional behavior, namely, that between the observable behaviors and the hidden, between the *overt* and *covert*. This distinction makes no attempt, of course, to classify the responses from the standpoint of the reacting organisms; it is a classification in terms of the outsider. It is thus not strictly a psychological category, but it is often useful.

► The Difference between Emoting and Other Actions

Here then are six ways of responding which seem to characterize emoting. Other kinds of behavior, however—"unemotional behaviors"—seem to show some or all of these same ways of acting. When you calmly drive an auto through a crowded street, copy a drawing of a gear wheel, or study how to persuade the boss to grant a raise, you are not ordinarily thought of as acting emotionally; yet each of the six classes of responses listed above is involved (or, at least, may be) in these nonemotional actions. What we have given as a description of emoting begins to look like a description of any sort of behavior whatsoever.

The easiest way out of this dilemma would be to say that, of course, we never do act wholly unemotionally, that conduct is always literally more or less emotional. (In our illustrations of nonemotional behavior we had to specify that the acts were "calm," for certainly any of these acts *could* be emotional.) But even though partly true, that would be a bit of an evasion. Our whole problem began with a recognition that there are actions or states called emotional which we distinguish from others, and with the attempt to see how such actions differ from the others. We cannot be satisfied with a "solution" that consists in a mere denial of the problem with which it started. Granted that our conduct is always more or less emotional, what is it that makes it more in one case, less in another? It is, I hold, the extent to which the whole action is *dominated by, or integrated*

around, the activities of internal adjustment. Emotion is the totality of responses related with or integrated around a stirred-up state of the organism. Examine a clear-cut case of emotional behavior, this time with an eye to discerning the *characteristic quality of the action as a whole* and not to listing everything going on. Quite clearly the internal adaptation is the central fact.

Indeed, in marked emotional states the internal or so-called visceral responses dominate the stage so thoroughly that we tend to overestimate their role, even to the point of identifying emoting with only that one aspect. This is a mistake. The internal component is truly a *necessary* part of any behavior we call emotional and the other parts are organized around it, but it is never the whole act.

In the first place, if we do not perceive or imagine the stimulating circumstances, the whole drama fails to unroll. (The "uncaused" fears sometimes found in the insane are probably no exception, since the patient is probably reacting, directly or indirectly, to some obscure imaginary situation which he cannot name or describe.) Moreover, the end of emoting comes when we perceive the emotive situation in a different way, whether it has actually changed or not. Internal reactions, if they occur divorced from awareness of the situation, do not constitute emoting but, at best, the background for it.[4]

In the second place, the internal responses seem too much alike to enable us to account for the variety of emotion which mankind has so long celebrated in song and story. Indeed, if we classified emotions on the basis of differences just in the internal adjustment, we should probably have but two kinds: a plus or favoring kind (adient, or "moving toward") and a minus or rejecting kind (abient, or "moving from").[5] Actually, of course, emotions are much more diverse than that, but the distinctions are based chiefly on the external responses rather than the internal.

But if these other activities are what make one emotion different from another, they cannot be regarded as something merely tacked on. Along with the internal activities, they must be regarded as essential components of the integrated whole that is emotion. To

[4] This seems to be the explanation of what happens when certain drugs are taken, notably thyroxin and adrenin. There is an internal activity similar to emoting, but it just isn't an emotion. Subjects speak of a "cold emotion" (47).

[5] The effort to identify these two kinds of internal responses with two different parts of the autonomic nervous system has not been entirely successful.

identify emoting with just its central core of internal responses is to miss the factors that differentiate one feeling from another.

Finally, to identify emoting with the internal responses alone is to imply that the latter have significance by themselves. That is not the case. The internal reaction must be seen in relation to the other components, if "emotion" is to make sense. A merely internal adaptation of a person without at least a tendency toward external adjustment—be it physical or social—is almost unthinkable. (If it were thinkable, it would be most injudicious.) However basic or central the internal adjustment is in emoting, we must not ignore the other components with which it is inseparably joined.

It is true that a considerable number of textbook writers formally define emotion as a "stirred-up state," [6] and devote much of their space to a description of the physiological and anatomical mechanisms of this internal adaptation. Paradoxical as it sounds, this emphasis upon anatomy takes "all the flesh and blood elements out of emotions." (269) It helps us very little to understand emoting, or even to recognize an emotional problem when we see it.

Some psychologists, however, adopt a still narrower view. Emoting is limited by them not merely to the internal adaptation but to disorderly internal adaptations. So long as we are making objective adjustment to the situation, they say, we are not emoting. Only when our behavior becomes disorganized is it emotional. Instead of recognizing that emoting is behavior integrated about internal adaptations, they think of it as behavior disintegrated by such "visceral" responses.

Two related objections seem to me to rule out this position. It puts us in the position of saying that a given act is at first nonemotional but becomes emotional when it becomes sufficiently intense. Thus it defines in terms of a merely intensive difference—as if water and ice, differing only in temperature intensity, were to be deemed two distinct substances. Secondly, it defines emoting in terms of its outcome instead of in terms of what goes on in behavior. Indeed, it comes close to defining emoting as "bad" and other behaviors as at least potentially "good." In both respects the definition violates scientific canons.[7]

It will be observed, moreover, that most of these authors, despite their formal definitions, include in their discussion of emoting a great deal that cannot be brought under the heading of disrupted or disorderly behavior. The actual facts of life break through the barriers of consistency with an inadequate definition.

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[6] Woodworth, however, in speaking of emotion as "the total stirred-up condition of the organism" seems to mean what we do—the whole internal and external kaleidoscopic pattern.

[7] This point of view has also been incisively criticized by Leeper (152) and Duffy (72).

► Emoting as an Integration

Some of you may be inclined to take just the opposite point of view. So far from wishing to identify emotion with any one of the six classes of action that we have distinguished, you may feel that the analysis is still incomplete—like *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. What about the feelings, you may ask, what about emotions themselves? All this talk about the bodily activities which *accompany* emotion misses the real point. No one questions, you add, that all these physiological functions of gland and muscle are somehow involved in emotion, but to say that they *are* emotion is to leave out the mental or spiritual aspect that is the most important of all.

It is not possible to be dogmatic here. All one can do is to ask that the objection be clearly stated. Just where *is* the feeling we have so far omitted? Or rather, how do we do it? Please remember that our question is, What do we *do* when we emote? To say that we run, that we blush, that we exclaim, that we get all stirred up in what the Scots call our "insides"—that is intelligible and demonstrable. Is there anything else that we do? If so, what is it?

I believe that if we follow through the line of thinking set forth above, the answer is clear. There are indeed no other component actions; a whole is more than the sum of its parts, and emotion, we have been saying, *is* the whole, is the integration in a specific fashion of these components.[8]

This is not to deny at all that there is a specific way of acting called "fearing" or "loving" or "being anxious" or "being disgusted." It just says that fearing is the *integration* of the things we demonstrably do when we fear. Joy, likewise, is just the particular combination of things done, or rather of "doings." That is to say, a specific emoting

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[8] Note that we speak, not as Watson (293) used to do, of the behavior of the whole organism or of the behavior of the organism as a whole (both meaningless phrases), but rather of the characteristic way in which the several components constitute an integrated whole or unity.

Our view seems to differ also from that of Cameron (45), though he too views emotion as a "wholeness phenomenon." When we look at *any* act, he seems to say, we can look for its "wholeness characteristic." That is the emotion. Suppose a child is intent upon solving a puzzle. It does not seem to me that, even considered as a unity, the action is emotional. Indeed it seems quite the opposite. But note the change when the puzzle is not solved. The internal component, present from the start, increases and *becomes dominant*. The child, we say, is becoming increasingly emotional. Emotion is the wholeness quality, not of all acts but of those that are integrated around the responses of internal adaptation.

is not something over and above the ways of acting that we have listed; these in their totality *are* the emoting. Fear and anger and disgust and joy and love and happiness *are simply you in action in as many different ways.*

To say this, moreover, is not to deny spiritual value to emoting. On the contrary, to think of anger or fear or joy *as particular ways of living* seems a much richer concept than to think of them as some sort of "mental content" locked up in each individual's mind and inaccessible to anyone else save indirectly. Joy remains joy no matter how it is analyzed. Even though it be shown that what we do when we are happy is to integrate certain adaptive big-muscle movements with certain internal reactions and with certain verbal activities, happiness remains the chief, if not the only, source of human values.

I do not wish, however, to close the door to any facts. The foregoing analysis may not be complete; the way is open to any addition of a demonstrable mode of acting that takes place when we emote. The virtue of our analysis consists chiefly in that it provides us with convenient pegs whereon to hang facts of considerable value to the teacher or parent dealing with the child.

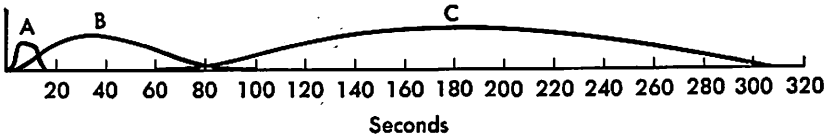
► Which Comes First?

Some years ago the celebrated psychologist William James raised the question of the time relations among the various parts of the act of emoting. Which comes first in fear, he asked, the "all-gone feeling" (which is part of the internal response) or the response of running away? James observed, as many of you must also, that usually we make the external adjustment first. We "run away" or otherwise make a change in the relationship between ourselves and the external situation, and then, when it is all over, we feel as if the "bottom had dropped out of things."

The fact is that the smooth muscles of our "insides" are rather slow to act as compared with the "striped" or skeletal muscles, and so the latter usually get in ahead. Glandular effects take even longer. Nearly always, then, the complex activity opens with an external response, followed by an internal. These time relations in their simplest form are pictured in Figure 10.

Emoting, however, is not a single response; *it is a shifting kaleidoscope of activities spread out in time* but possessing a characteristic and essential unity. As the complex emotional episode unfolds, the

Figure 10. Time Relationships in Emoting



The curves show time relationships between A (skeletal), B (visceral), and C (glandular) components of emotional reactions. Redrawn from J. J. B. Morgan (197).

component activities change. Perhaps in every case one of the skeletal-muscle responses comes first. (In the case of fear, it is likely to be the startle reflex, for example.) In many cases, however, this initial response is of minor importance. It is followed by other external adjustments and by the beginnings of the internal responses. And as these develop, other external or expressive responses come into the picture. Thus in the total reaction, component responses from any of the classes above distinguished may *precede* or *coincide with* or *follow* responses from any other class.

An important practical point is that the internal responses subside even more slowly than they emerge. Those who have successfully met a considerable danger emergency will easily recall how the "all-gone" reaction continued long after the occasion for fear had passed. Probably, the all-gone response was there almost from the first, but was unnoticed while one was reacting with vigorous muscular activity of the adaptive sort. It emerges as the salient aspect of the emotion when the rest of the responses have somewhat subsided, and may last for many minutes, even hours.

This means that an important factor in emoting continues to be present, ready to be integrated with other components into another full-blown emotional reaction. The all-gone feeling by itself is not fear. But let some trifling event of startling character come along, and we react fearfully again and with an intensity out of all proportion to the immediate occasion.

The sequent emotion need not be the same as in the first emotional episode. The internal component of emotion, as we have pointed out, is by itself highly general or undifferentiated. Many of the same responses characterize anger and fear, and to a lesser degree all kinds of "negative" emotions. Thus the child who has recently been scared is likely to flare up easily in anger or to react negatively to food which is only mildly distasteful. The child who has recently been punished is prey, until the massive internal adaptations thus

set up have subsided, to every passing stimulus to fear, disgust, anger, and dislike. Emotion truly breeds emotion because the raw materials of the next emotional episode—the reactions of our "insides"—have not yet subsided. Children—and adults—need a cooling-off period after any emotional excitement if they are not to have a "chain reaction." That this has rather obvious practical implications need hardly be emphasized.

Such considerations make clear why it is useful to consider separately the several kinds of behavior involved in emoting. It is equally important to hold to the integrative point of view. The fact that emotion is a wholeness phenomenon has, as Cameron (45, p. 55) puts it,

> . . . a rather direct bearing on the fragility, the evanescence, of the emotional experience. Changes of mood may sometimes be produced by the slightest of changes in the details of our surroundings or ourselves. In fact, the change in detail may be so exceedingly minute and apparently insignificant that we cannot identify it as the effective one at all. Even a complete reversal of emotional tone may grow out of a very slight difference in the total-pattern of experience.

Well then, do the different components of emoting mutually affect each other? Of course! Anything which goes on in an organism affects everything else that goes on there—and *may* do so to an important degree.

> Here is one place where the modern description of emotion clearly proves its superiority. There are serious difficulties in understanding how a "mental content" called a feeling of anger (which is in a "mind") can affect or be affected by adrenal-gland secretion (which is in a "body"). But there is no difficulty in supposing that activities of the muscles (those involved in fighting, for example) may affect the activities of the adrenal gland, or vice versa. We don't need to ask *where* these activities are (whether in a "mind" or in a "body"); we do ask *whose* they are, and answer that they are simply activities of a person like you and me. And if anger is recognized as being the integrated pattern of all the activities which you make in certain circumstances, there is no difficulty in recognizing further that your previous anger may cause you to tense your muscles when next you encounter the offending person. But let anger be conceived as a "mental state," something "in your mind," and the wisest philosopher has difficulty in getting it out of your mind and into the stream of bodily activity in such a way as to influence it.
>
> Moreover, the view set forth in this chapter enables us to under-

stand the basic relations found in psychosomatic medicine. How can anxiety make a person ill, and is the illness real? How is it possible for the "will-to-live" or "confidence" to help a patient recover from pneumonia? How, in short, can a mind influence the body? We suggest that we begin by dispensing with the term *mind;* that we remember that anxiety and confidence are extraordinarily complex ways of *behaving.* One has no difficulty in recognizing that restlessness (one form of behaving) is bad for a patient, and that quiet and relaxation (another form of behaving) is good for him. Where then is the difficulty if we say that a more complex way of behaving such as anxiety is bad for a person, even to the point of making him ill? Bearing in mind—the old expression does no harm here!—that mental activities are behaviors leaves us with plenty of *unknowns* as to their relation to bodily states in health and illness, but with no *mystery* save the mystery of life.

The fact, moreover, that the several component parts of emoting follow each other in various ways and that one influences the others and the total emotional pattern gives us a limited measure of direct control over emotional behavior. Delight expressed and shared with others is intensified; anger held in, with limitations which we shall discuss later, somewhat subsides.

Finally we should notice that emoting cannot be understood unless we bear in mind that it is not a momentary act but one spread out in time and constantly shifting and changing.

► Summary

Emotion is best understood as a kind of action. Six component ways of acting are distinguishable in emoting: (1) perceiving or imagining the emotive situation or object; (2) altering the external circumstances which constitute the emotive situation; (3) making internal adaptations to the situation (these internal adaptations are often miscalled visceral or autonomic responses.); (4) making expressive movements; (5) attempting by language to influence others in the emotive situation; and (6) naming the emotion.

It is not necessary that all six components be present in every instance of emotion—the last two are often missing. The third component, the internal adaptive reactions, is, however, always present, and behavior is deemed emotional when it is organized in relation

to these reactions. *Emoting is a complex way of behaving in which the various components are integrated about the internal reaction.* Such a definition enables us to understand the dynamic influence of emotion on the child's behavior.

Exercises

1. Give other illustrations of the difference between "emotional problems" and "problems of emotion."
2. Look up the definitions of emotion in six psychology textbooks. Make a list of the points on which they agree and those on which they disagree.
3. Think of several widely different emotions: e.g., anger and joy. For each, quickly (and without trying to be sophisticated or learned) write down just what a person does when he emotes in that way: e.g., clench fists when angry. Assign each listed behavior to one or more of the six classes described in the text. Are there any behaviors left over?
4. Restate in your own words what is meant when the "feeling" or the "emotion proper" is said to be the "wholeness characteristic" of certain activities.

6 Emotional Maturing

Is there such a thing as mature emotion? Certainly! Emotion is one way of getting along in the world, and there are characteristic differences in emoting between young and old. How emotional maturity is learned, how children may be helped in learning to emote suitably is the theme of this chapter.

In view of the frequency with which we are inclined to characterize a person as emotionally immature, it is surprising how seldom we get a definition of emotional maturity. Yet perhaps there is a reason. Physical maturity is a relatively simple concept, whatever the argument over details. Maturity of intellect or intelligence also seems a reasonably clear notion. But emotional maturity? Isn't the very phrase a contradiction of terms? Is it not true, as someone has said, that emotions don't mature, they explode? According to this view emotion is in its very nature immature. It is certainly a tempting point of view when we think of certain kinds of emotional behavior. Surely, however, there is such a thing as mature, even noble, emotion. Perhaps, then, if we compare immature with mature persons—infants with young children, young children with older children, children with adults—we shall discover characteristic differences in maturity of emoting.

► Differentiation of Emotions in Infancy and Early Childhood

The emotional behavior of the infant, like all his behavior, is relatively undifferentiated. By this we mean that, in the first three or four weeks, we find only a sort of generalized excitement that is characterized by vigorous but ill-coordinated movements of the infant's whole body and little discernable specific relation to the stimulus. Observers generally have difficulty in naming

the emotion, but they almost universally concur in calling the behavior emotional.[1]

Gradually, however, although simple excitement continues to be displayed, two new patterns begin to appear, namely, distress and delight. In summary of her extensive study of infants, Bridges (36) writes:

> *Distress in infancy* is characterized by muscle tension, interference in breathing, change in facial color, trembling, and crying. . . . *Delight in an infant* is characterized by relaxation of tension or normal muscle tonus, gurgling of saliva in the mouth, and by free random movements and soft vocalization. . . . As the infant develops, other emotions may be recognized. . . . [They are distinguishable from each other] more by the specific motor responses than by the visceral responses. The particular emotion is also [distinguishable according to] the nature of the situation which prompts it, including both the internal bodily and external conditions. Thus distress becomes differentiated into fear at sudden shock and anger at interference. Delight also becomes further differentiated into joy and affection.[2]

The further development or differentiation is schematically set forth in Figure 11.

It should perhaps be emphasized that emotional patterns which bear the same name do not remain the same with age. The excitement which breaks what Jersild calls "the somnolence of the newborn" is not the excitement of the two-year-old, nor is the latter the excitement of the nine-year-old. In infants the external adjustment of anger is crying or a primitive tantrum; in older children the adjustment differentiates into a variety of forms (99). But there is a real genetic relationship: the later emotion grows out of, and is definitely influenced by, the earlier.

It is important, too, not to exaggerate the sharpness of distinction between emotions. Even in ourselves, let alone in infants, it is often difficult to say just what sort of emoting is going on. *One emotion grades into another by imperceptible degrees, as do colors in the rainbow.* The naming of separate emotions is more of a literary than a scientific task. The "typical distress" pattern doubtless differs from "typical anger" but in between are innumerable unnamed grada-

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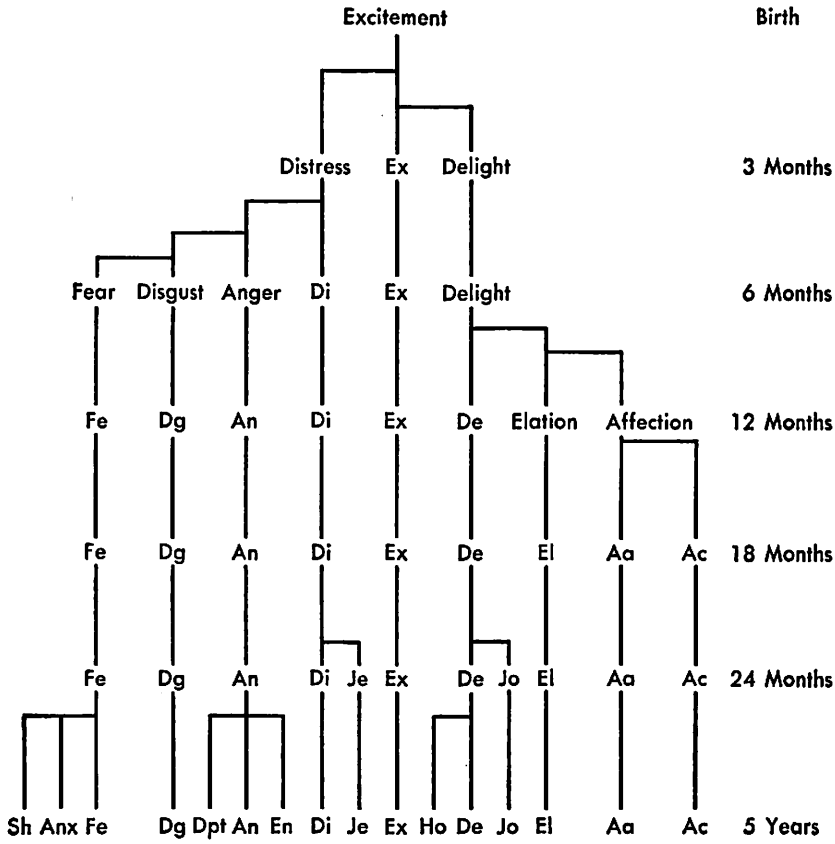
[1] See, for example, the studies of Sherman (247), Lin (171), and Goodenough (100). The fact that in such studies as Sherman's the behavior is unhesitatingly called emotional, even though it is difficult to say which emotion, has usually been overlooked but is essential to full understanding.

[2] The description of the development of emoting in infancy by C. Buhler (40) and others differ in detail for understandable reasons, but the general picture is much the same.

Figure 11. Diagrammatic Representation of the Development of Emotion



Key:

Aa = Affection for adults	De = Delight	El = Elation	Ho = Hope
Ac = Affection for children	Dg = Disgust	En = Envy	Je = Jealousy
An = Anger	Di = Distress	Ex = Excitement	Jo = Joy
Anx = Anxiety	Dpt = Disappointment	Fe = Fear	Sh = Shame

Combined from two diagrams by K. M. B. Bridges, *J. genet Psychol.* 1930, **37**, 524, and *Child Developm.*, 1932, **3**, 340, by permission of the author.

tions. And anger and fear, delight and joy, or joy and elation are similarly connected by intermediate ways of acting.[3]

Individual Variability

A further difficulty in sharply discriminating between various kinds of emoting comes from the very considerable degree of individual variability. The development of emotional behavior is partly determined by experience, of course, and life experiences obviously differ from person to person, especially after the days of early infancy. There are, accordingly, great differences in the emotional patterns which unfold.

Certainly the pattern of overt or visible behavior is highly individual. Thus Goodenough (99) in her study of anger in young children lists kicking, stamping, jumping up and down, throwing oneself on the floor, holding one's breath, pulling, struggling, turning the head, pouting, frowning, throwing objects, grabbing, biting, striking, crying, screaming—and a number of others. Of course, no single child is quite so talented as to display all these forms of angry behavior, nor are they all elicited by quite the same situations. When we try to think of all these as parts of the same emotional pattern, it is somewhat bewildering. And yet recognizably they all are.

The inciting conditions to emotion show similar variations. An abrupt stimulus for which he has no ready-prepared response will elicit fear from the young child—from any young child. What sort of stimulus, however, fits the description? Almost anything, depending on the child's previous experience. Sudden loud noises will usually evoke fear in a young child; but if he has been subjected to many such noises, they cease to be, for him, sudden and unexpected.[4] On the other hand, depending again on what his experience has been, things which once passed without special notice become "unusual" and "fearful." As Jones and Jones (137, p. 143) say:

> Fear may be regarded as a response to certain changes in a total situation: changes requiring a sudden new adjustment which the individual is unprepared to make. The arousal of fear depends not only upon situational changes, but also upon the individual's *general* level of develop-

[3] Faced with a very similar problem, workers in the field of color have abandoned color names such as "vermillion" or "pea green" and have substituted arbitrary numbers. One suspects, however, that it will be a long time before we substitute "Emotional pattern No. 42" for "Joy," "Emotional pattern No. 18" for Jealousy," even in the driest of technical treatises.

[4] The issue is discussed by Valentine (285) and by English (74).

ment. . . . As a child develops, his intelligence innately matures, and his perceptions become enriched through experience. New things startle him because of his keener perception of the fact that they *are* new and unusual. . . . *Fear arises when we know enough to recognize the potential danger in a stimulus, but have not advanced to the point of a complete comprehension and control of the changing situation.*

Essentially the same point is to be made with regard to anger or rage. Anger is a response to restraint, but what constitutes restraint for a given individual depends upon what he has learned. The variety of such "restraints" is very great. For temper tantrums, for example, Goodenough (99) observed the following exciting conditions: the enforcement of routine physical habits, conflict with adult authority, inability to achieve a desired end, conflict with other children over possessions and activities. The case with other emotional patterns is parallel.

Finally, there is evidence that the internal responses are also variable, though doubtless less so than the external. As Bridges (37, p. 198) says:

> A child who loses his appetite with excitement during one stage of his development at a later stage may be very excited without the accompanying loss of appetite. . . . Thus visceral pattern reactions, like any other form of behavior, seem to undergo processes of differentiation. . . . Partial or specific autonomic nervous responses seemed to be conditioned through experiences just as [are] specific motor responses.

To this picture of variation in the pattern of emotional response should be added the rather wide range of individual susceptibility to emotive stimuli noted by Shirley (249) and Gesell and Thompson (96).[5]

Universal Characteristics of Emotional Behavior

Practically important as the differences are, we ought not to exaggerate them. There is a characteristically human way of life, and this breeds in human beings, with their specifically human dispositions, certain characteristic human ways of emoting.[6]

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[5] There is reason to think this difference in susceptibility is closely connected with the inherited glandular structure of the infant.

[6] In fact, we share some of these emotional ways of acting with the apes and even with others of the higher animals. It is true that some psychologists have rejected such a belief as "unscientific anthropomorphizing"—surely a sufficiently devastating criticism! Hebb (114) has shown, however, that it is possible to identify some of the same emotings in primates as in man. He does show also, be it noted, that the task is not so easy as lay opinion implies.

Even vastly different cultures are more alike, particularly as they affect infants, than popular anthropology would lead one to think. In Samoa and in Picardy children find themselves faced by baffling and sudden changes—and cry out in fear. (Though if they are old enough, the cry will be in Polynesian or French, respectively.) In Tibet and in Connecticut, children are thwarted and interfered with —and angrily resist. It is hard to imagine a society in which this would not be so. Smiling, at first a mere physiological reflex, appears in all cultures at about three months as a response to a human face in close proximity (257, 290). The combination of common circumstances and of common heredity is a strong one. It is unlikely, therefore, that we shall see any of man's distinctive emotional behavior completely uprooted.

And yet the note of caution. By the sixth month, some of the universal character of smiling is lost; according to the child's individual experience, the faces of some adults bring out a smile, those of others bring crying (257). In some societies, parents sternly repress angry behavior even in infants; in other societies infantile rage is encouraged. In Germany the culture encourages a kind of blustering anger on the part of adult males toward servants, children, wives, and other "inferiors"; and this is found, therefore, in men who would otherwise be judged gentlemen; in America such behavior usually characterizes people of poor breeding. In our Western culture, children are taught to feel disgust at filth and certain smells, so that these reactions are "normal"; in most of the world today and in the world of our own ancestors of perhaps five or six generations back, such disgust was mere finicalness and was relatively uncommon. Very considerable quantitative differences in the emotional behavior characteristic of different societies are thus engendered.

The picture which emerges, nonetheless, is that of a kernel of universal emotional behavior patterns based on innate factors and growing out of the universal experiences of the race. We may, if we like, speak of the inevitable maturing of such behavior tendencies; it is equally proper, however, to speak of them as inevitably learned. In quality, there is no difference between the primary and universal behavior patterns and those which are learned in response to more individual or special circumstances of life. What we may call the primary emotional behavior patterns have been fairly well established by the age of three; most of the changes thereafter are due to specific environmental circumstances of the sort usually referred to as learning.

► Learning Emotions

As the previous discussion has implied, a great deal of learning has been at work from the very beginning of the infant's existence. However much it may be rooted in the heredity of the species, the emotional behavior of the child is already vastly changed by learning before he gets to school, and is destined for still greater changes. There are three main directions in which emotional development or learning may take place.

First, there may be a change in the sort of situation which instigates the emotion. Positively, the child may learn to fear or hate or delight in objects which did not earlier thus excite him. Negatively, he may learn not to fear or hate or delight in objects or situations which formerly did cause him to emote.

Secondly, through learning we get changes in the pattern of responses that make up the emotion. Here, too, we may distinguish a positive and a negative kind of change: within the framework of a given emotion such as fear or joy, part activities or responses can be either added or eliminated. The protruded lower lip or the frightened wail which characterizes the infant's fear may give way to an almost unnoticeable trembling of the hands. The apparently aimless thrashing about of arms and legs of the angry infant may be replaced by a skillful and well-directed punch.

Finally, there are simple combinations of emotional responses arrived at by learning. The responses of fear, anger, and disgust are frequently combined—perhaps always when a person repeatedly "injures" or threatens to injure one. (We shall examine the more complex combinations of feeling under the name of sentiments in Chapter 15.)

If one considers how familiar these changes in emoting are, it is amazing how little we know about how to bring the changes about. Of course there are a few ideas. Thus popular psychology speaks of learning "by association": the burnt child dreads the fire—that is, the appearance of the fire takes on the role of evoking fear because of its association with a fear-provoking pain.

Emotional Conditioning

Some years ago this kind of learning was given the fancy new name *conditioning* and elevated into the position of being the all-sufficient principle of learning. Watson and

Rayner (295) showed experimentally that emotional as well as other kinds of behavior can, in fact, be conditioned. Albert, a well-adjusted infant who was happily playing with a white rat, was badly scared by a crashing noise; thereafter he cried and retreated in obvious fear whenever the rat was brought near him. Moreover the fear transferred to somewhat similar objects such as a rabbit. The experiment has since been repeated in various forms, not always successfully but often enough to show that learning of this type actually occurs.

The principle of conditioning is implicitly recognized by a people who, we may be sure, have never heard of Pavlov's or Watson's famous experiments. When the primitive Arapesh of New Guinea seek to wean a child (at two or three years of age), the mother holds a piece of taro in her hands while the child is suckling and chants: "Good taro, good taro, would you eat, would you eat." And when the child releases the breast for a moment, a bit of taro is slipped into its mouth (189). Many similar applications of the principle from everyday experiences will occur to most readers. On the other hand, we are often very blind to the possibilities of unfortunate conditioning. Punishing a child for not drinking his milk or for not spelling a word is apt to condition him against the milk or against spelling.

The principle of conditioning may also be applied in reverse. Finding that five-year-old Peter was afraid of furry animals (and fur coats) and feathers, Jones (138) set out to decondition him. He was exposed simultaneously to two stimuli, a fear-exciting rabbit and pleasure-exciting food. Care was taken, however to insure that the latter was the stronger by keeping the rabbit at first at a considerable distance. Little by little on successive days the rabbit was brought nearer and nearer while Peter was happily eating, until finally the day came when Peter spoke to the rabbit, patted it, and feared it no more.

And not only the rabbit! "By 'unconditioning' to the rabbit," writes Mrs. Jones, "Peter had been helped to overcome many superfluous fears, some completely, others to a less degree. His tolerance for strange animals and unfamiliar situations has apparently increased." A white rat, worms, feathers, and various furry objects were now accepted with relative equanimity.

This outcome is generally and properly spoken of as the extinction of fear; but it is just as properly spoken of as the acquisition of a friendly feeling toward the rabbit. Important to note is the fact that this technique is double edged and requires careful handling. Had

the rabbit been too rapidly introduced, Peter, instead of transferring his pleasant feeling from food to pet, might well have transferred his aversion from rabbit to food—exactly such aversions to foods have been set up. (If the experiment were not too unkind, I would guarantee to turn any child against his favorite food by forcing it upon him in association with heartily disliked foods.)

It will be observed that emotional conditioning is the process of altering the child's behavior under conditions that rule out much growth in the child's understanding. It is "blind" learning. Such learning is certainly possible, but the technique is of limited usefulness.

Later studies of conditioning, moreover, have shown that it is far from being the delightfully simple principle it appeared to be in Watson's popular book, *The psychological care of infant and child* (294). Straightforward conditioning (as with Pavlov's dogs or even with Watson's Albert) takes place in a highly artificial situation *where nearly all competing stimuli are excluded.* Thus one is tempted to say that conditioning is the way we learn when all better ways are ruled out. Certainly the learning which takes place in ordinary life, whether we call it conditioning or not, is usually not a *simple* linking of stimulus and response. This holds of the learning of emotional behavior by association, as well as of other kinds.

Thorndike (276) has suggested that association takes place only when the stimuli or objects belong together, and this seems a peculiarly apt description of emotional conditioning. Objects (or events) which seem to the child *to belong in an emotion-exciting situation* take on the prevailing stimulus-value of that situation; and this shift or transfer may take place without any special "intent to learn," or even without the child's realization that he is learning.

It is clear how important this sort of learning can be. Irrational and unreasoning likes and dislikes, fears, antipathies, attractions may thus be set up in even very young children, *and unless dislodged they may become permanent.* A very great deal of our emotional learning is definitely accidental.

Emotional Climate

Does this mean that we can do nothing about it? Not at all. For one thing we can bend every effort to insure that the total environmental "atmosphere" shall be such that the right kind of "accidents" have a chance to happen. The effect of "atmosphere" in determining emotional response has been verified by a

number of investigations. For example, Goodenough in her study of anger (99) found that "a major factor in determining the frequency with which anger is displayed by children is to be found in . . . the so-called home atmosphere." But indeed the effect of the emotional context lies open to even casual observation. An infant secure in its mother's lap will gurgle with delight at antics designed to amuse him. Deprived of that secure position, however, he may be frightened by just the same behavior. Thus a fifteen-month-old child who was terrified by the appearance of patent-leather dancing shoes shining strangely in brilliant sunshine ran to the "sanctuary" of her highchair. There, however, she allowed the shoes to be slipped over her feet and played with them happily. But when child and slippers were removed from the safety of the highchair to the floor, the fear returned, though with lessened force (74).

The same principle holds as we grow older. In the feverish excitement of a basketball game, the emotional responses of the crowd are heightened: a trivial episode brings quick anger, perhaps a brawl. And in the surcharged atmosphere of a religious revival, evangelists have been able to play on the emotions of the congregation as an organist on his keyboard, evoking in turn groans and sobs of despair, anger, pity, and finally jubilation over the repentance of sinners. When, away from the crowd and the emotional climate it creates, we read (or even hear the evangelist's pleas over the radio) we cannot imagine how they should have such effect.

Clinical studies of problem children abound in evidence that much of their difficulty—which is chiefly emotional, of course—comes from tension and discord in the home. Studies of normal homes and of schools indicate the value of a prevailing atmosphere of relaxation and calm.[7] It is apparent, then, that emotional learning depends, as to both direction and intensity, not only upon the immediate stimulus but upon the emotional climate.

Indeed for *permanent* learning, emotional climate is more important than any specific emotional incident. We owe the contrary popular belief in the importance of a single emotional shock or trauma chiefly to the earlier findings of psychoanalysis. In a typical case, a patient undergoing treatment for claustrophobia was led to remember that he had been severely bitten as a child while locked up in a small room with a dog. Although this incident had been "forgotten," he had ever since feared closed spaces.

[7] For schools, as one example among many, compare Boynton *et al.* (33). Brackett (34) finds that children who laugh most come from homes where there is most laughter.

Such cases obviously resemble the conditioned fear experimentally set up by Watson in the case of Albert—indeed Watson planned the experiment as an explanation of such emotional maladjustments. But Freud, meanwhile, was finding that a traumatic episode does not lead to neurosis unless the shocking experience is *sustained by fantasy*. In many cases, indeed, the shocking experience turns out to have been *pure fantasy*—that is, it never occurred at all—yet it is the basis of the neurosis. In other words, simple conditioned emotions in childhood, though they certainly occur, do not last unless they are sustained and nourished by the atmosphere of the home, school, and playground.[8]

Occasionally, however, traumatic experiences do seem to have lasting effects. Munroe is quoted (205, p. 414 ff.) as suggesting that such traumatic learnings are not deconditioned because a new stimulus as strong as the traumatic stimulus can seldom be used. Suppose that a child is so terrified by a dog that the mere sight of one causes convulsive shrieks and vomiting. It would not be very practicable, obviously, to decondition him, as Mrs. Jones did Peter (see page 147), by introducing the dog at a distance while the child was eating. The result would be not so much reduction of terror of the dog as a prompt digestive upset, and at least the risk that the child would turn against the food he was eating.

But thousands upon thousands of children have been as severely attacked by dogs and do not develop such profound terror as to resist deconditioning. One must ask, therefore, not only how the traumatic experience originated but why it persists. There is something special, clearly, when a child reveals marked and continuing effects of a psychic trauma; certainly they should have professional attention. And we should beware of how we generalize from such highly special cases to those of more ordinary character.

Actually it should be obvious that not every intense experience is destined to have such salient and permanent effects. Otherwise what a terrific burden of conditioned emotions every one of us would be carrying around with him. We should indeed all be neurotic! Intense experiences, emotional shocks do of course have an influence; they are part—but only part—of the total emotional climate which forms the child's personality. By all means let us avoid subjecting a child to great shocks and tensions; but let us not worry too much if a child

[8] In neurotic cases, if we are to trust Freud, they are nourished by the persistent fantasy; but this in turn obviously is due to instigating conditions in the social situation. For a discussion of the shift in psychoanalytic opinion, see Misbach (196), Fenichel (85), and Horney (118).

with normal experiences has to meet some childish crisis. A secure emotional background will carry him through without too serious or too enduring damage.

Consideration of emotional climate leads to a number of other practical implications. Consider first the attempt to improve conduct through punishment. Here the emotional coloring is one dominated by pain and thwarting, and this atmosphere tends to attach itself to everything in the punishing situation—particularly, of course, to the central figure, the person inflicting the punishment. (All too often, however, the painful emotional coloring does *not* extend to the misdeed which, being over and done with so far as the child is concerned, is not effectively made to belong in the punishing situation.) Is it any wonder that the effect of punishment is often only to make "ideals" seem hateful? They are preached in an atmosphere of pain and resentment.

As a positive implication, we may set down that the first introduction of anything which seems likely to be disturbing should be made in a situation where the child is secure, at ease, and happy. And more generally, let us set down that *no effort to keep either home or school a genuinely happy and pleasant place can be considered excessive.*

Direct Imitation in Emotional Learning

We have been considering the situation where the prevailing atmosphere gives color to the events taking place therein and thus helps to determine association between these events and various emotions. Somewhat similar is the situation where the child's response is not merely modified by the current emotional tone but is a direct imitation of emotional behavior. To say that a child learns by imitating is not in any fundamental sense to explain what is happening; it is only to describe. The child observes another's behavior and copies it in his own. As a result, he learns new modes of emoting.

The Payne Fund studies of the influence of motion pictures (58) found ample evidence that children directly—perhaps deliberately—copy the emotions shown on the screen. Many fears and prejudices are learned by little children without any direct experience with the offending object merely by copying the emotions of family or associates. The glee of other children in anticipation of some treat imparts itself to the child who doesn't know what it is all about. Dislike of the teacher is quickly communicated to the new pupil.

Perhaps the "crowd psychologists" made too much of the idea of

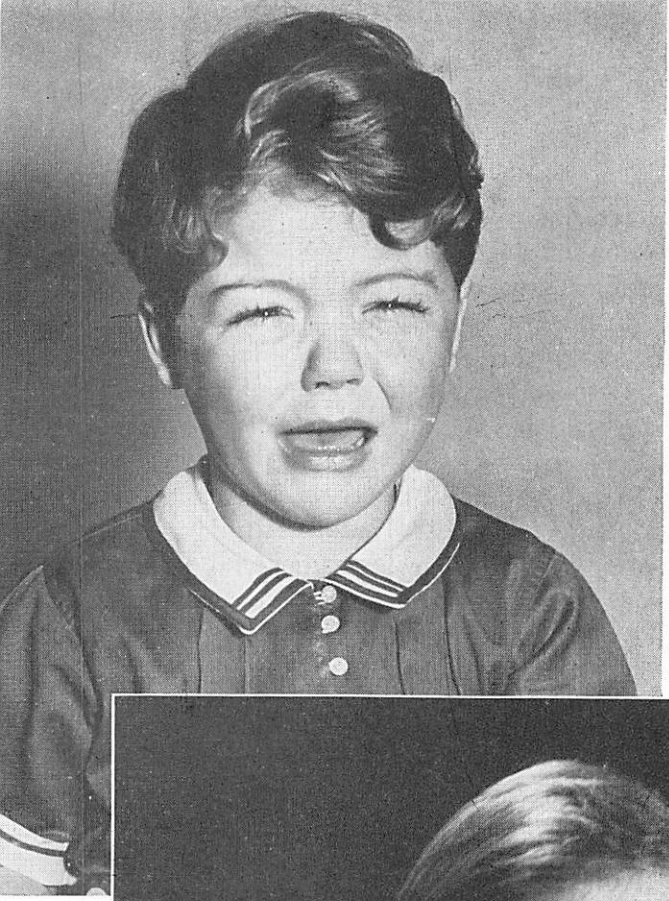

Figure 12. One Way of Learning to Emote

You can hardly help sharing these little fellows' feelings. An infant, seeing another person's feeling, still less can avoid imitating it.

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y, N. Y.

emotional contagion, but it is very much a fact. Waves of contagious emotion sweep across a classroom, occasionally helping but more often disrupting attempts to direct pupil learning.

The quiet absorption of the habitual emotional tone of those about one is even more important for a child's development. Emotion is less often taught than caught. A fearful child may learn calmness from being near a calm child. Unfortunately the reverse is even more likely, since fearfulness is usually more dynamic than calmness.

It is thus fortunate that parents and teachers—unless they have forfeited it—have prestige-authority in the eyes of children. "The adult can more easily set the tone of gaiety or severity, of nervous tenseness or of calm, than can a child. Teachers can develop an 'atmosphere' in a schoolroom, even when the major trend of the atmosphere is contrary to the previous experience of the children." The flurried mother or teacher "teaches" the child to be jumpy; the quiet, calm adult teaches the child to meet life without excessive emotionality.

> But how the notion of emotional suppression and control continues to haunt us even when we know better! It was not until the foregoing paragraph was written that I realized how negative were its implications. Merely a passing mention of more gaiety, all the rest of the discussion implying that the adult, in setting the emotional tone, should tone *down* the child's emotion. Now clearly this is only half the picture. If it is important for a child to have as his models persons who are calm and relaxed; it is just as important that he have about him persons who emote spontaneously, persons whose emotions are adjustive reactions, positive and effective ways of getting things done. Joy, pleasure, enthusiasm as well as gaiety should well forth spontaneously when they are appropriate; and so should anger, disgust, sympathy, and, yes, even fear. Let us give the child a chance to learn by imitation how to emote effectively as well as how not to emote.

Influence of Words in Modifying Emotions

Just because you have found it impossible to check emoting in children by cautionary or reassuring words, do not underestimate their role in emotion, particularly in modifying emotion. Words, in the first place, may acquire the power to arouse emotion in the complete absence of any relevant experience. And words may modify emotional response to actual objects or situations.

For the first kind of learning, the surveys of fears by Jersild and his associates (132, 134) are very much to the point. They found that a large percentage of the fears in the elementary-school period are fears of objects or happenings with which the children have had no direct experience whatever. They fear animals, even though they have never been attacked by any animal, let alone the "lions," "bears," and "wolves" of their anxiety; they fear "criminals," "burglars," "bad men," supernatural agents such as "ghosts" or "pixies," and "death" (even though in most cases no deathlike separation from loved ones has ever been their lot). In short, *they feared words.*

Of course, conditioning of a relatively simple sort cannot always be ruled out here. There may have been a frightening experience of some object to which a wrong name was applied; a startling noise was called a "ghost" and so the word "ghost" acquired a "conditional" potency to arouse fear. Or fear of the dark may have been aroused by some untoward event that happened in the dark, and the fear then spread to "darkness" in general (by the process called "stimulus generalization").

Far more often, however, a child learns this fear from the remarks of some stupid adult or miseducated playmate. "Are you afraid of the dark, Jackie?" asks the visitor to make conversation. That's a new idea to Jackie, aged two-and-a-half, and he turns it over in his little head wonderingly.[9] Presently he listens to stories which emphasize the terror that others feel in the dark. Or someone like James Whitcomb Riley's "Orphant Annie" tells about how *in the dark* "The goblins will git you if you don't look out." By purely verbal stimulation and without any frightening event, a full-blown fear of the dark may thus be set up. The process is not different, apparently, with other ways of emoting.

Equally familiar, when we come to think about it, is the way in which words modify our emotional responses to actual objects or situations. Inform someone who is idly examining a harmless-looking metal object that it is a hand grenade which will explode if he sets off the trigger, and you will easily enough induce in him a healthy "concern," if not acute terror. The Arapesh of New Guinea develop a truly remarkable tribal unity by verbal conditioning. To a child happily eating the mother says: "See that woman; she's your aunt.

[9] It will be noted that this parallels the fantasy found important in the genesis of neurotic fears.

She's good. She gives you food. She's good, good." Everyone in the village is thus made "good" (189, p. 45). Words have almost magic power to change the way we look at things and hence to change our ways of reacting to them emotionally.

Of course it is possible to mismanage the verbal manipulation of emoting. Investing an object with new emotional values by means of words is easier than divesting it of old ones. Telling a child "Now don't be afraid, the nice doctor won't hurt you" merely keeps the fearful situation in the forefront of attention and thus intensifies the reaction. (Verbal reassurance by a trusted parent probably works, when it does, because the child absorbs some of the parent's obvious lack of emotion and because the reassurance reminds the child of the parent's protective "strength.") Telling a child that he is not hungry and that the ice cream in the amusement park is dirty merely reminds him that he *is* hungry and that even dirty ice cream tastes good. In short, words may excite the very emotion we seek to diminish.

A more subtle indirect approach is necessary, if we are to break down an emotional habit by means of words. To oversimplify a very complex issue, telling a child, "Don't be afraid of the nice doctor," won't work, but telling him stories about doctors and about how nice they are—well in advance of the time the doctor is needed—will, if skillfully done, build up a favorable picture of doctors in the child's mind. The trick is to alter the emotive value of a situation; and language is perhaps the chief means whereby this is done, the chief means whereby we impart to others a changed perspective on the situations in which they are placed.

For we do not react emotionally to the objectively real facts or situation but to the situation as we apprehend or take it to be. Objective circumstances may remain exactly the same, but we somehow come to see the facts in a new light, come then to react to them emotionally in a wholly new manner—or cease to react to them emotionally at all.

Thus, the mysterious and threatening shape in the semidarkness proves to be only a bush—if you suppress your tendency to run away long enough to really perceive it. The foot stuck out in the aisle to trip you may not be an occasion for "righteous anger," if you hold back your annoyance long enough to see it as an accident or at worst a childish prank. With reappraisal or revaluation of the situation (in which, as we have been saying, language plays a critical role), the whole emotional picture changes.

Is it, then, the reappraisal which causes us to emote differently, or do we reappraise the situation because we have changed our emotional response? Neither alternative quite fits the facts, because what we have called the reappraisal—that is, the reperceiving of the emotional situation—is an integral part of the emoting. We do not usually ask whether a part causes a change in the whole to which it belongs, or vice versa.

We can, however, speak of the reappraisal instigating a change in the rest of the emotional complex. But we change our appraisals because we are interacting with our environment; specifically, in the process of emoting we come to readjust in one way or another to the emotive situation. Thus the child, merely because he reacts affectionately to his puppy, finds in his pet ever new occasions for delight, sees in him virtues of which others take but a dim view. It is thus just as correct to say that emoting causes the reappraisal as it is to hold to the opposite view.

There is, however, an advantage, and also a disadvantage, in thinking *as if* the reappraisal were the cause of the change in emotion. The advantage is that we can often effectively try to change emoting by examining the situation, trying to perceive it in a new way. It sometimes helps if we look for the good points in a person we hate. The disadvantage is that nothing really happens so long as the reappraisal remains purely intellectual. How often we admit—it sometimes seems as if we were a little proud of ourselves—that we are prejudiced for no good reason, but we "just can't help feeling that way." It is only when reappraisal is closely integrated with the whole complex of emoting that it has dynamic effect.

Play therapy. A currently popular means of bringing about such emotional reappraisal is play therapy, in which children are encouraged to enact in play the emotional attitudes usually socially repressed—particularly hostility to parents. The conventional explanation in terms of catharsis (that the play "gets it out of the child's system") is open to very grave objection. According to this doctrine of catharsis, the best cure for hostility should be direct display of actual hostility. We know that actually such display usually increases it. It is the hostility which is expressed in *play* that is thereby reduced; and this fact suggests at least part of the reason why play therapy works.

It will be remembered that a child is normally bipolar in his attitude toward his parents, so that anger and affection chase each other across his countenance as shadow and sunlight on a field in April. In problem children this normal bipolarity is disturbed; ha-

tred and hostility have gained too great superiority over love. Therapy, then, seeks to restore bipolarity, to bring the child's hostility into a normal and balanced relation with affection.

Now when hostile feeling is expressed in words or in the symbols of play, the child is likely to be reminded that he has other and contradictory attitudes. Thus when the doll-child is made to cry out to the doll-mother, "I want to kill you," the director of this little drama is being reminded that, although he does hate, he also loves his real mother. In the real life situation, however, the rush of anger and hostility is often too headlong to permit such saving afterthoughts or afterfeelings.

Spontaneous hostility play, moreover, is less likely to reduce hostility than is the structured situation of play therapy. There is something about the permissive atmosphere of the therapy sessions that is favorable to the emergence of the feelings of affection toward the parent along with the permitted feelings of animosity. And it is the integration of the hostility feeling with the feeling of affection which gives play therapy its real value. It works (when it does, for it sometimes fails) by favoring a more sanely balanced attitude toward the hated parent—that is, by favoring the reappraisal of the emotion-arousing object. And in this process, words or other symbolic representations play an important part.

Should the teacher attempt to use play therapy? I wish I might say so; undoubtedly the technique is very valuable. As a classroom procedure, however, really full-blown play therapy is seldom to be recommended. If nothing else, a roomful of children tearing up the place and raucously expressing aggression against authority would have "political" repercussions.

Moreover, it is rather doubtful that it would usually work in so large a group. Each child needs to work out his own individual problem, under the eye of a person in authority who is nonetheless permissive; when there are too many other children in the group, this central feature is obscured by the social pressures of the others. If authority is unwontedly relaxed, a wave of aggressive misbehavior may sweep the room; and for some of the children this may be far from what they need.

Finally, neither the parent nor the teacher, who are the usual authority figures for the child, are appropriate persons to direct play therapy. The restoration of normal bipolar feeling takes place better when a substitute authority figure relaxes the usual controls. Moreover the play-therapy situation sometimes has unfortunate effects on the normal school discipline when the same adult appears in both.

After all, there is a sense in which the teacher is necessarily something of a taskmistress; she must, as the experiment on democratic atmosphere shows, exercise a certain kind of control. It can be quite confusing to a child to have to move from the almost completely permissive atmosphere of play therapy to the ordered conduct necessary in class, if the same adult is in charge.

Play—ordinary play—has many values and these should be zealously sought by the teacher. But they are not quite the values of "play therapy," and normally the teacher should not be the therapist—certainly not, if the treatment concerns problems in which the teacher plays a part.

As we have implied in this discussion, young children are not the only ones to build emotional responses around verbal stimuli. In fact it is quite the opposite. It is the very young child who is the "realist," who reacts to things just as they are. For the infant, a pin prick is a pin prick. Wordsworth might well have been thinking of a child when he wrote, "The primrose on the river's brim, A yellow primrose was to him, And that is all." As he grows older, however, his emotional reactions are more and more contaminated by verbalization; more and more he responds to things as described or as thought about.

In the early years at school, nonetheless, the symbols which arouse emoting are still quite concrete: such things as a "bear" (nonexistent as a real bear in the child's experience but still a concrete object) and a prospective "holiday" (not yet here, but full of concrete imaginings). Only gradually do the verbal incitements to emoting become more abstract, and it is only toward the end of childhood that emoting is aroused by highly abstract notions like *duty* or *gratitude.*

This is not to deny that in a concrete situation the child may not act "gratefully"; but he cannot adequately abstract the notion of *gratitude* from all its attendant circumstances and so have meaning for the word. The younger child may learn to parrot the word, of course, and by imitation or conditioning, this word can acquire an emotional connotation. Yet it remains empty intellectually. It is like the experience of the deaf old lady who told the parson: "I could not hear much of your sermon, but I did catch that blessed word *Mesopotamia* and was greatly comforted." A great deal of religious and character education misses its mark by conditioning emotion and fine feeling and noble aspiration to mere words about as empty of real significance to the child as was Mesopotamia to the old lady.

Yet the positive value of language must not be overlooked. If we

do not force the pace, words may gain in generality without losing contact with concrete fact. As the child grows older, *gratitude* may become both richer in concrete meaning and also more general. And as the child learns to react to abstract symbolic stimuli rather than to physical stimuli alone, his emotional life gains proportionately in perspective and scope, in ability to meet quickly and without too prolonged reflection the exigencies of everyday life. If it is true that prejudice is likely to be simply emotion attached to a word, so also is a large part of the practical morality without which we could hardly run our world.

The further development whereby emotions become organized into more elaborate patterns will be dealt with in Chapter 15. Here it suffices to note that the attachment of emotional reactions to words, especially abstract words, is an important aspect of maturity. For both good and ill, then, verbal modifications of emotion are of real significance.

Modifying Emotion by Mastering the Situation

In the case of children, more direct ways of modifying emotion may be needed and are available. Here again the studies made of fear are illuminating. Procedures that help the child to face and *deal effectively* with the feared situation have been found by parents to be most helpful, whereas "ridicule, ignoring the fear, or forcibly compelling the child to face the feared situation were of little help" (129, p. 20).

The effectiveness of helping the child to master the *situation* instead of attempting to master his fears, was put to the experimental test with preschool children by Jersild and Holmes (132) and by Eckert (73). In one series, the children who feared the dark were shown how to turn on the light in a dark room if they needed it. Presently they were traversing the dark room to get to the light switch without any expression of fear. In other experiments they learned to walk a plank raised some height above the ground by proving to themselves that they could manage the task when the plank was raised only a few inches. It is well known that fear of the water quickly disappears when one acquires enough swimming skill. The injunction to drive again as soon as possible after being involved in a motoring accident—which, for other reasons, is not always sound—is based on the same principle of mastering the situation or proving to yourself that you can master it.

Anger also is quickly brought under control or altered as soon as one learns how to deal effectively with the anger-provoking situation. In most homes, however, as Goodenough (99) found, "Little prevention is practiced. Attempts at control are thus confined to correcting what has already occurred."

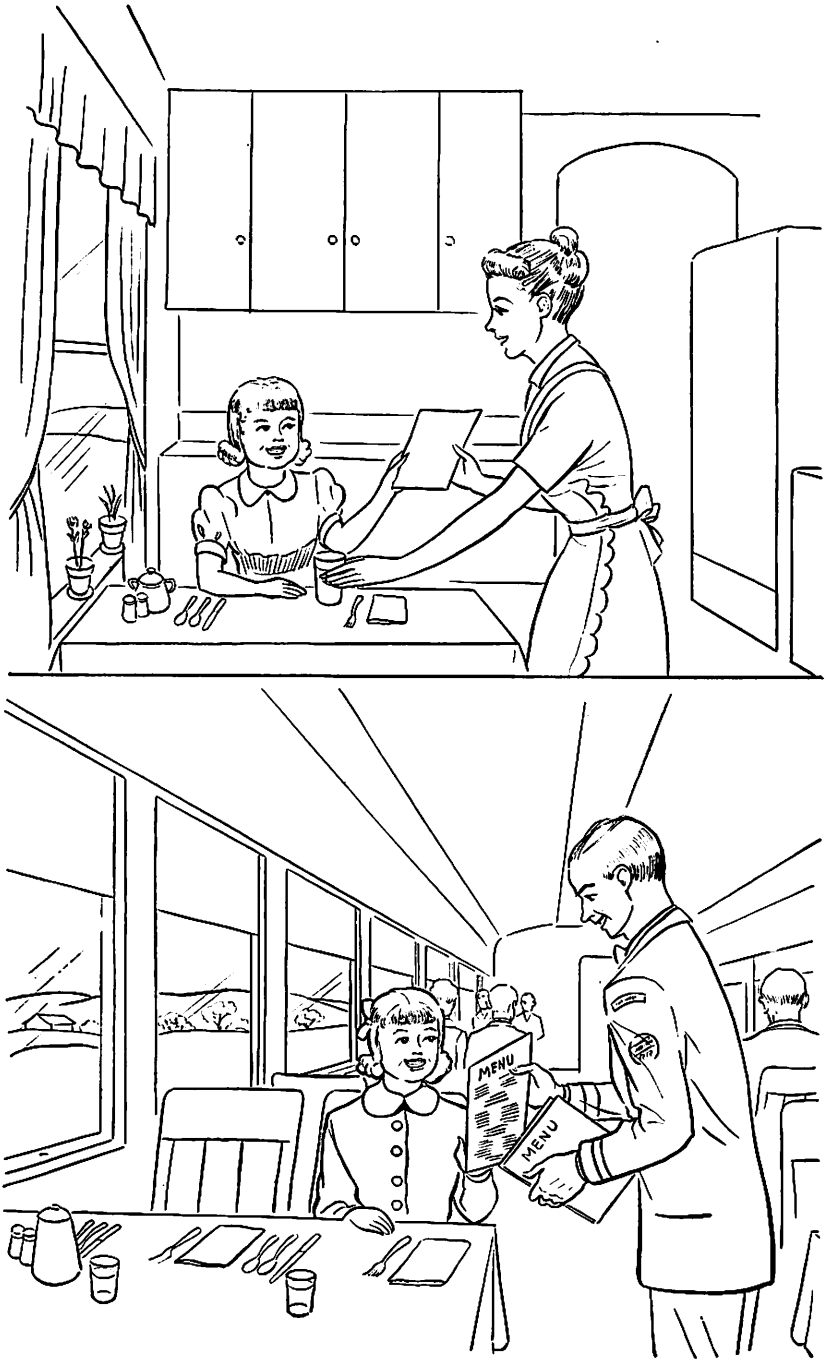
Control or redirection of the emotings which stem from delight probably follows the same principle. The almost prostrating joy over the new bicycle gradually takes on a different tone as one learns to ride it; mastery of the situation, we see, brings with it a constructive change in even joyful emoting. Familiarity may not breed contempt but, by teaching us how to master the situation, it does lessen joy as well as fear or anger or disgust. Nor is this regrettable. As we master the situation, as we make our adjustment to whatever it is that has stirred us up, we are ready to move on to new experiences, new achievements. Continued mere enjoyment of that which we have already mastered is as stultifying to improvement as a stereotyped or enduring anger or fear.

Play as an Indirect Mastering of Emotive Situations. One of the primary values of play is that it helps children to gain a sense of mastery over what would otherwise be emotional situations. How this can be deliberately utilized by parents or teachers is interestingly set forth in a popular article, "Dramatic Lessons for Youngsters" (95). For example, a child who was to take a journey alone play-acted under her mother's guidance the various experiences she was about to meet and thereby gained the poise of a seasoned traveler. A frightening encounter in a park with a pervert was re-enacted, and the children, with some suggestions, planned and acted out the way to meet this situation.

The use of drama in schools to "add interest" to what a child is studying is by now an old story. Frequently it is uneconomical of time; frequently it adds interest to almost anything but the "facts and ideas" the teacher seeks to inculcate. (Jack learns more about stage management than about the hunting economics of the Sioux Indians.) Drama and dramatic play as a means of altering the children's emotional pattern is, however, a resource parents and teachers would do well to exploit more fully.

The so-called psychodrama is a somewhat more formal device along the same lines. Persons with a problem of interpersonal adjustment first re-enact scenes from real life, then having seen the futility of the maladjustive behavior they had indulged in, they work out and

Figure 13. Play Acting for Mastery of Emotion



practice on the stage more constructive conduct. The emotional tone of subsequent life situations of similar character is altered because the person now has adequate responses ready.[10]

► Emotional Changes in Childhood

Growth in Suitability

Growth in suitability is shown in a variety of ways, perhaps not all of them entirely distinct. The *intensity* of response, its *duration,* its *timing*—all tend to be more suitable to the nature of the emotive situation. The response to be more suitable need not be less intense; indeed in some circumstances the response needs to be more intense if it is to be appropriate. Similarly it may need to be more, or it may need to be less, prolonged. It may need to be more or less easily aroused. Maturity of emoting is shown by a modulation of response to suit the circumstances.

Consider, for example, the intellectually precocious child of eight described somewhere by Leta Hollingworth. When his class was promised some minor treat, he jumped up and down, exclaiming with glee. His classmates, averaging two to three years older, immediately expressed their scorn at such "kiddish" display. Or consider the extreme anguish of the girls in a high-school sorority when a rival group captures an attractive "pledge," in contrast with the more temperate regret of the college sorority. Here maturity is identified with moderation. Yet we do not characterize as immature the mother's fear when her child's life is in danger, even though the fear be very intense, almost prostrating. Nor is it immature to feel with the poet "On with the dance, let joy be unconfined." As for duration, emoting tends on the whole to persist longer in older than in younger persons. The simple formula that maturity means more moderate emotion thus does not quite hold; *mature emoting is better characterized as modulated, graded, versatile, and adaptive.*

A further factor in making emotion suitable is a change in the way

[10] It is to be noted that the presence of an audience—perhaps an audience of only one—seems to be essential or at least highly desirable. As in play therapy, so in the psychodrama we seem to need someone to "accept" our misconduct before we readily learn to change it. "Acceptance" is not merely a sort of middle ground between condoning and condemning; it has a positive quality of its own. It is, of course, almost the exact opposite of disciplinary coercion. The latter says "Stop doing that!"; the former says, "I see how you feel about it; what do you want to do?" Much current psychotherapy emphasizes, and probably all psychotherapy has actually employed, the principle of "acceptance."

emoting is instigated. Many more kinds of things and situations elicit emoting as one grows older. A mature person is more sensitive to the range of emotional possibilities—for himself, and especially, for others. In part, the change is simply a phase of the whole process of intellectual growth and enriched experience. Situations, persons or objects which once aroused no fear now do so because one has enough knowledge to make their fearful quality manifest. And of course, vice versa.[11]

Here, as elsewhere, growth does not necessarily mean immediate improvement, for as we have noted in the last section there is a marked tendency in middle childhood toward having more fears that are totally unrealistic—fears of nonexistent dangers and of dangers not really threatening. Yet is it not more mature to fear a hobgoblin (at age 6) rather than to fear simply a sudden noise? (But it *is* immature when an adult does not get over such foolishness.)

In the infant a relatively simple sensory stimulation serves to evoke emoting. In the older child, the sensory stimulation becomes part of a wider perceptual context. The Halloween mask that evokes terror in a two-year-old will a year later be seen as something worn by Brother Jack and hence only mildly exciting. In the mature adult it is rare for a mere sensory or even a simple perceptual experience, as such, to bring on emotion. When a barked shin or a bruised knuckle arouses us to anger, we are a little ashamed of ourselves for being "childish"—and we ought to be. Hamlet's melancholic response to the skull was not to the skull he held in his hands but to "poor Yorick, I knew him well." The young woman's delight in the engagement ring is not primarily because of its intrinsic beauty as a here-and-now perceived object (as would be that of a three-year-old) but because of its symbolic value: of the happy days to come—or of the envy and admiration of her friends.

In short as we grow older, social, symbolic, and imaginative stimuli play an increasing role. Thus there is an enormously greater range of possible situations, and a greater complexity. Our emotional behavior, like all our action, more and more reaches back into the past and forward into the future. The adult human is a "Time Binder," reacting here and now to what has been or to what is yet to come.

On the whole, then, and with many exceptions, the fact that our

[11] Thus Shirley (249) calls attention also to the delayed appearance of the fear of strangers at about one-and-a-half years. See also Jones and Jones (137), English (74), and Valentine (285).

Figure 14. It Depends on How You See It

emotional life is guided by imagination and thought as well as by perception makes it more flexible and adaptable. Though we are occasionally misled thereby, we are better able to bring to bear on the present situation a whole range of relevant considerations.

► Summary

Despite great individual variability, there is a fairly regular pattern of development in emoting. While innate factors play a part, most of the achievement of emotional maturity is due to learning. The highly advertised conditioning of emotion undoubtedly plays a part, especially in bringing about many of our seemingly irrational and mysterious emotional reactions. But imitation and the "absorption" of emotional behavior from the psychological "climate" play a more important role.

Language is a more important means of modifying and manipulating a child's emotions than is usually recognized. It is chiefly by means of language that the child is led to reappraise the nature of emotion-arousing objects or circumstances. Learning to cope directly with the circumstances helps the child to master his fears or other emotings. Thus play and drama often serve to help the child to a

more mature control of the emotive situation; and they also teach quite straightforwardly what some of the more mature emotional responses are.

Gradually the child develops emotional behavior which is more neatly suited to the circumstances. Mature emotion is modulated, versatile, and adaptive. It is instigated, moreover, by a wider range of emotive situations; symbolic stimuli enable one to respond emotionally not only to the here and now but to the past and the future.

Exercises

1. Look up in a thesaurus the various names given to anger or fear. Are all the angers the same? What is the essential element? How do the several angers differ?
2. On page 147 we say that objects which seem to the child to belong in an emotion-exciting situation are conditioned to. Can you think of examples where an object connected with an emotion-exciting situation does not change its emotional value?
3. Nearly every child is at some time scared "half to death" by one of his parents. Why doesn't this usually leave some terrible "psychic scar"?
4. Have you a persistent fear or so-called phobia: e.g. of birds and feathers? Can you account for it? How sure are you of your explanation?
5. The experiments quoted show that we reduce fear by learning to master the fear-inducing situation. Try to apply this principle to other emotings: e.g., disgust, excitement, hilarity.

7 Emoting as a Social Process

Emotion is chiefly a matter of interacting with people. How well can children communicate their emotions to others? How well can they understand others' emotings?

How much emotional control is desirable and possible? How can it be achieved?

The increasing socialization of emotion with maturity deserves a separate chapter because of its special relevance to the teacher's task. We have just noted that the stimulus to emoting grows more complex with maturity. That complexity is largely due to the fact that persons are more and more involved. Take the case of a painful pin prick. In the very young infant it causes an undifferentiated all-over response: thrashing movements, crying. A little later in infancy it evokes direct defensive-avoidance responses. The very young child, however, has learned to look on the pin prick as a social outrage—his response is an angry "You can't do that to me," with or without an overt attack upon the offender. Later the social aspect of the situation becomes still more influential. The child tends more and more to "consider the source." If a much smaller child is wielding the pin, the annoyance is mixed with scorn or amusement. Or a boy may "show his manhood" by ignoring the pain; the pin prick is now not merely pain but part of highly complex social and ethical situations. The stimulus-value of the pin prick has undergone a complete change. The "who" of emotive stimulation becomes at least as important as the "what."

Note also the emergence to focal position in this development of the verbal and expressive components of emoting. The child becomes better and better able to judge the social motivation of those around him through taking note of their words and their facial and other emotional expressions. And in his own responses he increasingly substitutes verbal-symbolic and expressive behavior for direct

action.[1] Emotional behavior becomes, with maturity, more and more an instrument of social intercourse, a way of getting things done in a social situation, of influencing and being influenced by people.

► Emotional Language

Emotional expression is not, however, an innate endowment, though it is built around a core of native reaction patterns. That such native reaction patterns exist is shown by the fact that blind children (who have had no opportunity to learn how others express their emotions) nonetheless exhibit recognizably similar patterns. That learning plays a part is seen from the fact that the blind have a less extensive and subtle repertoire of emotional expressions [Goodenough (101), Thompson (274), and Fulcher (91)].

Communication

All the finer shadings of emotional communication have to be learned just as other forms of language have to be learned. The emotions of little children are indeed, as we often say, an open book; but it is a book written in a childish scrawl and communicating only the most undifferentiated sort of "emotional story." Young children have not, it is true, learned to dissemble their emotions; what they communicate is therefore true as far as it goes. But they have not learned by voice and words and gestures to convey their own emotional state with any degree of finesse or delicacy. Indeed infants can hardly tell any sort of emotional story. Thus Sherman (247) in an oft-quoted study proved that not even presumably skilled observers (nurses, medical students, graduate students in psychology) could identify the emotions displayed in motion pictures of the newborn. By ten months, however, the infant's repertoire of emotional expressions has sufficiently advanced so that observers can make rather crude but correct identifications. Goodenough (100) and Kwint (149) found that there is a steady gain throughout childhood in what might be called emotional vocabulary—that is, that children are better able as they grow older to communicate to others how they feel, not only by words but by gesture and the whole range of emotional expression. In large part this is because they move toward a relatively stereotyped or standardized expression. Yet even in adult life the standardization of emotional expression off the stage

[1] See the studies of anger by Goodenough (99) and by Jersild and Markey (133) and of a variety of emotional episodes by Blatz, Chant, and Slater (31).

falls far short of that which has become traditional for actors [Landis (150)]. Teachers by direct instruction and probably even more by setting a pattern for imitation can help children acquire accurate and flexible emotional language.

Make-believe as Emotional Expression. A particular form of emotional expression is found in make-believe. In art and literary forms when these are sufficiently mastered, in storytelling and dramatics, and in free play, the child may indirectly express emotion which has, for one reason or another, been denied direct expression. Long recognized by novelists and other sensitive observers of child nature, this tendency to indirect expression has been taken advantage of in a number of "projective techniques" designed to aid diagnosis of the child's "inner life." While not satisfied with the usual theoretical basis put forth to account for the facts, I concede, as any impartial person must, that the child's unconstrained actions reveal his dynamic trends. Interpreting what is revealed by a child's play, however, is not itself child's play but a very difficult and professional task.

"There is a natural temptation," say Breckenridge and Vincent (35, p. 107) "for amateurs or novices, people who have just discovered, for example, that a stormy picture may, on occasion, mean a stormy inner life, to 'interpret' everything children do. This is a great mistake since accurate interpretation of the meaning of 'projected' emotions requires expert training. Far more harm than good results from false interpretations." Moreover, preoccupation with ultrasophisticated interpretations may cause teachers to overlook more mundane behavior and more reliable explanations.[2]

Should the untrained teacher, then ignore the significance of all indirect emotional behavior? By no means; to do so would be to overlook innumerable useful clues. I believe, however, that the teacher not *thoroughly* trained in projective techniques will do better to cultivate a sensitive awareness to the child's emotional needs at an informed common-sense level, rather than to struggle with the Rorschach Technique or similar device. If she will do this, she will learn to recognize those children whose behavior is sufficiently unusual to call for professional diagnosis, whether by projective techniques or otherwise.[3]

[2] It may be well to reread the section on Projective Procedures in Chapter 2, pp. 50–53.
[3] It is to be hoped that my caution in respect to projective techniques will not be mistaken for hostility. As a matter of fact I look forward to the time when they can be sufficiently simplified for less highly professionalized use. But the extraordinary range and delicacy of the indirect behaviors which must be evaluated makes simplification dangerous, and progress toward it accordingly slow. For a more optimistic appraisal, one may consult the account by Murphy and Horowitz (208).

Understanding of Emotional Language

Of equal or greater significance is the child's growth in understanding of the emotional expressions of others. We noted above the enormous importance of the emotional climate; obviously the climate is effective in proportion as the child understands the emotional behavior of those about him. Here the experimental studies are scantier. The studies of Buhler and Hetzer in Buhler (40), Gates (94), and Kellogg and Eagleson (143) confirm much everyday observation that there is a regular development throughout childhood in the discrimination of expression. Yet there are enormous individual differences in adult life in the ability to recognize others' feelings, and there is a positive correspondence between such ability and social adjustment (87). Moreover, Guilford (108) shows that this ability can be improved with training.

Contrary to one bit of folklore, older children can judge the emotion being experienced by others better than younger children. It is true that children (and dogs and other pets, too) sometimes have an uncomfortable habit of seeing and responding to the total behavior of a person, and are thus not misled by insincere endearments and the like. These faked expressions are, of course, part-behaviors *intended to be observed,* but they are not really representative of the person's total reaction. The child succeeds in recognizing the real emotion—that is, the total behavior as integrated about the internal component—because of his very *in*ability to discriminate part-behaviors separately. But being thus unable to make fine discriminations, children also miss perfectly sincere but subtle nuances of emotional communication, and thus fail fully to understand the other person's actual behavior or feeling. Normally, there is a steady growth during childhood in understanding emotional communication and hence a steady growth in social sensitivity.

Need for Training in Emotional Expression

The expression "steady growth" must not mislead us however. That steady growth is a matter of averages; it conceals a tremendous range of individual differences. And the fact that the average shows a rise from year to year does not indicate that the children are learning as much as they might or as they need or even that every child is learning.

The problem is particularly acute in the first school years. Children come to school with a limited experience with people outside their own family. They have learned, little by little, to know what

a certain tone means when mother uses it, how to interpret father's weary and discouraged slouch. Every family has its own emotional peculiarities, its own "dialect" of emotional communication. There are also national and regional dialects in emotional communication which are quite as striking and as important as those in other kinds of language. The vivacious Italian and the repressed and taciturn Yankee differ almost as much in their emotional as in their verbal languages. Nor should we neglect social class as a cause of differences in emotional expression.

Thus when the child encounters the teacher with her quite different emotional idiom, there are grave problems of communication. She may come from another part of the country; she is quite likely to belong to a different social layer; at the very least she comes from a different home. Where mother is gay, the teacher may be sober—or it may be vice versa. Where mother scolds loudly—when she really means it—the teacher may talk so quietly and softly that she surely doesn't expect one to pay much attention. Or where mother's face is quick to light up with a smile or darken with a frown, teacher's mask never seems to change. (But perhaps most troublesome of all is the teacher who by every gesture and expression tells only too clearly the story of her own emotional tension, or desperate earnestness, of worry, or of unhappiness.) Children thus find great difficulty in understanding the teacher's emotional expressions.

It is not merely the teacher whose emotional dialect is mysterious. Other children can be frighteningly difficult to understand. School confronts the child with an enormous increase in the number and variety of contacts with other children; indeed for many a child it is the first extensive experience with children outside his own family. No wonder, then, that the child is frequently bewildered by the differences in emotional expression which greet him at school. It remains a persistent problem throughout the school years.

As for the teacher, with her greater experience in interpreting others' emotions, perhaps she is less often confused than the child; yet she is all too likely to fail to understand the child's crude emotional "dialect" and hence to fail to respond adequately to his needs. Every experienced teacher can tell tales, if she will, of how thoroughly she has at one time or another misunderstood an emotional episode or crisis.

Considering its importance in the development of personality and the attainment of happy social adjustment, emotional language receives very little attention in our schools. Communication by words

is taught chiefly as a means of conveying ideas; its function in communicating and eliciting emotion is given but secondary attention. How often do we help children to understand the subtle emotional shadings of the language of everyday life, especially of the spoken word? Granted, we occasionally correct gross errors, attempt to suppress a few "bad" expressions, especially profanity, but we seldom have a positive program for enrichment.

To be effective, such enrichment must be in terms of the child's own level and of his own experiences. The study of archaic language and figures of speech based on wholly alien ways and culture, however much they are sanctified by poetic usage, does very little to enrich the child's ability either to express his own feeling or to evoke emoting in other children (or adults) or to respond emotionally to their language stimuli. We need down-to-earth training, but that training should not be merely for the training of intellect with emphasis upon exposition, but a rich and varied, if indirect, emotional experiences.

> This is, of course, an appeal for "poetic" language training—an enterprise fraught with peculiar difficulties with which we cannot deal here. Let us, however, note one point that springs directly from the psychology of children's emotions. We must be prepared to recognize verbal emotional expression at the level of the child's development, and we should welcome it as a worthy use of language. This means a conscious effort on our part to accept not merely crudities of expression but crudities of feeling. *Only as we learn to accept can we hope to improve the child's behavior*—and this is especially true in the realm of emotion where spontaneity is of such particular importance.
>
> The writing of "poetry" which strikes a responsive chord in adults —or even in fellow pupils—is thus less important than a genuine expression of the child's own feeling. The emphasis at first should be upon whether Gordon really feels the way the words say, not upon whether he makes us feel with him. (Needless to remark, it is fatal at this point to raise the question as to whether Gordon "ought" to feel that way or ought to express his feelings if he does.) Later we can help him to see the social role of such expression, to see how certain forms of expression add to social effectiveness. Self-expression may not be the final end of art, but it certainly is the beginning.

Facial expressions, postures, and gestures receive even less positive cultivation, though here again our passion for suppression leads us to attack certain ill-favored reactions. A generation ago the schools

made at least an attempt to help children learn the language of posture and gesture, in connection with "declamation" exercises. Since the unlamented demise of this form of public torture, with its stereotyped gestures and exaggerated vocal expressiveness, too little has come in to take its place. We should capitalize much more than we do on children's dramatic play and their natural love of "pretense" as means whereby they can gain greater command of the language of emotions, both to express and to understand. The use of both formal and informal dramatics in this connection is obvious. But indeed in all the work of the school the individual child must be helped to acquire a grasp of "standard" emotional idioms, and also to learn how to get on with persons whose emotional dialects differ from his own.

He needs help also in learning to dissemble his emotions, not only by suppressing socially scorned reactions but by displaying emotional counterfeits. As Morgan puts it,

> [The child must] learn all kinds of devious ways of expressing faked emotions to conceal the real ones. A child may discover to his dismay that if he laughs at the pranks of the classroom bad boy, his punishment may be more severe than that of the one who committed the offense. As children grow older they learn to laugh at jokes they do not appreciate, they learn to smile at people whom they dislike (197, p. 190).

We show, however, a strange reluctance to give direct instruction in *how* to dissemble one's feelings, though we often demand that result. Instead we tend to lecture children upon the virtue of undeviating truth—a doctrine which is starkly impossible as a social ideal in the expression of feeling and which is inevitably interpreted by the children as meaning something we neither believe in nor even try to live up to. In consequence, children learn to dissemble feeling more slowly than is good for them—and meanwhile are confused about "truth."

We have spent much time in discussing emotional expression because it is the aspect of emotion most open to education. But there is another reason. It is difficult to overstate the importance of emotional expression in the development of children. It is not exaggeration but simple fact that a versatile, flexible, and appropriately sensitive ability to express or to dissemble emotion, and to understand emotion in others (be the emotional language verbal, gestural, or postural) is far more important to the happiness and success of most people than the ability to convey or understand ideas.

► Maturity as Emotional Control

We have hitherto been skirting the outstanding problem in the field of emotion. When you listen to parents and teachers you are apt to get the idea that the only problem is how to control if not outright to suppress the emotions.[4] The schools, as Lois Murphy (206) points out, are so concerned with a well-ordered routine that they tend to make freedom from emotion the negative standard to which children must conform. Those psychologists who define emotion as disorganized behavior seemingly would agree. Fear, anger, disgust, jealousy, scorn, distrust, insecurity, anxiety—these are not fruitful ways of acting. They interfere with thinking and constructive attempts to meet the situation; they wear us out—and give us stomach ulcers! When indulged in publicly, they certainly do not improve our social standing. Thus the suggestion that we should educate children to suppress their emotions is attractive.[5]

Wild-and-wooly emotionality, we must admit, is immature and gets us into trouble if indulged in when we are "old enough to know better." In an infant or very young child boiling rage at being thwarted is normal; in an older child it is a behavior problem or temper tantrum; in an adult it is a sign of psychoneurosis. The mature person may not be one who is able to suppress emotion altogether; but he is certainly one who is able, when needful, to keep his emotions well in hand. Nonetheless we may question whether the changes in emotion necessary to growing maturity are to be attained merely through suppression.

How Suppression Works

Suppose we notice what happens when we try to suppress an emotion. The internal activity that is so central a part of emoting cannot be voluntarily controlled; we find it quite useless when stirred up to say, "Be still, little heart, be still." Many of our expressive responses are almost equally uncontrollable. What would

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[4] Note that we speak of *suppression* rather than *repression*. By suppression we intend just the ordinary dictionary meaning: "to put down, put an end to an activity, restrain, keep in, not give vent to." Repression was originally a closely synonymous term, but the psychoanalysts have popularized it as meaning "to restrict an activity to the unconscious." In this sense a repressed activity is thus not "put an end to" at all.

[5] Even so sage a counselor as Goodenough (99) emphasizes self-control in the case of anger, though she certainly does not advocate severe restraint. "Control of anger in children is best achieved," she writes, "when the child's behavior is viewed with serenity and tolerance."

we not give to be able to inhibit a telltale blush or a tremor in voice or knees! How often have we not instantly regretted a vigorous exclamation of scorn, disgust, or incredulity! Of our external responses, on the other hand, the majority can be voluntarily controlled. Suppression thus means restraining not the whole of the emotion but just the external adjustment responses, and some of the expressive ones.

What happens, then, to the rest of our emotional activities—those which we cannot voluntarily control? What happens when a child suppresses anger while he "counts ten"? Well, sometimes the emotive situation just changes without the child's doing anything about it. The big bully gets tired of teasing; the dreadful sound in the still, still night fades away; mother ceases to give all her attention to that nauseating new baby and notices that her big little-boy is there, too; teacher forgets she is tired and quits being cross.

Sometimes, also, if we do not immediately attempt to change things but instead give ourselves time to think, they take on a new meaning. The revaluation of which we spoke earlier has a chance to take place. If we retort "in kind" to what seems an insulting remark, not only do we reinforce our own visceral reactions but we restructure the social situation for the worse. If, on the other hand, we "give ourselves time to think" before we react, we may realize how trifling the insult really is, and the emotion may fail to develop.

The habit, then, of delaying the immediate external adjustment responses long enough to tell "what the score is" is helpful and is one which does increase as the child grows up. We may set it down as one of our marks of growing up emotionally.

It is a good thing—but it doesn't always work! Delay or no delay, the emotive situation may not change—not in our eyes, at least. And so the emotional tension gets stronger and stronger, until finally the bursting point is reached.

The reason should be clear if we recall which parts of the whole complex emotion we best succeed in inhibiting, namely, the responses of external adjustment—that is, the acts which bear on the external emotive situation to change it. In general suppressing that part of emoting which we *can* suppress means foregoing the chance of making a constructive attack on the situation. It is far from being emotionally mature to react helplessly to the situation with mainly internal responses. One of the worst things we can teach children is the habit of "stewing" in the emotional juices of their own glands without any attempt at altering the outer situation. Suppression too

often means continuance in a stressful situation without doing anything useful about it.[6]

Is Suppression Desirable?

Moreover, we have been talking hitherto of only the distress-avoidance group of emotions. It is these which cry, at times, for control if not suppression. Not all emotions, however, are of this description; joy, excitement, affection, elation, mirth, delight—these are emotings as truly as anger and fear.[7] Would we wish human life to be free from cheerfulness, exultation, amusement and laughter, merriment, rejoicing, or the transports of love? Is the ideal of conduct the stolid lack of feeling of the Indian—and the cigar-store wooden Indian at that?

For most of us the immediate answer is an emphatic, No! Yet on reflection we find ourselves championing moderation and self-control (though certainly not complete suppression) even of these emotions that seem to give worth and value to life. The issue raised is a very old one; it is basic to the controversy in philosophy between Stoicism and Epicureanism; in the arts, between Classicism and Romanticism; in politics it is reflected in the struggle between Order and Freedom, dictatorship and democracy. In one form or another, that battle has been waged in every generation for at least two thousand years. Does happiness consist in restraint or expression? On the whole the modern temper has chosen full and exciting expression and abundant living; and, in theory at least, education in the Western world accepts this as its own goal.

The School's Role in Developing Emotion

If that be so, how very ill we perform our tasks! The eager joy and zest for life of the young child is cut down savagely—or kindly, but cut down all the same. Little by little—at home, at school, in countless other ways—the child learns to curb his feelings, to live more meagerly in feeling and emoting.

We take very seriously the teaching of emotional *restraint;* the teaching of the *expression* of feeling, the guidance of emotional de-

[6] It is commonly said that there is definite *physiological* harm from continued internal response when combined with suppression of the external adjustment. The evidence for this statement is suprisingly meager, and I prefer to emphasize the unquestionable psychological difficulties. The question of repression and conflict will be dealt with again in Chapter 15.

[7] I mention only clear-cut emotings. Such a mode of behavior as courage or courageous behavior must also be considered. Courage is surely not merely freedom from fear; it is a positive reaction. I believe it has all the usual earmarks of true emotion.

velopment for richness of living, is largely ignored. We worry about emotional shock or trauma; we pay little attention to emotional shallowness. We talk about "socially approved" and not about "socially effective" emotion. How many times lately—those of you who are teachers, parents, grown-up brothers or sisters of young children—how many times have you *encouraged* emotional behavior compared with the times you have discouraged it? How much thought have you given to what you can do, especially in the schoolroom, to cause *positive* emotional growth?

Surely our goal should be to strengthen the child's ability to emote in appropriate ways, not to weaken it. Remembering that emotional behavior has to be learned, we should aim to encourage and stimulate spontaneous emotional responses. Nor should we expect these emotional responses always to occur at the times, in the degree, or even in the kind that suits our personal convenience. If we are to encourage, or even merely to allow, emoting, we must be prepared to accept emoting that is sometimes ugly, self-centered, and misguided. It will be a worried and overanxious parent or teacher who takes too seriously every emotional manifestation in the child. It is only the general trend which should be our concern. Here as elsewhere, we must have genuine respect for the child's individuality, and must recognize that spontaneous response cannot be too closely regulated and remain spontaneous.[8]

Desirable as spontaneity may be, however, it is not the whole story. Emoting is socially a circular form of response: one person stimulates the other and is stimulated in turn. The child needs to learn to emote spontaneously, yes, but in socially effective ways. "Righteous anger" is a pretty futile affair unless it inspires others to share it; and children need to learn when it is likely to do that. Even spontaneous amusement or happiness has its socially inacceptable forms. The joy that comes from helping a comrade or in achieving a cooperative enterprise is not just a natural endowment; it has to be learned through appropriate experiences. Thus we should see that the child has warm and friendly relations with responsive personalities—particularly of his own age but not to the exclusion of ourselves. There must be times when he learns that others don't feel like sharing his gaiety. Instead of sheltering the child from all emotional experience,

[8] Much suppression of spontaneity comes, however, not from without but from within. The tight-lipped Puritan is his own most rigorous censor. Indeed, all of us tend to be afraid of—and so to suppress—any lively self-expression. But the seedbed of this self-imposed suppression in the adult years is that fear of spontaneous emotion which is imposed on children by excessive adult control.

we should expose him to situations which call emotion forth; but we should so arrange them that the resulting emotion is appropriate and socially effective. A classroom in which the children are tied down to immovable seats and, not less, to a fixed teacher-directed routine offers little chance for such experience.

The danger of excessive suppression must not, however, lead us into the opposite extreme. We have noted that it is undesirable to check the overt behavior in emotion thus leaving the child at the mercy of the internal responses. It is just as unwholesome to *enjoy* one's emotions without doing anything as it is helplessly to *suffer* them—and far more tempting. The emotions which develop out of "delight" are pleasant. (So for that matter are those that develop out of distress when they are not too intense—whence the popularity of roller coasters and big-game hunting.) It is fatally easy to make such pleasant experiences the end or goal of our conduct, to seek emotional thrills for their own sake. That is not maturity. Except as it plays a part in recreation, that is pure infantilism or at best sentimentality.

The picture of emotional maturity that emerges is not, then, that of tight-lipped suppression of all natural feeling and expression, of Stoic calm and indifference, of obedience and "discipline." Neither is it that of unrestrained expressionism, or of a mawkish sentimentality in which one seeks merely to enjoy one's own feelings. *Emotion, like any other kind of behavior, is a way of getting things done.* Like any other kind of behavior, therefore, it can be excessive or deficient, judiciously directed or wide of the mark. Simple suppression, however, is clearly not the mark of emotional maturity nor a goal of emotional education. In a mature person, emoting is a positive mode of adjustment, the servant of the individual's purposes and goals. Parents and teachers need to be alert for opportunities to further, and guide, the child's growth in emotional maturity.

► Summary

The traditional and subjective view of emotion has obscured its essentially social character. The "who" of emotional stimulation is as important as the "what." And much of our emotional behavior is essentially a kind of language. With increasing maturity, emoting becomes a way of getting things done with people.

For the most part emotional language has to be learned. Children gradually learn the standardized words, facial expressions, and ges-

tures that convey to others how they are emoting. In play and make-believe, also, they often convey emotions not otherwise communicated.

The child's understanding of the way others emote grows with experience and training. Many problems arise because the child is faced with a teacher or other children who speak an "emotional language" he cannot understand. The school has an important task in teaching children to express emotion acceptably and to understand emoting in others.

That there is a due and proper amount of emotionality is admitted by all. But how is emotionality to be controlled? Outright suppression is usually ineffective, and in any case not desirable. Emotional control is essentially a matter of learning socially acceptable ways of acting. The school should provide the sort of opportunities for emoting in acceptable and effective fashion.

Exercises

1. We tend too much to confine ourselves to anger and fear when we think of emotion. List all the ways a child of ten might communicate another emoting, say, disgust. Be very specific and detailed. Compare your description with that of others in the class. How much difference would you expect to find in Fiji? In Tibet?
2. Secure some colored drawings made by a third grader, free to draw whatever he wants to draw. Let each member of the class rate the pictures on the amount of sorrow-happiness, joy, anger-hostility, anxiety they seem to show. A five-point scale will be adequate. How much agreement do you find? Was there any feature of the drawing that seemed to have a special meaning to most of the judges?
3. Suggest specific ways in which a parent or teacher can help a child develop a richer and more subtle emotional vocabulary, whether in words or in gesture.
4. Watch for the next two days for every instance where an adult has (*a*) encouraged or (*b*) discouraged a child's emoting. Keep a definite record, indicating the circumstances. What is the ratio? (If all the members of a class make such a record, an interesting tabulation should be possible.)
5. Give examples from your own experience of misunderstanding someone else's emotional idiom, or of being misunderstood because your idiom was different.

► Observing Children's Emotions

Students need little urging to look for and record the more dramatic episodes; the danger is that certain quieter forms of emoting will go unnoticed. It is difficult, moreover, to main-

tain objective description when emoting is involved. We tend to *feel ourselves* into the situation, to evaluate the circumstances emotionally, and to assume an attitude of praise or blame or at least of sympathy or lack of sympathy.

Of course, there is a sense in which emoting *is* a highly subjective experience, and so can be fully understood only if we approach it with a sort of inner sympathy. But we also need to be sure that we understand the objective circumstances involved. Moreover, if we are to have a real understanding of the child's emotional behavior, we must keep in mind the difficulties of emotional communication discussed above.

Another important point concerns the origin of emotional behavior. The immediate or precipitating situation may be only a small part of the cause of an emotional outburst. Within the limits of a short case study it often proves to be impossible to discover the basic causes; certainly it will be impossible to be sure. Yet you can always try, and nowhere else will your ability to understand children have a more severe test. Note the following report.

Evelyn began a series of antics ending by spitting on the floor. I noticed she was careful, though, to miss the rug. [I am sure this does not represent carelessness and lack of training. There was a sort of defiant look on her face. Besides everything about the home makes one know they aren't so ignorant.] Mrs. B gave Evelyn a tissue and made her clean up the mess. [I am sure Evelyn put this show on for my benefit—she was showing off.]

There is vivid, objective reporting in this note, but the final interpretation is a bit shallow. Even if we had no other facts, I should not be inclined to put Evelyn's antics down merely to "showing off." The full record makes it possible for us to draw a much more significant conclusion.

First of all, we note the timing of Evelyn's behavior. She had just come home with the student observer to find her mother in something of a dither because Teddy had not come back from nursery school. When Teddy did arrive, he was gathered to his mother's lap and "made over," while Mrs. B. conversed with the student—mostly about Teddy. Evelyn's antics began at this point.

Our suspicion that she was trying to attract attention away from Teddy rather than to herself finds confirmation elsewhere in the report when we learn that the school had found evidence of Mrs. B.'s favoritism for Teddy and of overanxiety about his welfare. The whole pattern of mother-child and child-child relations needs to be considered in order to understand Evelyn's behavior.

You are quite right in thinking that such full consideration may prove impossible in a brief case study—or even in a long one. In that event, don't speculate too freely; admit your lack of full understanding. But still record the facts. Objective listing of habitual or characteristic emotional patterns is very much worth while, even when we cannot account for them—signs of habitual anxiety, for example. Excellent, if you can trace these to their origin in the atmosphere of the home or to the bullying tactics of a former teacher or to physical or scholastic inadequacies. But if you can't so trace them, these signs are still important in any rounded understanding of the child. Specific fears—for example, of snakes or ghosts—are less important than general fearfulness. On the other hand, it may be most helpful to note the specific persons or circumstances that occasion anger, though here, too, a general truculence or easy susceptibility to anger is a significant observation.

It should scarcely be necessary to add that instances of joy and pleasure, of affection, of exuberance are just as significant as those of anger or fear. And it is just as important to find why the child emotes in those ways. They also are learned reactions, not something to be taken for granted.

IV Motivation

8 Motivation in Childhood

Why children act as they do is obviously both an interesting and an important topic. Are they born with ineradicable motives? Does society make them what they are? What happens when motives are frustrated? What is the effect on personality when motives are satisfied? How shall we deal with the frustrations involved in punishment?

Let two or three friends get together for talk, and sooner or later they will begin dissecting the motives of an absent acquaintance. Let two teachers discuss a child, particularly if he be what they are too wont to call a "problem child," and they will speak far more of his motives than of the stimuli which affect him or, for that matter, than of his abilities. There is no more popular indoor sport than the discussion of people's motives. Of other people's motives, of course! Our own actions, save on those rare occasions when we stand off and try to look at ourselves more or less as we might at another, have a self-evident character which keeps us from even considering them as motivated.

Why [asks William James] do men always lie down when they can, on soft beds rather than on hard floors? Why do they sit around the stove on a cold day? . . . Why does the maiden interest the youth so that everything about her seems more important and significant than anything else in the world? Nothing more can be said than that . . . every creature *likes* its own ways. . . . At the moment of following them we feel that that is the only appropriate natural thing to do. . . . If you ask [a man] why he should want to eat more of what tastes like that, instead of revering you as a philosopher he will probably laugh at you for a fool. The connection between the savory sensation and the act it awakens is for him absolute and *selbstverständlich* ["self-evident"], an *"a priori* synthesis" of the most perfect sort, needing no proof but its own evidence. . . . Why do we smile, when pleased? Why are we unable to talk to a crowd as we talk to a single friend? Why does a particular maiden turn our wits so upside-down? The common man can only say, *"Of course* we smile, *of course* our heart palpitates at the sight of a crowd, *of course* we love the maiden, that beautiful soul clad in that perfect form, so palpably and flagrantly made from all eternity to be loved! . . . [Just so] to the broody hen the notion

would probably seem monstrous that there should be a creature in the world to whom a nestful of eggs was not the utterly fascinating and precious and never-to-be-too-much-sat-upon object which it is to her. Our own actions and impulses "shine with their own sufficient light" (125, I, p. 386 ff).

Not so the actions of others—including those of children. True we sometimes speak of the child's guileless innocence, implying that his motives are simple and apparent, but in the next breath we may confess our inability to understand what moves him to such "odd" behavior. If he is not our own child the perplexity may be due to certain peculiarities in his life circumstances which have molded his motives in strange and alien patterns. Occasionally—do we dare say it?—the failure to understand the child springs from the peculiarities of the adult. The larger part of the difficulty, however, proceeds from the simple fact that we are adults and he is a child. Whatever the reason, the child often proceeds to goals which to him seem self-evident but which are hidden from us. Or he travels to his goal by indirect, and therefore to us obscure or mysterious, routes. When we ask him why he does what he does, he is likely to think us rather stupid. (It should help us to realize, also, that, if the child's behavior puzzles us, our own actions are no less—rather, are far more—obscure to him. Moreover, there are no literal "child psychologists" to write textbooks for their peers on the strange psychology of adults.)

We shall, therefore, in this chapter take a look at the general principles that help *us* to understand those actions of children which differ so "mysteriously" from *our* own. We shall consider what happens when the child's motives are blocked and what happens when his needs are fulfilled. In the next chapter we shall consider the nature of incentives and how they may be used to influence children's behavior. In Chapters 15 and 16 we shall give our attention to the problem of organizing the motives of children in progressively more comprehensive patterns.

► What Is Motivation

Motives and Emotions

Both common-sense and high psychological theory find a close relationship between motive and emotion; but there are objections to regarding them as identical. We have set forth the view in an earlier chapter that emotion is a particular kind of act, an act that is integrated about the internal organic response.

Motivation, on the other hand, is less a particular kind of behavior than a way of looking at all behavior. We speak of motive when we are interested in the way the behavior is determined by the nature of the organism, and by the events within the organism which proceed from that nature.

Now, of course, emoting is just such an event and one that involves quite a disturbance of the organism; clearly such disturbance must make striking changes in subsequent behavior—that is, emoting does vigorously motivate, though not always in desirable directions. But other modes of acting which are not emotional—this is, which are not integrated about the internal response—also disturb the balance and thus determine the flow and direction of behavior. We must, therefore, deny that emotion is the only source of motivation. In Chapter 15, however, we shall find that our most important motivations are emotional in the broad and loose sense of the term and, in addition, that emoting, quite strictly defined, plays a crucial part in the origin and development of these important motives.

Motivation versus Stimulus-response Psychology

When we say that motivation is a way of looking at all behavior, we are contrasting it with the familiar stimulus-response viewpoint. Stimulus-response psychology strongly emphasizes the role of the immediate environment in pushing the organism toward a given behavior. It is the psychology of what happens *to* a person in a series of more-or-less disconnected episodes. A motivation psychology, on the other hand, emphasizes the directive or determining role of the organism rather than of the environment; and it emphasizes also the continuity of the organism, the development of long-enduring behavior patterns, even it may be of a lifeplan. It is the psychology of what is done *by* a person because of the kind of person he is. Obviously, the two points of view are not inconsistent, but complementary.

Motivation is so supremely important that mankind has invented a bewildering variety of terms to refer to it. I hesitate to give a list in the text, lest it be supposed that I expect the reader to memorize definitions for each. That is far from my intent. For the benefit of the curious, however, I give a partial catalogue.[1]

[1] Tuttle (282) has a simple discussion of motivation terms as they are related to the school. Maslow (187) suggests that we limit the term *motivation* to those cases where behavior is directed toward an *outer* goal—that is, where we attempt to cope with the environment. According to this view, such activities as playing, smiling, frowning, leaping for joy and even dancing, are to be regarded as "unmotivated." The issue is chiefly one of verbal definition. It seems to me inadvisable to say that some of the things we do with greatest zest are unmotivated.

Ambition, appetite, attitude, complex, craving, desire, drive, emotion, goal, habit, impulse, incentive, instinct, interest, libido, motive, need, passion, purpose, sentiment, set, tendency, urge, valence, value, want.

Each of these terms has a particular context in which it is somewhat more appropriate than the others. Take the four terms: goal, valence, need, impulse. The term *goal* stresses the kind of condition toward which the person is drawn, whereas *valence* is used to indicate roughly the extent to which a given condition "pulls" or "repels" him. (Incidentally *valence* is the only term in the list which was more or less invented by psychologists for technical use; all the rest come from literature and everyday life.) *Need* emphasizes that motivation depends upon a shortage or deficit in the organism, whereas *impulse* emphasizes the tendency to active correction of the shortage. The four terms are thus by no means synonymous, but the basic fact to which they all refer is the same. All motivation probably involves shortage (need); all motivation tends to correct the shortage (impulse), and does so by moving the individual toward a state of affairs (goal), which has a given amount of attraction (valence).

It is motivation in an inclusive sense with which we shall be concerned in this chapter; and we shall make free to use such of the terms in referring to it as may in context seem appropriate.

► Early Foundations

In the early months of an infant's life his behavior is largely directed by a few organic needs: hunger, thirst, excretion, sleep. These organic needs or drives are perhaps to be deemed the basic motives, and they remain throughout life very powerful especially when frustrated. Yet from the first other needs or motives play a part. The need for muscular activity is early apparent. Soon the need for social play becomes strong enough to interfere even with hunger—if the hunger is not too strong. Curiosity and the exploratory impulse are also soon in evidence. The rudimentary esthetic needs—manifested in sensory pleasures of all sorts—are slower in gaining strength, and perhaps only in exceptional children do they directly compete with the "deeper" organic drives; yet in their time and place these, too, play a part in motivating behavior. Even in the first weeks of infancy, we can detect a need, as yet undifferentiated, which is later to be displayed as "resistance" or "independence." ("Me do! Me do, myself!") All in all the infant displays a rather impressive repertory of motives upon which to base later development.

Berne (30) found that all the behavior of seven children, aged two to four, observed over a period of 500 hours, could be attributed to one or more of the following motives: the needs for food, drink, sleep, excretion, movement, taction, vocalization, observation, quiescence, cooperation, self-conformance, others-conformance, self-determination, self-superiority, and "aloof observation of others." Clearly many of these are far from truly primitive needs, but it gives us a clue to the richness of infantile motivation to find these needs as early as ages two to four.

Are There Basic Hereditary Needs?

One way to answer the question of whether there are basic hereditary needs is to inquire, "Why do you ask?" Of course people ask because they think that motives can be better explained by getting at origins. So let us try it on a concrete case: Why does Charles, age eight, prefer his erector set to his water colors?

Are we likely to find the secret of his preference by going back to the motivations of his infancy? He had some. Even as an infant Charles certainly displayed *some* selectivity of behavior, *some* choice —that is, to say *some* motivation. Indeed, we have just finished saying that an infant's repertory of motives is impressive—for an infant. Relatively, however, the behavior of an infant is unchoosing, all-or-none, or, as psychologists say, undifferentiated. The system of motives at birth and in infancy is thus less rich, the needs are far less sharply defined, the modes of satisfaction less clearly outlined, than they become in the course of development during childhood and later. We should not care to deny that Charles was from birth more inclined to mechanics than to art, though it would be difficult to find any real evidence. Even so, the inclination is weaker, less specific, less highly elaborated at eight months than at eight years. In short, the *further we push back toward "original motives," the less help we get in explaining just why a person does this rather than that.* At best the explanation in terms of hereditary inclination is partial, impoverished.

The Interaction of Nature and Nurture. All of which is not to say that heredity has *no* part in motivation. It has a very great part. It may be quite true, as a great biologist once said, that all a man inherits is a minute package of chemicals: the fertilized ovum. But that package is a marvelously complex system, with many already-defined potentialities for development. Some of these hereditary potentialities are purely individual; they are what start a person off in life as a unique being. Other hereditary potentialities—and the important

ones for present discussion—are common to the species. A dry mouth is "thirstful," an empty stomach is "hungerful," blows and wounds are painful; these are innate tendencies and no conditioning or learning by experience or acquisition of traits is required to explain their presence in all humans.

In certain complex patterns of behavior, it is true, such stimulus-need relations may not find direct expression; in the excitement of a basketball game, a smack on the nose may go unheeded. Yet the blow always hurts, and the hurt has some motivating effect, be it great or small. The innate relation of stimulus to need is not lost.

Need-satisfaction as well as need-arousal is also in part determined by nature. A cold compress helps to relieve the "need" in an injured nose, however much the indignation provoked by the blow continues unabated. Food, and food alone, satisfies hunger; no amount of "conditioning" or social pressure can turn music or good company into a satisfactory substitute, even though they may temporarily divert us or may greatly enhance the satisfaction of food. A hard core of hereditary influence is present in all these cases.

It is present, indeed, in every case, even those in which "natural" motivation seems wholly lacking. Thus the harassed parent certainly fails to notice any natural tendency on the part of the child to brush his teeth, hang up his cap, or say "Thank you" when politeness so requires. A long and rather painful process of training is needed to instill such virtuous behavior. It is tempting, therefore, to suppose that while some of our motives are inborn, others are wholly acquired. The temptation should be resisted. There is no special class of acquired or culturally conditioned motives which appear out of nowhere or are "pumped into the organism by social pressure like air into a football." Motives cannot be brought in from outside and "implanted like a graft within the body tissues. Culture can alter, mold, or reorganize drives . . . but it can hardly create them out of nothing" (204, p. 128). All the variety of human needs, goals, and satisfactions rests ultimately upon something which is not learned.

Is it not possible, then, to make a list of the basic innate satisfactions, the primitive goals, to which all our everyday motives and goals can be allocated? Unfortunately not. A person's every motive has indeed *developed* from earlier manifestations, reaching back eventually to what might be thought of as the original form. But the motives of today are the *progeny* of one's past motives, not replicas thereof. "There is no way," writes Gardner Murphy, "in which a biological motive could appear . . . in a context of social events, yet retain its pristine form. Motives do not remain encapsulated, un-

touched, free from the reciprocity of social living" (204, p. 127). New motives grow or develop out of the old. They are conditioned by them, without doubt, in the sense that the new ones would not have developed as they have, were it not for the old motives; but the new motives are qualitatively different, usually more complex as the oak is more complex than the acorn.

The Role of Life Experience in Determining Motives. The notion, then, that all the multifarious actions of man can be "explained" in terms of a few simple and unchanging natural motives, and that these can be found in infancy, must be uncompromisingly rejected. Neither man nor child finds his greatest satisfactions in a "state of nature." The untutored, unadorned, relatively "natural" drives and primitive passions are not more satisfying or more powerful than those which have been more highly modified in social living. It is rather the contrary.

> Thus children who have learned to eat complex foods can get more varied satisfaction in eating than those who have grown up on a more ascetic or plain diet. Children—and adults—find roughing it pleasant enough for a change; but over a long period they get more satisfaction from warm clothes and comfortable beds. (When we find rebellion against civilized conveniences, it is almost invariably against adult regimentation, not against comfort as such.) Man's satisfactions in sex are not less but greater because, in all societies, he has surrounded sex with ritual and elaborate cultural controls. Indeed a "culture" may well be defined as all those arrangements whereby a group of persons achieves greater satisfactions than could be possible in a state of nature.

Our needs and their satisfactions thus are determined, in both direction and strength, not so much by heredity as by the kind of life we lead, whether this is set for us by family influences or by more general cultural influences. In fact, a good deal of what seems "human nature" seems so merely because it is firmly embedded in the culture and in accustomed ways of acting. For example, most of us feel that the desire for goods and the fear of want are inevitable and "natural" motives. And so they are—for us; the culture of our Western world is impregnated with these motives. Yet there are whole societies in which these twin motives are almost absent or play but a subordinate role.[2] In such societies, a strong desire for material

[2] Thus Mirsky (195) writes of the Dakota or Sioux Indians: "The attitude was emphatically against placing any value on goods or possessions." Property might be a sign of the courage through which it was acquired; even so, it should then be given away. Competitive trading did not exist.

goods seems rather "unnatural." It is, moreover, intriguing to ask ourselves what will happen to the "naturalness" of these motives in our own society as economic security becomes more and more nearly universal. The fear of want, at least, will surely gradually become weaker and, to a lesser degree, perhaps, so will the desire for goods. What motives will take their place as the dominant "natural" motives is an interesting speculation. Whatever they may be, we can be sure that they will be correlated with the then-existing culture—that is, with the conditions of life then prevailing.

Large-scale cultural influences, however, are not the only cause of "natural" motives. The particular influences of smaller groups, even of individuals, play their part. The teacher who continually stresses competition must expect to find the children "naturally" trying to outdo each other, often by hook or by crook. The parent who makes affection the keynote of the home will have children who are strongly motivated by loyalty and love. *For the individual child that motive is strongest which has been most often effectively appealed to in his experience.*

Thus it is human experience rather than human nature that gives color and direction to the needs themselves. In the field of motives, as elsewhere, for the dictum "You can't change human nature" we must substitute "You can change human nature by changing the conditions which produce it." It is the teacher's responsibility to do her part in creating such change.

The discussion just finished has a somewhat intricate pattern, yet the elements from which it is woven are quite simple. The problem is, Why does any bit of behavior display qualities like those found in the behavior of others, and why does that same bit of behavior seem also to be qualitatively unique. The answer is almost too obvious to be put in writing: the similarities come from similarities in *both* heredity *and* experience, the differences from differences in both or either. Our genes are human genes, and in innumerable ways they resemble those of all other humans. That makes for similarity in human behavior. Our genes also resemble the genes of the others in our family. That makes for family resemblances. But the genes of each individual are also peculiar to himself. That makes for individual differences.

The same is true of environment. There are universal human experiences—such as the dependence of the infant upon adults stressed in an earlier chapter. There are, also, quite obviously, enormous differences in environment; in the final analysis we recognize that no

two persons—not even Siamese twins—ever have exactly the same experiences.

When we find a certain Melanesian child from New Guinea acting "strangely"—that is, differently from one of our own dear children—we may ask whether the difference is mainly due to the heredity of the race, or to the physical or cultural environment of the race; or to family heredity, or to family habits; or to personal heredity, or to some "accident" of personal experience. And what if we find the Melanesian child behaving in some things like an American child—as we do? In such case we can only conclude that in relevant respects our children have similar heredity to that of the Melanesian (both are human) and also similar environment (both have, for example, to be nourished and protected, and in many other ways are treated the same). It is clear that the conditions that make for similarity are harder to meet than those that make for difference. It is for this reason that the list of truly universal behaviors—what we used to call instincts—is so very short.

► Deprivation and Frustration [3]

From his first wailing breath—a response to the deprivation of the oxygen hitherto drawn from the mother's blood stream—man is destined to privation and deprivation. Hunger sets in, but food is delayed in obedience to a sacred feeding "schedule." Being dressed interferes with the urge to physical activity or with the urge to sleep. Objects are rudely removed from exploration in the baby's mouth, delightful toys slip from his unskilled hands and are lost to sight. Toilet training is all too often one long series of frustrations and punishments. When the child begins to crawl or walk about, "No, no's!" increase in number and frequency. And by most parents the child's natural tendency to find gratification in the stimulation of genital organs is almost savagely repressed. No wonder that in some forms of mental breakdown the patient seems to yearn for a return to the comfort of the mother's womb, that first home in which all needs are effortlessly supplied. But that is psychosis. If we

[3] It is sometimes more convenient to speak of *privation* (when the means to need-satisfaction are absent) or *deprivation* (when the means to need-satisfaction are taken away) or *frustration* (when need-satisfaction is blocked). There is probably no basic difference, except that a social element is usually involved in frustration. The obstruction of motive that springs from within is better spoken of as conflict. It will be dealt with in Chapter 15.

are to be whole human beings we must learn to confront and master privation and frustration by our own efforts.

Not many years ago it was popular in sophisticated circles to say that the frustration of an impulse or need always led to aggressiveness; and, conversely, that all aggression was the sign of frustration. It is now clear that this is an oversimplification.[4] A wide variety of responses may follow the obstruction of a goal action.

An Experiment in Frustration

Let us first consider a significant experiment (20) in which the goal activities of preschool children were obstructed under controlled conditions. In the preliminary free-play period the children, one at a time, were introduced to a number of fairly interesting toys: a child's chair, a teddy bear, a doll, a cup and saucer, a small truck and trailer, a teapot, an ironing board and iron, a telephone receiver, a box of crayons, writing paper, a motorboat, a sailboat, a frog, and a fishing pole.

It will be noticed that the playthings, attractive as they were, made rather an unorganized assemblage—there were, for example, no clothes to iron on the ironing board. None the less, every child enjoyed the toys and spent the allotted 30 minutes in quite normal play exploration. Activities during this period were carefully recorded and scored for maturity.

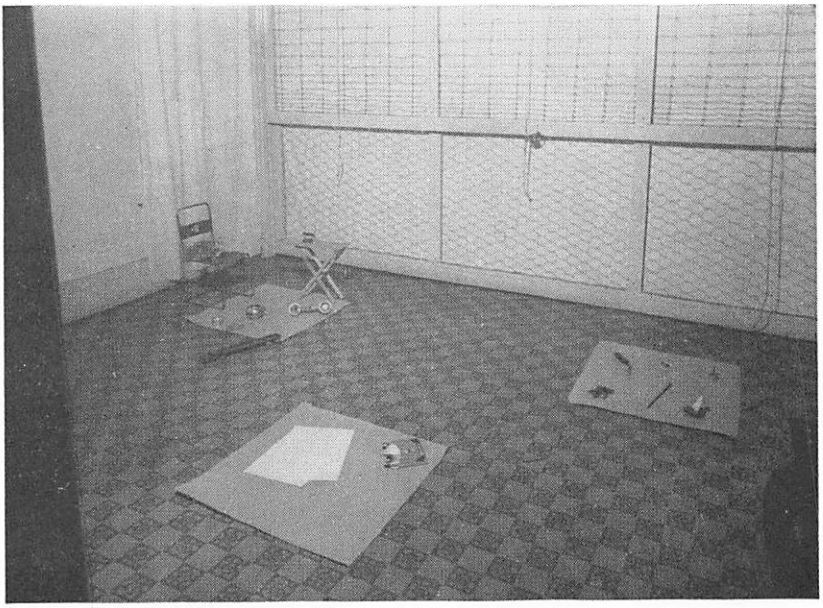
When the child came back the next day he found that the playroom had been enlarged by the removal of a partition and the toys had been moved into what looked like a child's dream of paradise.

In the added part of the room was a big doll house (3 by 3 feet), brightly painted and decorated. The child could enter the house through a doorway. Inside there was a bed upon which the doll was lying, and a chair in which the teddy bear sat. The ironing board with the iron on it stood against one wall and the telephone, this time on its base with a dial and bell, was in the corner. There was a stove with cooking utensils, and a cupboard. The house had electric lights, curtains, and a carpet.

Outside the house was a laundry line on which the doll's clothes hung. A rubber bunny sat near the entrance to the house. A large delivery truck (23 inches long) stood near the house, and behind it was the small truck and trailer used in the preceding experiment. Nearby was a child's table prepared for a luncheon party. On the table were cups, saucers, dishes, spoons, forks, knives, a small empty teapot, and a large teapot with water in it.

[4] Compare criticisms by Lewin (166), Zander (317), Sargent (238) and Pastore (224).

Figure 15A. Free-play Situation



From *Univ. Ia. Stud. Child Welf.*, 1941, 18, No. 1, 51.

In the other corner of the new part of the room was a toy lake (3 by 3 feet) filled with real water. It contained an island with a lighthouse, a wharf, a ferry boat, small boats, fishes, ducks, and frogs. The lake had sand beaches (20, p. 53).

Note that the toys from the free-play period were now all carefully incorporated in the new set-up. In all cases the child found the situation thrilling—what normal child would not?—and was encouraged to play as he liked.

After a time, however, the experimenter gathered all the toys used in the free-play period and distributed them to their original positions at the other end of the playroom. Then calling or leading the child he suggested, "Now let's play in the other end," and proceeded to lower a stout wire screen which cut off all access to the new delights at the end of the room though leaving them fully visible. To make clear to the child that the other end of the playroom was now out of bounds, the screen was locked with a heavy padlock.

Then followed thirty minutes called the "Frustration Period," during which the child was allowed free play with the original toys, their meagerness now enhanced by the visible delights beyond the screen. Again the child's activities were carefully recorded and scored for maturity.

Figure 15B. Prefrustration Situation

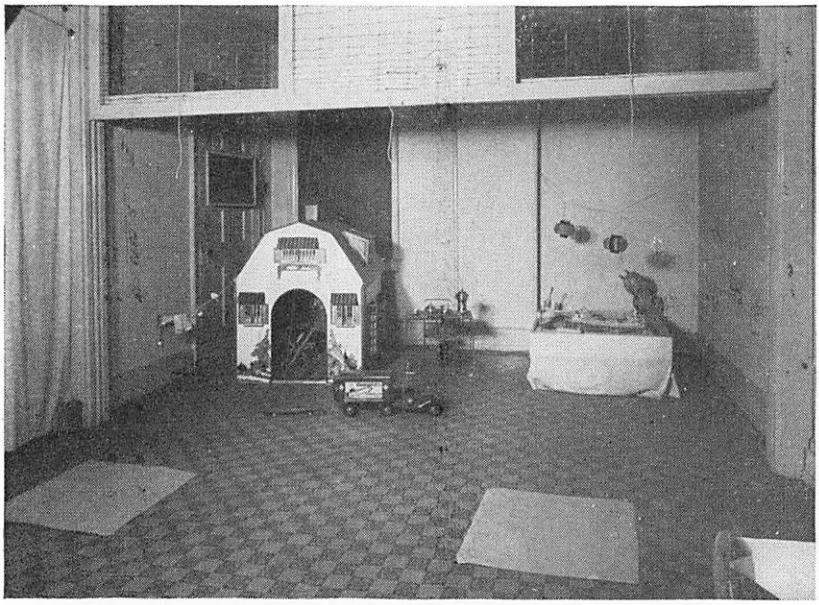
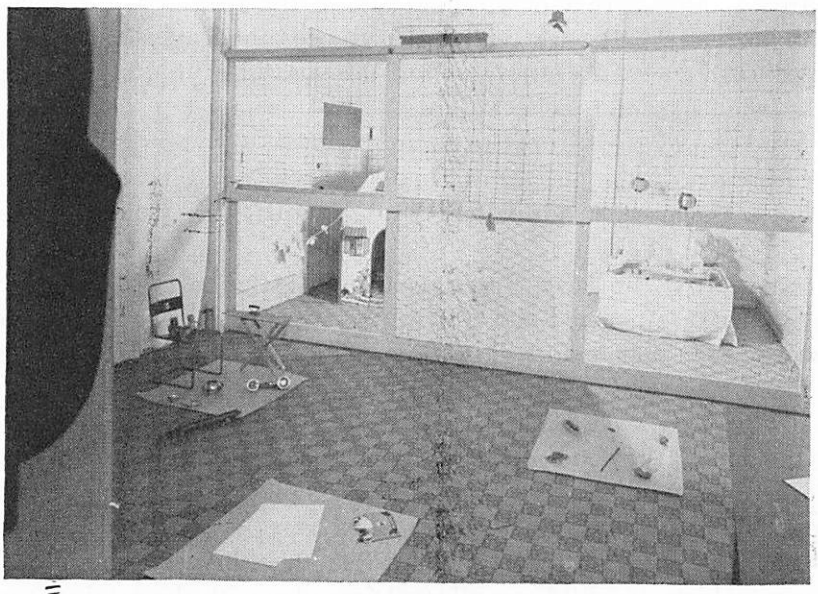


Figure 15C. Frustration Situation



From *Univ. Ia. Stud. Child Welf.*, 1941, **18**, No. 1, 55, 57.

At the end of this period the experimenter suggested that the child might wish to leave the room—and every one did. At this point, however, the partition was raised and the child joyfully hurried back to the fine toys at the other end of the room. (This was done to obviate any undesirable aftereffects of the frustration experience.)

Such was the experiment: first the child played normally with ordinary playthings, then was given a taste of unusual delights only to have these suddenly and capriciously denied him. It was frustrating, all right. What happened?

Immediate Behavioral Effects of Frustration. (*a*) First, there were various attempts to get around the obstruction—literally, in some cases, for some of the children tried to lift the screen, to climb over it, to open the lock, or to get at the toys by pulling them to the barrier with the fishing pole. When such techniques failed, they attempted to get help in overcoming the barrier. They appealed to the experimenter by strong suggestion; they coaxed, reasoned, implored, ordered, threatened, even assaulted the observer to get him to help.

(*b*) When the attack on the barrier failed, there was much disrupted behavior. Some of the children seemed to "go all to pieces." Some stuttered. Many were restless and unable to direct their activity purposefully. Others became aggressive in quite useless ways: they complained loudly, stuck out their tongues at the unattainable Utopia, or "displaced the aggression" by destroying objects not connected with the barrier. Others whimpered or cried, eventually withdrew into themselves (sucking their thumbs the while), or went to sleep.

(*c*) Or, finally, there was substitution or diversion activity. In the experiment there were few satisfactory opportunities of this sort. The children might look out the window, walk around the room, or try to talk to the experimenter—who was laconic and uninterested. Or they might go back to play with the toys which they had had in the original free-play period.

The play under such conditions of frustration manifested very interesting differences. It will be remembered that their previous activities had been carefully and objectively recorded and rated on a scale of "maturity." Aimless fooling with the play objects was rated 2, play which showed high ingenuity was rated 8. Thus mere scribbling was rated low, scribbling which the child called "writing a letter" was given a medium score, drawings showing some representative quality were rated still higher. With the aid of this scale—which

is very reliable and valid—it was possible to compare a child's behavior in the free-play and the frustration periods.

Sylvia, for example, spent 70 seconds in the free-play period happily making a clay elephant. She used a little peg for an eye, made the elephant sit up. This behavior was rated 6. In the frustration period she again played with the clay—if we can call the ten seconds she spent idly manipulating it "play." The constructiveness of this activity was rated 2.

Twenty-two of the thirty children in the experiment showed this sort of loss of constructiveness. For the group as a whole, the average loss of constructiveness during the frustration period was equivalent to 17.3 months of mental age—that is, the four-year-olds played more like two-year-olds. Even when there is diversionary activity, therefore, there is likely to be much of the disruption spoken of in the preceding section.

Another example of such regression after frustration is given us by Seashore and Bavelas (243). Asked to "draw a man" again and again, the children put less and less effort into it and produced progressively poorer drawings. Is this surprising? It shouldn't be; but how often in home and school is the child coerced into equally senseless and hence frustrating routine.

The Frustration-Regression Hypothesis

Shall we then conclude that frustration always causes regression toward less mature behavior. That, like the view that it always causes aggression, is too free a generalization. We should first note that three of the children showed no net loss, and five of them actually improved in constructiveness during the frustration period. Perhaps they were not really frustrated by this situation, or perhaps they had developed a "frustration tolerance." We don't know.[5] At any rate, the presence of eight out of thirty who suffered no loss of constructiveness in their play should restrain overgeneralization. Furthermore, these were quite young children. Would the result have been parallel with older children?

Remember, moreover, that in the experiment the dice were loaded against the children. Paradise was still in view but was totally unattainable. There wasn't anything warmly satisfying left to do. Moreover, a social element was clearly present: the experimenter was perceived as deliberately closing off the opportunities for satisfaction.

If the "field" in which they were free to operate had been richer,

[5] But we ought to find out in such cases! Neither experimenter nor teacher can afford to overlook the child's background.

their behavior might have seemed less regressive or immature. If, for example, the children in this experiment had been let out on the playground after being driven from their temporary Garden of Eden, would they not, as Murphy (204, p. 146) suggests, run faster, slide down the slide more courageously, or throw the playball more vigorously? In short, in some circumstances might not disappointment have led to behavior which was more, not less mature?

That apparently was the case with Wright's (314) modification of the experiment, in which the frustration was administered to the children in pairs instead of singly. Most of the behavior showed the same deterioration, but in one respect there was improvement: there was greater cohesiveness, better cooperation between the two children.

The *direct* effect of frustration, probably, is merely an increase in tension—tension directed in the first instance against the barrier but spreading, especially when it is very intense, to other aspects of the environment and manifesting itself in a wide variety of behaviors.[6] Whether the behavior induced by frustration is adjustive or maladjustive depends to some extent, as we have noted above, upon the situation in which the frustration takes place.[7] Much also depends upon the individual. The history of mankind is full of examples of those who have been inspired by frustration to more vigorous and more creative attacks on their problems as well as of those who, like the children in this experiment, have regressed to defeatism. Some of this difference may be due to obscure differences in bodily constitution, but much more depends upon how, as children, they learned to react to obstruction, or rather upon how adults helped them to meet such problems. A large part of what we mean by maturity is the ability to react constructively to disappointment.

How to Deal with Frustration

Most of the children in the frustration experiment tried more than one mode of response. In an effort to get back to the toys, virtually all of them attacked the barrier, either by physical means or by an appeal to the experimenter. Some of them kept this up for some time and with a variety of techniques; it was hardly their fault that none of them worked. We should encourage children

[6] See the experimental studies of Dembo (68), Fajans (84), Rodnik and Klebanoff (234), Sears (241, 242), Sherman and Jost (248), and Yarrow (315).

[7] Or upon how well, as Pastore (224) shows, the child understands and accepts the cause of frustration.

to make precisely this sort of vigorous and varied attempt to get around obstructions and to expect that, if they hunt around for a way, they can find it. But expectation can grow only out of experience. Whenever possible, therefore, we should see to it that direct, vigorous, and intelligent attack upon obstructions "pays off."

This is precisely what was done by Updegraff and Keister (284) in their experimental study of the effects of failure. Children who showed immature reactions to frustration were given special training sessions in which they could experience increasing success—success visible to the child himself. As a result, these children ceased to sulk or cry, were less dependent, less "emotional" when faced with a baffling problem. They had learned confidence in their own efforts.

Probably most parents and teachers recognize the value of such a technique.[8] Yet we often proceed upon just the opposite tack of making it impossible for the child to overcome the barrier. This is because the "barrier" is of our own making; we have put it in the child's road as part of our effort to control or direct his behavior. Thus when the child continues to attack the barrier, instead of speaking of "constructive perseverance" we call it "stubbornness" or even "disobedience." Accordingly, by punishment or otherwise, we so strengthen the barrier that the child gives up. "Success experience" and "discipline" are thus often in sharp conflict.

Sometimes, of course, we feel we really must put barriers in the child's path, even if he is thereby made to feel frustrated. Some barriers, moreover, cannot be overcome no matter how optimistically and energetically they are attacked. In such situations the child must learn to seek substitute satisfactions. Unfortunately, however, substitute activities are likely, as we saw in the experiment (see p. 195), to be immature and only partially satisfactory. Indeed, too often they remove one dissatisfaction only at the expense of creating others. Thus the child who vents his anger by attacking his mother meets social reprobation if no stronger cause of dissatisfaction.

But we noted, also, that the substitute satisfactions are not always weak or socially inacceptable. Here much depends upon the situation. To be reminded vividly of the rich and mundane delights from which one is cut off of course does not help. Sylvia (see above, p. 196),

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[8] At least in America. A Japanese child psychologist, Professor Sadao Nagashima of Tokyo Education University, tells me that the thing which strikes him most in American family life is the encouragement of a sort of sturdy self-dependence in even the youngest children.

wistfully looking through the fence at the lake and sandy beach, could hardly have been expected to put her mind on modeling "a chunk of old clay." If it had been desired to have her find a satisfactory outlet, she should have been led not merely to the other end of the room but, as suggested above, out to the playground. The child should be taken, literally or psychologically, out of the frustrating situation and into one which offers scope to vigorous goal-directed activity.

The substitute activities, moreover, should as far as possible satisfy the same need, and in any case should yield real satisfaction. In short, whenever we find it necessary to thwart a child's purposeful activity, we should be at great pains to provide him with *alternate activities of high motivating value.*

Punishment as Frustration. One of the commonest forms of frustration—certainly in most homes—is punishment. Ought we then to provide the child with alternate satisfactions immediately after punishment? Why not? Punishment, we pointed out in Chapter 4, is merely, or rather is legitimately, only a barrier to the continuance of some undesirable behavior. When it has served this purpose, what do we want the child to do? Sit and brood over his troubles, nurse his sense of frustration, or seek something wholesome to do?

Our disinclination to give a child after punishment a chance to do something satisfactory to him seems to have several roots, all of them rather unpleasant. We don't want him "to think he's getting away with it"; we want him to recognize our own superior power. (Well, he will do that.) We want to be sure the child really feels our disapprobation of his conduct. (But he is likely, rather, to feel that we have rejected *him.*) We are afraid that if we give him something nice, he won't have paid a big enough price for his misdeeds. (The old "an-eye-for-an-eye" doctrine.) In all this we are misconstruing the true value of punishment, which is that of a mere inhibitor. Once it has served that purpose, there is no reason why the child should not —indeed there is every reason why the child should—be helped to find happy and satisfactory activities. When we get the motives of revenge and sadism out of our systems, there will be fewer punishments, and those we do inflict will better serve their limited but legitimate purpose.

It is by no means necessary, however, that alternate satisfactions be offered the child on a silver platter. He should be encouraged, rather, himself to search for "something fun to do." But if he is to develop

the expectation that this search is likely to be successful, we must see to it that the environment has rich opportunities for his need-satisfaction.

Long-time Effects of Deprivation

All too often, however, parents and teachers are motivated by a sort of ascetic spirit, by a belief that it is good—for the other fellow—to "learn to do without." Whatever the virtues of *self*-denial (whether practiced as a means of religious grace or in order to help others), there is little value in privation and deprivation as such. On the contrary, there is a sizable body of evidence that deprivation has injurious effects on personality development. Levy (156) fed two of a litter of six puppies from nursing bottles with very large holes so that the feeding time was greatly reduced; they got their stomachs full, but they got only a small part of the satisfaction a puppy normally gets from lip-jaw-mouth exercise in sucking. These two puppies, but not their litter mates, continued throughout their growth period to suck at practically anything they could find. "In his most recent experiments, Levy has shown the tics and forced movements regularly follow *restriction of bodily activity*, whether in children, in poultry-yard hens, in horses kept in stalls, or in caged animals; impulses which cannot break through into free [motor] activity or postural shift take the form of repetitive tics or 'mannerisms' " (Murphy, 204, referring to Levy, 161). That the effects are or may be permanent is seen from recent experiments with rats (121). Animals which in infancy have been subjected to prolonged food deprivation tend as adults, now regularly well fed, to eat more than they need and to hoard food which they are too stuffed to eat.

Wartime Deprivation of Children. One would hesitate to perform parallel experiments with children, but World War II provided us with all-too-vivid illustrations of what happens when children are subjected to prolonged privation. At the International Children's Center (Bavaria), "unattached" Allied children rescued from concentration camps could eat all they wanted, yet they persisted in taking pieces of bread and hiding them under their pillows.

> The children were aware that they would continue to be well fed. They understood, too, that the hidden pieces of bread would bring bugs and dirt. They even agreed to monitor themselves. "We understand why it should not be done," volunteered a fifteen-year-old boy to the center's director. "But, whatever we do, we can't stop it entirely. You see, when bread

has meant so much to you, you just can't do without it. It isn't a question of being hungry. It's just that you've got to have it, *yours,* amid *your* belongings, to nibble when you want a bit, sometimes just to touch." And then he explained how each night, in the concentration camp, he had hugged his one chunk of bread, trying desperately to save some of it against the next day's hunger pangs, but inevitably, on waking the next morning, finding that he had eaten it all.

Starvation had raised bread to an even greater importance than its necessity for physical survival. All a child's emotional longings—for parental love, for identity, for physical pleasure, for gaiety, for a feeling of participation in the world around him—had been forced to seek satisfaction in the simplest of symbols, a chunk of bread.[9]

Deprivation and Problem Behavior. Relevant here, also, are the findings that unfulfillment of the child's need for love and security leads to attention-getting behavior, hostility, truancy, lying, stealing, and sex misbehavior.[10] The studies of the Character Education Inquiry (57) show that children who are poor are—forgivably enough, of course—more likely to be dishonest and selfish and less likely to be generous.

Some of these effects of privation are undoubtedly indirect. Thus the greater dishonesty of the children who have been deprived is in part a matter of learning. Tempted to theft by unsatisfied wants, the child is thereby learning how to steal and, simultaneously, acquiring various antisocial concepts. But there is also a generalized emotional attitude which tends to develop as a result of continued deprivation —the attitude of getting and grabbing to satisfy one's wants—and this attitude is easily channeled in the direction of theft or other forms of selfishness. Thus learning (indirectly) and motivation (directly) work to bring about a more-or-less regular constellation of character traits, nearly all unfavorable, as sequels to persistent frustration and privation.

The School of Hardknocks. An ancient tradition, however, bids us beware of spoiling a child by indulging him too much. We don't want him to grow up "soft," and we fear that unless he attends the

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[9] Quoted by permission from L. G. Goldsmith (97), The children's war, *The Nation* (August 6, 1949), p. 130.

[10] Symonds (267) summarizes the data from many sources. These data should perhaps be taken with caution since they are drawn chiefly from clinical records in which the cause-and-effect relations are not always quite clear. In the experimental studies with animals, the deprivation effects seem highly specific. (Cf. A. Wolf, 308.) But man clearly has greater powers of generalization than animals. Food-deprivation in rats may lead only to food hoarding. In man it may lead not only to all sorts of miserly conduct but to attempts to gain security through bids for affection. Deprivation in man may lead to a generalized anxiety with no apparent relation to the original loss.

"School of Hardknocks" he will not learn to react manfully to the inevitable disappointments of life. Perhaps the Spartans were the first to build up this attitude into a full-blown philosophy of life. The body can be trained by graded exposure to cold, fatigue, or pain; why not the mind?

This may be an appropriate philosophy for a soldier-state, though one observes that, having given up almost every other kind of achievement for that of war, the Spartans still were unable to conquer even the whole of Greece. They certainly made no other contribution to history. True, the defense of Thermopylae has become an example of courage, acclaimed throughout the ages. But the battle of Thermopylae became an undying legend, not because Leonidas and his Spartans died there—other soldiers have died as bravely—but because it was ennobled in the eloquent prose of Herodotus—who was no Spartan. The Spartan training at best made men who could endure, not men who could achieve.

Indeed, one wonders whether a Spartan regime begets even endurance, except just the endurance of the body. During the great blitz on Coventry when rich and poor alike were reduced to a common level of deprivation by the destruction of homes and such conveniences of modern life as heat and light and running water, it was, as found by *Mass Observation,* the desperately poor people who were driven to panic by the loss of their tragically meager belongings; the well-to-do, though they had lost so much more, had far greater fortitude in the emergency. It is the person who has proof in his own experience that life on the whole is good who has the strength to meet great disappointment and still hang on.

In any case, it is a curious doctrine that, in order to prepare a child for great evils to come, we should, as it were, vaccinate him with a few evils now. Aren't there enough unavoidable frustrations to give any child ample training in meeting them? Why go out of our way to provide extras?

How Deprivation Works. The theoretical explanation of the effects of need-deprivation is by no means easy. We shall best keep our bearings if we remember what a need is. Take such a commonplace instance as the "need to sneeze." It can be very powerful; and the suppression of the sneeze can leave one feeling quite frustrated. Yet we are not likely to suppose that the suppressed need to sneeze is somehow stored up in a sort of psychic reservoir called "The Unconscious." Nor should we so think of other "repressed desires" or

needs. A need is a sort of tension generated when one of our activities or functions gets out of balance. The hunger need, for example, is chiefly, though not exclusively, the tension generated by vigorous stomach contractions—which are, in turn, reactions to a food deficit in the tissues.

Now, such tensions or needs cannot be stored or impounded; nor can they go on indefinitely. And as a matter of everyday experience, unsatisfied needs often do just subside; you get over the desire to sneeze and even hunger goes away—literally, the hunger contractions cease. (Since, however, the tissue deficiencies continue, the hunger pangs are periodically renewed.) More often, of course, needs find some indirect satisfaction. Somehow or other the organism gets back into some sort of balance.

What is true of such organic needs as hunger is probably true also of all our needs or "desires." They are active processes or tensions and as such cannot be stored up or long maintained even when denied satisfaction by "repression." [11] What happens in most cases when there is blocking of a motive is that the child is diverted from direct satisfaction and forced to find some other action that will relieve the tension. In the immediate situation, this action is at least partly satisfactory; hence, if the deprivation is repeated or prolonged, the substitute behavior tends to be thoroughly learned, to be incorporated as a regular technique in the child's personality structure. In the long run, however, the substitute behavior is usually socially inacceptable or interferes with other motives. Deprivation, repression, or frustration are therefore important because they lead the child *to learn inadequate ways of finding satisfaction.*[12]

To explain the effects of repression and frustration in terms of learning is not to say that the process is a simple one. The fact that man can operate in terms of verbal and other symbols makes for extreme complication, as may be seen in many cases of neurosis. Several far-from-obvious steps may separate neurotic responses from

[11] Repression is best conceived as a mechanism whereby anything which instigates a particular motive at the same time instigates a stronger countermotive or some sort of activity that acts as a barrier to the first. (Consider, for example, one's efforts to repress or suppress the desire to sneeze.) In fully successful repression, the barrier gets in first, and the repressed motive is not instigated at all. A "repressed desire" is thus a desire we are prevented from having, a desire we just don't have! Repression is, however, seldom 100 percent effective.

[12] Maslow (185) goes even further in his contention that it is only when deprivation is "a threat to the personality . . . to his self-esteem or to his feeling of security [that it] has the multitude of effects (usually undesirable) which are commonly attributed to frustration in general."

those responses that were learned in childhood as a result of deprivation; yet the connection is there to be patiently unraveled.

It is, however, of the highest importance to realize that even in neurosis, present behavior is a response to present needs, not a direct response to the needs and deprivations of an earlier time. The point is important because it indicates where you have to put the emphasis in remediation. Whether you have a problem child or an adult neurotic, the task is to help him find more useful and acceptable ways of gaining satisfaction of his *current* needs than those ways he has learned as a result of deprivation or repression.[13]

> Let us take a concrete example. The child who sucks his thumb at age seven or eight probably learned to do so because he was deprived in infancy of a normally satisfying amount of "oral exercise"—we here go along with a currently popular view. But that is not why he keeps on doing it. Any thumbsucker who has persisted in the habit until age six or seven has had far more oral exercise than his fellow who got his sucking over with at the breast; so the *continuation* of the sucking habit can scarcely be due to some continuing need, conscious or "unconscious," to make up for an earlier deficiency in oral exercise. No, in so far as thumbsucking is more than a mere motor habit—it is that, but it is always more—it must be recognized as a means of meeting not some need which was frustrated long ago but some need now present. (That is why it instantly stops when the child is motivated to eat appetizing food or by exciting play; the need which leads to thumbsucking is displaced by these other motives.) Correction therefore requires that we help the child to learn better ways of meeting his current needs.

The distortions of behavior which grow out of repression are thus not so irremediable as they have been sometimes pictured. Our task is first of all to provide the child with an environment in which normal needs can genuinely be satisfied. For the pitiful children in the rescue camps the first requirement is enough food. That achieved, we can guide the child in learning more adequate techniques for satisfying his needs and thereby in unlearning old ones.[14]

A more direct effect of deprivation and frustration remains to be dealt with. When needs go long unsatisfied, when motives are permanently blocked, tension may take the form of anxiety; and when

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[13] The utility of this line of thinking even in the treatment of neuroses I have briefly set forth elsewhere (76).

[14] This is the basic formula, but to avoid misunderstanding perhaps we should add that in the more complex cases—neuroses and long-standing behavior problems—the application of the formula requires considerable professional skill.

the deprivations are seen as due to personal agents—that is, where frustration is involved—the anxiety is apt to be colored by hostility. *Prolonged deprivation, therefore, tends to the development of a personality that is habitually anxious, insecure, and unfriendly.*

When of long standing, such cases are peculiarly difficult to deal with, for anxiety tends to prevent the child from solving or even attempting to solve his difficulties. It makes him, as Sullivan (266) has pointed out, less alert to the factors that might alleviate the tension, less effective in taking the necessary steps that would bring relief. Or perhaps worst of all, it prevents him from a simple acceptance of satisfaction.

Consider the case of the pitiful children in the rescue camps described above. Prolonged deprivation—of nearly every human need—has generated in them a basic insecurity and an anxiety-ridden attitude toward life. Thus even when they have food they are anxious about food, even when kindly treated they do not know how long all these good things will last; and so at bottom they are still unsatisfied. The simple satisfaction of a full belly cannot be theirs. "Yes," says the voice of their anxiety, "but will I have food tomorrow?" And so the tension is symbolically renewed. The need that must now be satisfied is that which springs from neurotic anxiety, not a need long ago left unsatisfied and therefore still in action.

Here, more even than is usual, prevention is superior to cure. Obviously, moreover, the child with an anxiety neurosis needs specialized professional treatment. But anxiety can also be reduced by exposure to affectionate security, hostility can be lessened by persistent friendliness. The alert teacher or parent can seize the moments when the child's guard of anxious hostility is down and see to it that he finds—preferably by his own efforts—satisfaction and success. Little by little she can help him to replace the personality habits of need-deprivation with those of need-gratification.

We conclude—with no little satisfaction—that there are no permanent, inherent, and inevitable, mysterious aftereffects of deprivation, frustration, and repression. They are bad chiefly because they tend to teach the child inadequate techniques for obtaining satisfaction. But if we are alert, we can usually prevent him from learning such techniques or we can guide him in unlearning them.

And it is surely a fortunate thing that this is so. Man, the Bible tells us, is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward. Birth itself is a frustrating experience, and from that moment on disappointment and obstruction are the lot of every child born of woman. Life in a

community with one's fellows imposes upon one countless moral and prudential restraints.

Thus, as we have seen in Chapter 3 on "authority," the immaturity of the child's understanding makes inevitable that many of his impulses shall be restrained. Nor has the child yet learned to get satisfaction from the subordination of present impulse to a more comprehensive but distant good. Living chiefly in the present, his satisfactions are constantly being thwarted to an extent that few adults realize. Childhood, on total balance, may perhaps be deemed happy; yet, full as it is of joy and pleasure, it is also full of frustration and sorrow. We need draw from this no pessimistic conclusion about life but only a challenge to our best efforts as teachers to see to it that these frustrations do not interfere with wholesome development, and to insure that the child experiences not only frustration but gratification.

► Need-Fulfillment

Are we, then, to think of need-fulfillment as good? Why, yes! The satisfaction of needs—of any needs—is fundamentally healthy and intrinsically good. Consider such needs as these: the need for food, for warmth, for safety; the need to love and to be loved, to have a group to belong to, to be respected, to respect oneself; the need to achieve worthily according to one's talents, to understand the world about one, to understand oneself, to be free to be oneself—all these, which are the truly human needs, are needs which ought to be satisfied.[15] Need-fulfillment, as Goldstein (98) observes, is self-fulfillment, self-actualization. To live is to satisfy one's needs, to live more abundantly is to satisfy them more completely. Stevenson has put the case for us in "The Celestial Surgeon": [16]

> If I have faltered more or less
> In my great task of happiness; . . .
> If beams from happy human eyes
> Have moved me not; if morning skies,
> Books, and my food, and summer rain
> Knocked on my sullen heart in vain,— . . .
> Lord, Thy most pointed pleasure take,
> And stab my spirit broad awake; . . .

[15] The list is borrowed from Maslow (188); it could be much expanded. The few truly "bad" impulses which bedevil us—hatred and cruelty chiefly—seem to spring from the frustration of needs, not from gratification.

[16] By permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

It is a curious comment on the culture of our times that this self-obvious truth needs to be asserted. What is it that makes us so afraid of joy and happiness and self-expression? Even those who see the folly of this fear cannot wholly escape it. Purely sensual delights seem somehow childish, if not downright indecent—except of course when they can be translated into art or music or poetry, which somehow seems to make them respectable. And too much laughter is vulgar and common.

There are historical roots for this fear, no doubt, but they can hardly account for its strength and persistence. It must somehow be sustained by the kind of civilization we have created and live in. At any rate, this fear borders on the neurotic.

There is, of course, danger if we teach the child that he has only to voice his desires to have them satisfied. More and more as he grows older he must learn that the greatest satisfactions come from his own efforts. This, however, is an easy lesson to learn; the desire to achieve for oneself is one of the dependable motives which nearly all of us learn. What we, as adults, should do to promote this learning is to insure that the child's efforts—if intelligent at his level of maturity—shall usually bring success and gratification. Such an atmosphere will strengthen, not weaken, the child's tendency to vigorous striving.

It should hardly be necessary to say that we are not advocating the unregulated gratification of a child's every desire. The fulfillment of any one need must be seen in relation with other needs and impulses. The unregulated pursuit of every impulse leads not to all-round need-satisfaction but to need-conflict. This even the very young child learns.

Learns, too, that his goals may conflict with those of others and cannot always be immediately achieved. Learns, if he has been properly taught, that there are greater satisfactions to be gained if immediate impulse is subordinated to more ultimate ends. This, of course, is the basic principle upon which all morality depends. But to deny the child's satisfactions merely for the sake of denying them is to act as if the *means* of moral growth were its *end,* and to misconceive also the nature of the means; for it is only when the child learns for himself to balance satisfactions against each other, or better yet, so organizes his motives that he seldom finds cause to strike a balance, that moral growth occurs.

And such healthy organization of one's motives into a sort of hierarchy of higher and lower can take place only as needs are satisfied, not as they are thwarted. Deprivation tends to obsessive preoccupa-

tion with the unsatisfied need; gratification releases the child from this obsession. His hunger sated, the child is free to do something else: to sleep, to play, or even to study. His need for security and love satisfied, a child is not under compulsion to seek attention or to demand a constant show of love. The satisfaction of "lower" needs is a prime condition of our being free to seek the satisfaction of "higher" or more idealistic motives.

And when the child's environment is thus free from undue frustration and privation, when he finds that if he works at it he can usually satisfy his needs, there is a generalization of the emotional attitude which goes with success in satisfying needs. The child becomes more optimistic, free from anxiety, friendly.[17] Current stress upon the value of reassurance, support, permissiveness, approval, acceptance finds here its justification; these are all ways of satisfying certain deep-lying needs of the child. It seems probable that many traits characteristic of the healthy adult are positive consequences of gratification of the child's need for love—such traits as the ability to allow independence to the loved one, and the ability to love without giving up one's independence. Need-fulfillment tends to develop a specific kind of character in children just as does need-deprivation.[18]

► Summary

A motive is to be thought of less as a distinct act than as the dynamic aspect of every behavior, as that which gives direction to behavior. While the infant has quite a repertory of needs that motivate him, these are rapidly modified. All motivation must be regarded as the resultant of *both* heredity *and* acquisition. Human experience rather than human nature determines what it is that will satisfy human needs.

Frustration of motivated behavior leads to an increase in tension directed in the first instance against the frustrating barrier but spreading to other persons or objects in the environment and leading to many forms of substitute behaviors. Too often these are socially

[17] This point has been cogently developed by Maslow (186).

[18] Unfortunately our preoccupation with the purely negative side of character is so great that the evidence consists chiefly in finding that the opposites of these traits seem to develop when there is need-deprivation; but even this negative evidence strongly suggests that gratification has positive effects. See Levy (158, 159, 160) and the article by Maslow previously cited (186). But the Updegraff and Keister (284) experiment, though set up as an attempt to cure the ill effects of failure can equally well be looked at as showing the positive effects upon character of success—that is, of need-satisfaction.

inacceptable or do not, in the long run, serve well the individual's purposes. Nonetheless they may serve the immediate purpose of reducing tension and so become learned. It should be our purpose to teach children constructive ways of reacting to frustration. And whenever possible it should be our purpose not to frustrate them. Need-fulfillment is self-fulfillment. The need-gratified child is free to organize his motives for "higher" ends and tends to develop a friendlier, more secure personality.

Exercises

1. How is it possible to contend that a motive is not a particular kind of behavior? Does the text mean that you do not have such a motive as the desire for food?
2. On page 187 is given a list of fifteen motives found in two-year-olds. Can you add any motives found in *all* normal children of elementary school age?
3. Suppose that you had grown up in a society just like the one you did grow up in, except that neither you nor anyone else had ever felt pinched for lack of material things. What do you think would be the most important motive in your life? Can you relate this to your childhood experiences? How would it differ from the motive which is now dominant?
4. Illustrate by concrete example how a motive is made stronger or weaker by the action of parents or teacher.
5. Have you ever seen frustration leading to regression in the action of older children? Describe carefully.
6. Rosenzweig speaks of "frustration tolerance." What do you suppose that this means? Is it good or bad? How does it come about?
7. Search your memory for some sort of severe deprivation during childhood. Can you actually trace any sequels in your behavior? Be very careful not to read something into your experience.
8. Give an illustration of the subsidence of a suppressed need-tension. Of an *indirect* need-reduction behavior.
9. Everyone believes in the value of "success experience" but it is often very difficult to manage. Can you think of other methods of helping a child meet frustration?

9 Influencing Children's Motives

Are there dependable motives that can be appealed to in order to get children to do what we want them to? Is there any way to get children to want to do the things we want them to? The answer to both questions is "Yes!" But to influence children's behavior in this way requires sensitivity to the highly individual character of each child's motives and an ability to get beneath the surface to hidden motives.

To see to it that children do what is good for them is an unavoidable duty of parents and teachers. Part of this control, both positive and negative, is achieved because of the parent's authority. Part of it is achieved by providing the child with appropriate motives and incentives.

► The Nature of Incentives

An incentive is anything which gets a person to do something for which he would be otherwise inadequately motivated. An incentive is thus much the same thing as an "extrinsic" motive. In the usual case, the adult envisages some goal for the child, but this goal can be understood by him only imperfectly if at all. To get him moving toward the goal, the adult interposes some accessory goal that the child can understand and value, and that leads in the desired direction (See Fig. 16).

Sometimes, particularly where the road to the goal is long and arduous, it is necessary to strengthen our wavering purposes by ourselves providing the incentives. The very activities whereby we make progress toward a distant goal stand like barriers in our path. "Must I do all that?", we ask. We need a little fillip, a prod, to start us going, though once we get started the sense of progress helps to keep us at

it.[1] But whether the incentive is self-imposed or other-imposed, it operates as an accessory or secondary motive. An incentive makes us feel a need and points, at least vaguely, to the means whereby the need may be satisfied. If we take both terms rather broadly, incentive can be regarded as almost a synonym for reward (including the avoidance of penalties).[2]

> Is not the control of a child's behavior by authority also a matter of incentives? Only in part. When the child acts explicitly to please the parent or because "mother knows best," we do have a case where authority is setting up positive incentives; coercion, moreover, obviously provides the negative incentive of avoiding penalties. But there is, fortunately a better sort of control by authority in which the goal proposed by parent or teacher is simply and immediately accepted as the child's own. It is unfortunate that we so often think of authority solely in terms of incentives, particularly of the coercive, negative sort.

► Intrinsic versus Extrinsic Motivation

Much has been written about the superior value of intrinsic motivation—that is, motivation in which the goal-directed activity directly satisfies the child. For example, a child who likes to practice the piano is said to be intrinsically motivated; and this is considered better than when he must be bribed to do his "exercises." Much of this discussion is a little unrealistic. Naturally, if the child is already attracted to the goal he should pursue, we adults have no problem. If, however, he is not attracted because he does not understand the goal we have set for him, one obvious thing to do is to help him with such understanding. (A really impressive amount of "misbehavior," *as well as lack of effort,* is due to the fact that children just do not understand what is wanted of them.) The right kind of instruction, then, will solve many problems of apparent lack of motive, and will make the provision of elaborate extrinsic incentives unnecessary.

So far we go with the advocates of intrinsic motivation. There remains, however, a stubborn minority of problems where the child

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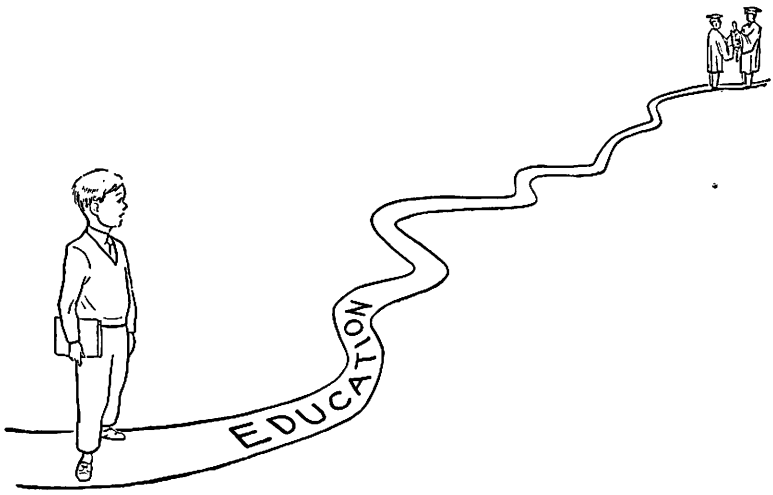
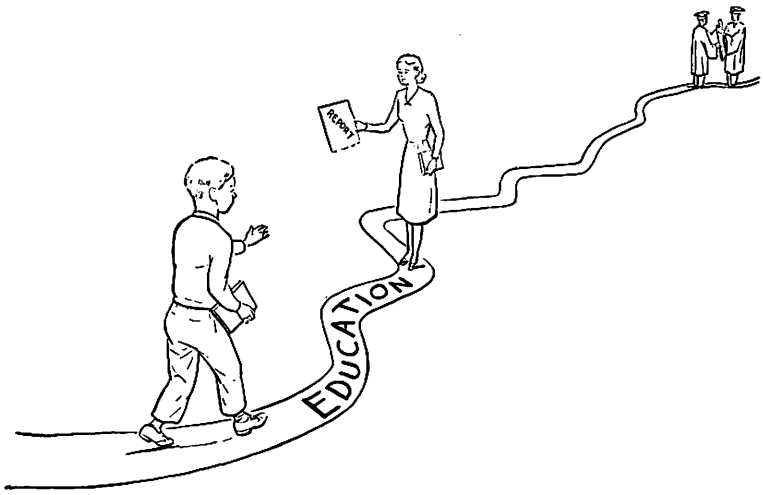
[1] The point is given theoretical elaboration by H. Wright (313).

[2] In this discussion I have emphasized incentives as incitements to action. Hilgard and Russell (116) in a recent article stress incentives as satisfiers of a motive. Careful consideration shows, however, that we are really talking of the same mechanism. An incentive incites by holding forth a potential satisfier; and satisfiers are not incentives when they do not stir us up.

Figure 16. Incentives as Supplementary Goals



The child cannot "see" or value the distant goal and is not moved to take the path toward it.



The child can "see" the nearer goal. Moreover, a series of such goals may bring him to the place where he can "see" the more distant goal.

simply cannot be got to understand the goal or, understanding it, to value it as we wiser adults think he should.

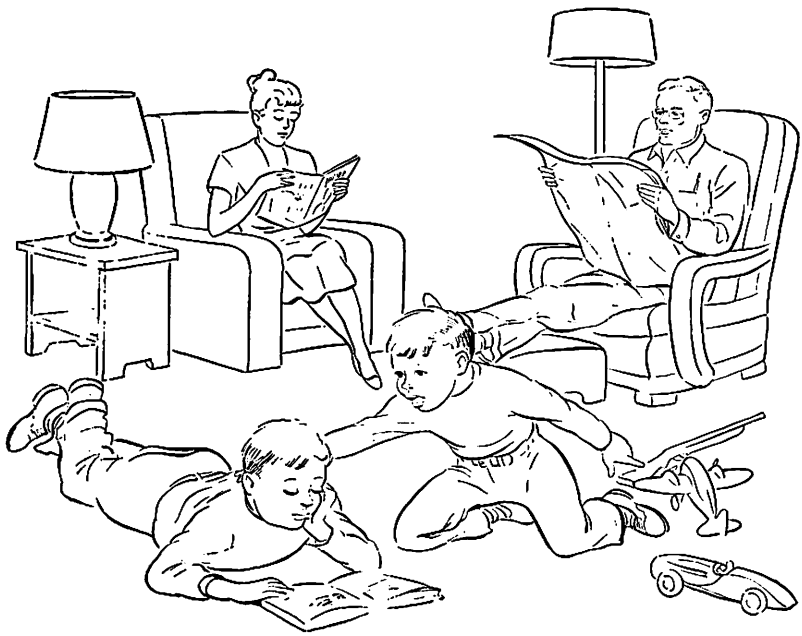
Maturation and Motivation

Should we, then, postpone our effort to modify the child's behavior until he has matured a little more? That is certainly the easy way out, and in many cases it is the right way as well. It *is* necessary to respect the child's level of maturity; and it is surprising, if we but wait, how many problems just evaporate. The child who drives his grandmother to distraction by banging a spoon on his tray will drop the practice of his own accord after a few weeks; the preadolescent boy who feels compelled to be rude to every female will, in time, find other ways to assert his masculinity.

There are two reasons, however, why we cannot go all out in a program of merely waiting for the child to develop. In the first place, there are some problems which just cannot be postponed. A child can seldom understand—certainly not fully—the need for certain health or safety precautions; yet if they are not somehow imposed on him, tragedy may result. Almost any sort of motivation that keeps the toddler off the street is justified. Another example: if a child is to become even a fair musician he has to do a lot of practicing before he is mature enough to understand fully why it is necessary.

The Stimulation of Readiness. In the second place, why be so fatalistically passive about development? If a child is insensitive to a certain kind of motive, instead of waiting for some mysterious sort of maturation, why not provide him with experiences that will increase his sensitivity? Children come to school, for example, with very great differences in their motivation for reading. Some have never seen a person reading for enjoyment—virtually have never seen anyone read. They have no yearning for it; it means nothing to them. Others see parents or older children with noses always in a book or newspaper; reading is evidently a fascinating business. Obviously the first-grade teacher cannot ignore such differences in the development of motivation, but neither should she sit with folded hands waiting for "reading readiness" to mature. Her job is to create a motivation toward reading, not by bribing the child nor by telling him how wonderful reading is but by supplying experiences to remedy his deficiencies in background. The role of the parent and teacher is not that of passively waiting for motives to arrive by "maturation" but of actively stimulating the acquisition of motives through experience.

Figure 17. Motives Depend on Background



Won't a child brought up in such a family think that reading is important?

The limits and the possibilities are both admirably illustrated by toilet control. There is a certain urgency in our culture about this control. ("You just can't let the child go on that way forever!") There is, however, no technique of training yet conceived that will do any good until a certain ill-defined level of maturation has been attained. Harassed mothers simply have to resign themselves for some months to the necessary complications.

Even after training begins, moreover, the child's lack of comprehension makes things difficult. No more than a puppy or a cat can a sixteen-month-old toddler understand why toilet cleanliness is so important. Accordingly, most mothers train the child in essentially the same way as the puppy—chiefly by punishment.

But the child isn't merely a puppy, and what he learns as a result of the punishment often extends far beyond the toilet-training situation. There are enough cases in which drastic toilet training is associated with neurosis in later childhood to give us pause.[3] Rewards are perhaps less dangerous in this situation, but if given in an atmosphere of tense emotionalism, they too can lead to some bizarre learnings. The expressions used by some mothers in urging a child to defecate give him the idea that the feces are something valuable which he is being urged to give up. The result may be a stubborn attempt to retain the feces, or, in other cases, a rather messy attempt to find out what makes them so precious. Learning without understanding, or rather learning with very imperfect understanding—for there is probably no learning without some understanding—can be rather dangerous.

Nonetheless, the time comes when the child can be induced to adopt customary toilet practices, though still without fully understanding the adult goals of cleanliness and privacy. This is accomplished by the use of extrinsic motivations or incentives, by praise or rebuke. If the incentives are not too forcibly applied, toilet control is finally achieved without any real strain on either child or mother.[4]

Incentives in the School. The situation is closely parallel when it comes to school learnings. There are tasks which children of a given age simply cannot understand, and trying to get them to perform the tasks results in distorted learning. Many children, for example, get

[3] A summary statement of the psychological aspects of toilet training is given by Orlansky (219).

[4] You may raise the question, however, whether toilet control is not always, even in the adult, a matter of extrinsic motivation—that is, the control is never itself directly satisfying, however much its effects may be. Should not this fact impress those who insist so sharply that we should never use extrinsic motivation?

the impression that arithmetic is essentially a set of mechanical processes, and most of them never quite free themselves of that view. This is chiefly because arithmetic is not so taught that they can *understand* what they are doing. The use of incentives to promote such rote learning is clearly unfortunate.

But suppose our goal in teaching is more intelligent. Suppose that we have ascertained that most first-grade children can understand certain basic number facts, and we set out to bring this about by sound methods. It ought to work. Children like to learn; the mere activity of learning, of understanding something which is within their range, is fascinating. It is such learning we speak of as intrinsically motivated.

Nevertheless, it is only realistic to recognize that not all the pupils in the class will at the same time be absorbed by the task set by the teacher—let us say it is that excellent introduction to arithmetic of putting matches into groups of two and three and counting them. Bobby would rather pound nails. Davy would rather finger paint. Nothing wrong with that, of course, but it makes the attainment of understandings common to the group more difficult. Is there any reason, then, why the teacher should not enhance the attractiveness of that goal by supplementary motives or incentives?

None at all, provided that the incentives lead to the real goal, in this case that of understanding "two-ness" and "three-ness." If, however, the incentive of competition merely leads Davy to see whether he can't arrange matches in two's and three's faster than Susy, he would be better occupied at finger painting. The only thing wrong with extrinsic incentives is that too often they miss the target, or worse, hit the wrong target. Thus there is nothing basically wrong with rewarding a child for some little service, but we have to be careful that he doesn't develop the "gimmies." We must be perpetually vigilant to be sure that the reward does not usurp the place of the real educational goal, that a supplementary means—teacher-approval, beating the other fellow, getting good marks—does not become an end. Subject to this limitation, however, external incentives have a worthy and necessary place in guiding the child's activities.

Incentives and Change of Motive

Morgan (197) makes another useful distinction when he speaks of sedative and stimulating rewards. A reward that brings the whole activity to an end has but limited effect. It is much better, obviously, to utilize incentives that hold promise of

being repeated if the desired conduct is continued and still better to find incentives that have a progressive character, which lead the child step-by-step to the real goal.

Fortunately, incentives do often have the effect of leading to intrinsic motivation. The child who needs many accessory motivations to get him to wash his face and hands may in time actually come to take pride in looking clean and spruce. (Both the *may* and the *in time* have to be emphasized.) The child who is inveigled by various incentives to study geography may find that maps are fascinating things. The child who has to be prodded into practicing at the piano sometimes comes to love music and spends hours at it of his own accord. Such miracles happen. Interest grows by what it feeds on.[5]

► Dependable Motives

As we saw in the previous chapter, we must surrender the hope of finding a universal pattern of behavior due to heredity alone. But among persons who grow up in similar circumstances there are many broad uniformities of motivation. Despite the acquisition of numerous quite-individual motivations, it is probable that as we grow older the number of motives we share with others of like status and experience grows greater. It is these uniformities which give coherence to societies and social groups and which make predictions of behavior possible. We may speak of these as *dependable motives.*[6] What are some of the motivations upon which we can usually depend in our society? And, of particular interest, what are the incentives we can use in getting a child to do the things he should or must do (by which it is to be feared we usually mean, what are the incentives we can use in getting the child to do what we want him to do)?

Some Common Incentives

Commands and Suggestions. A somewhat special form of this problem concerns the verbal forms used in giving commands or suggestions. Obviously our words operate on the child

[5] Even compulsion may lead to the "interiorization of motives." Rules of conduct grudgingly obeyed at first are in time accepted as one's own. Sometimes, that is! We need much more investigation to learn under what conditions compulsion leads, on the one hand, to resistance and conflict, on the other, to acceptance and even championship.

[6] Klineberg (146), who apparently introduced this term, seems to imply that relative dependability depends only on organismic factors; we stress that it may come from either environmental or organismic influences.

to stir up incentives of one sort or another. The food which no longer sufficiently attracts the infant by its taste or smell is made more attractive by being praised. In school, the teacher's words touch off motives which cooperate with whatever intrinsic motivation to learn is present. And the glowing words of salesman or orator stir us to actions for which our motivation were else too weak.

Not all words, however, are equally effective. So, scattered through manuals of rhetoric and of public speech and in instructions for salesmen and for army officers, even in books for teachers, there is a considerable mass of information based on everyday experience about the proper form of command. Now it is one of the tasks of psychology to tease out the common principle or principles that run through everyday rules-of-thumb. But they are drawn from very diverse experiences and are intended for very specialized applications. Generalization is therefore difficult. For this reason it is often desirable to set up experiments, not to prove, as some wag has said, what everyone knows, but to isolate the general principle that enables us to cope with a wide range of everyday events.

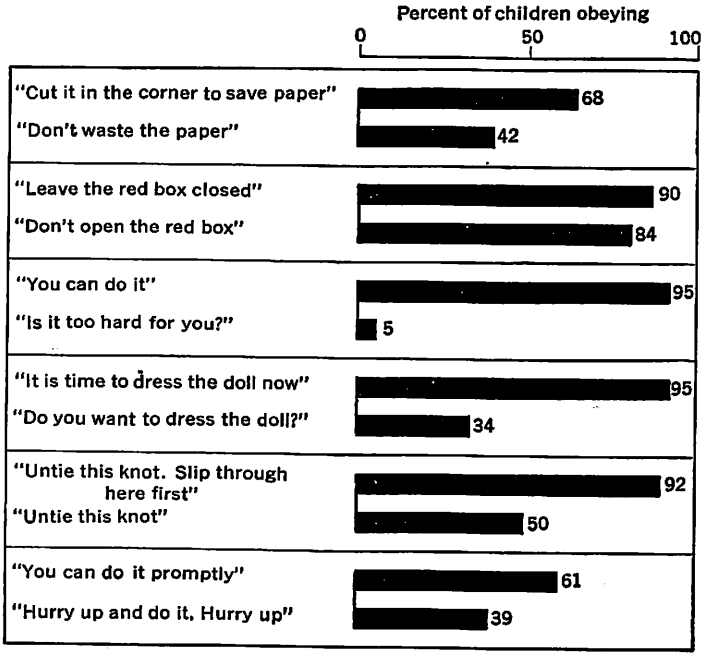
For example, it may be clear enough that Miss Clark and Miss Brackett manage to direct their pupils very effectively, and we note that both of them make much use of direct, positive command. It is not clear, however, that it is their use of direct command which makes their leadership outstanding; it might be something else we haven't noticed. We can tell if we set up an experiment in which other possible factors are ruled out and the influence of the form of verbal incentive is the determinant.

This was the plan in Johnson's investigation (135). In each experiment two contrasting forms of verbal incentive were employed: specific versus general or vague command; definite versus indefinite suggestion; positive versus negative; encouraging versus discouraging suggestion; calming versus pressuring command. The exact verbal forms used and the results achieved are shown in Figure 18.

"These experiments show that *positive, unhurried, specific* and *encouraging* types of direction secure more performance from others than *negative, hurried, general* and *discouraging* types of directions" (10, p. 251 ff.).[7] The conclusion seems plausible even to the point of being rather obvious, yet the mother or teacher, eager for quick results and faced with the child's fumbling efforts, is apt to be in too great a hurry to formulate suggestions either specifically or positively,

[7] McClure's study (181) adds further details as to the effect of the form of verbal instruction upon motivation.

Figure 18. Effect of Various Methods of Giving Commands and Suggestions



Reproduced from J. E. Anderson (10), *The psychology of development and personal adjustment*, 1949, Henry Holt and Company. Drawn by permission from data of M. W. Johnson (135).

and may in a single sentence violate every one of these principles.[8] Too much criticism of the child's efforts, however constructive its intent in the correction of errors, is likely to seem merely a form of nagging; it either depresses him or leads to resistance. For effective action, particularly for action which is supposed to lead to learning, a more relaxed atmosphere must be provided.

Interest and Interests as Incentives. A vast and confusing literature has grown up in education concerning the role of interest. Part of the difficulty comes from confusing interests with the feeling of interest. Strictly speaking, the feeling of interest should not be regarded as a motive at all. The child does not do something because he feels interest (though we often say so); rather the child is interested because he is doing something.

[8] The high-pressure salesman and the traditional "tough" sergeant also frequently overplay their hand; it is increasingly being recognized that their techniques are useful only in very limited circumstances.

There is, however, a more concrete meaning of the term *interest,* especially when used in the plural. A child's interests are those objects and objective situations that observably stir him to action. In this latter concrete and objective sense, the term is merely a specialized name for motive or goal. Consequently, there is no question that we can control a child's actions by appeal to his interests. We do it all the time, particularly when we want to divert or distract him from some undesirable conduct. The real problem concerns the use of these interests as supplementary motives—that is, incentives—in getting children to learn.

We have already discussed one aspect of this issue in the preceding section. It is typical of the school learning situation to require supplementary motivations. We have to get pupils to learn things for which, to put it mildly, they have no great yearning. To "put over" arithmetic by appealing to a child's interest in playing store would thus seem entirely legitimate.

None the less, the doctrine of interest has led to some very shallow teaching. It is one thing to enlist the support of an interest or motive to keep going a desirable learning activity; it is quite another thing to aim at interesting the pupil, at keeping him interested. That is too much like sugar-coating a bitter pill to get it down. The teacher who is always trying to dress things up in an interesting garb is missing the real task, which is to help the child discover in the learning activity those aspects that are for him significant and important.[9]

Knowledge of Results. Research on how children learn has also yielded valuable clues about effective and dependable incentives. It has been established that knowledge of the results of their efforts is a keen spur to continuation of those efforts. This motivation is effective in proportion as it is *prompt* and *specific.*[10]

The Desire to Achieve. Another motive of great dependability is the desire to achieve. It is early instilled in children in our culture, especially in upper and middle-class families. In *Middletown,* which in this respect as in so many others is typical of America, ambition outruns ability in a formidable proportion of young people (179). In the long run, however, a child will not desire what he no longer hopes to achieve. Moreover achievement has to be defined in terms

[9] In the main this is what John Dewey meant in championing the role of interest in education. The fact that he seems to have been misunderstood both by opponents and by many would-be followers shows how tricky the term *interest* is. The plural form *interests* seems less ambiguous.

[10] The extensive experimental literature has been briefly summarized by English (80) and by Stroud (264).

of his own goals. A specific goal or a level of achievement which to one child spells success to another spells failure. Much research has accordingly been directed at finding out what determines the child's *level of aspiration.*

As might be expected, success nearly always raises the child's level of aspiration. We seldom weary of success; each victory spurs us on to attempt more difficult goals, to gain a greater success. Failure usually has the opposite effect of depressing the level of aspiration, but the effect is less consistent; quite often, indeed, failure results in raising the level (60, 139, 240).

This last finding might seem to confirm the view of those educational theorizers who esteem themselves "hardheaded realists." They hold that education has been made too easy, that children need to experience failure as well as success. Occasional failure, perhaps. Certainly every child inevitably does have a taste of this bitter medicine. But Keister's (141) study shows that toleration of failure is learned *only when it is temporary and is linked with the expectation of ultimate success.*

There is no evidence that repeated bludgeoning by failure is useful. On the contrary, there are found in the research (240) two sorts of effects—both unfortunate. Some children are beaten down to the point where they no longer aspire to succeed. Great ingenuity is required if we are to find for such children a goal which seems to them at the same time possible of attainment and worth achieving. Other children after exposure to continued failure seem to get hardened to it, but their behavior is not improved thereby. Instead, their attitude seems to be a careless and half-defiant, "If anybody can do it, I can." They continue therefore to be motivated but to be motivated by unrealistic and unrealizable goals (Sears, 240).[11] Gruen's (107) results suggest that there may be personality factors determining whether a child becomes apathetic or unrealistic and overoptimistic. In both cases, the effect of prolonged failure must be judged unwholesome.[12]

Success and failure are not the only determinants of the level of aspiration. Even when rivalry with others is avoided, the level is affected by knowledge of one's relative standing in a group of one's peers (8, 56, 117), and even by the child's knowledge of what others in the group expect (115). The child's self-confidence, or lack thereof,

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[11] Rats punished for nonperformance of very difficult tasks show a similar objective lack of realism (Estes, 82); we aren't just sure how they appraise the situation!

[12] Compare also the experimental findings concerning frustration and deprivation cited in the preceding chapter.

also makes a difference in the kind of target he sets up to shoot at (167, 106); and this is, of course, influenced by previous success (in relation to his own aspirations) but also by social encouragement and discouragement. Teachers who tell a child that he can make it if he tries may actually get him to raise his level of aspiration; but if he raises it unduly, the effect of discouragement will be all the greater.

We began by saying that the desire to achieve is a very dependable incentive. It is. All children do desire to achieve and that motive will actually set them in motion. But the above discussion indicates that the incentive is itself a very complex thing, that it is by no means so simple as it sounds to get a child to desire to achieve. Certainly it is most unsafe to expect a child to rise to the bait when the task is formulated for him by someone else. Only those tasks that lie within his level of aspiration and that have for other reasons been accepted as his own represent a challenge. When, however, the goal is thus accepted, the desire to achieve may act as a powerful additional motive or incentive to pursue it with vigor.[13]

Rivalry and Competition. Children seldom respond to the motive of rivalry or competition until the age of two; from then on, as seen in experiments in which there are artfully arranged competitive situations, the motive becomes more and more effective—at least to age seven. (Greenberg's (104) experiments were carried on in Austria and Leuba's (155) in the United States.) At age six as high as 86 percent of the children show competition when urged to see whether they can build with blocks better than another child. Yet even at these ages Wolf (309) found very considerable individual differences in the children's responsiveness to this incentive. Maller (184) found that school children work harder and more effectively when seeking rewards for themselves than when working for a group. But group competition was also effective, especially if the group is a natural one of the children's own choosing. (Not unnaturally, children are not particularly enchanted by the competition of the front rows versus the back rows!)

The relative effectiveness of competition (and I believe of all incentives) is in part determined by the task to be performed. Thus in Wolf's experiments, competition was more effective in tasks involving large-muscle activity than in tasks of a precise and finely coordinated character. Still more important is the fact that rivalry and competition are seldom, if ever, the sole motive; other motives reinforce or oppose them, and the relative motivating strength of com-

[13] In Chapter 16 we shall discuss the importance of the motive for achievement in the total organization of a life plan.

petition varies accordingly. "The case studies show that the effectiveness of competition is related to the level of aspiration for winning, to accomplishment in comparison with that of other competitors. . . . There is evidence that rationalization may complicate an individual's responses to a given incentive condition" (309).

Logically, competition and cooperation are opposites; psychologically this is not necessarily so. The same sort of activities may serve either or both; and it is frequently impossible to determine, especially from a single act, whether the motive is competitive or cooperative. Indeed, children may compete in seeing how cooperative they can be! Furthermore, overt competitiveness may be a symptom of some underlying anxiety. And finally, as Jersild (129, p. 161) points out, "the child who is not actively competing may in actuality be highly competitive in his attitude; his own standing may mean so much to him that he will not join in group activity for fear that he won't make a good showing."

All in all, however, probably the commonest motive appealed to in the culture of the Western world—and apparently in this matter we must also include the Soviet Empire—is that of rivalry and competition. For one thing it is so easily manipulated. Any leader with the least bit of imagination can find a way to stir up rivalry.[14] In many ways competitiveness is the dominant note of our civilization.

Many sensitive students of the contemporary scene believe, however, that competitiveness has grown beyond useful bounds. The situation suggests a parallel with the history of the saber-toothed tiger. This species of the great cats, as is well known, started to develop enormous canine teeth, and for a time these fangs proved very useful in rending the creature's prey. But in successive generations the fangs grew ever longer and heavier, and in time they so interfered with other functions that the saber-toothed tiger became extinct. In the same way, competitiveness has certainly been a major factor in bringing our civilization to its present height; but signs are multiplying that it is now so strong a motive in so many people that it is destructive of other values and may endanger the very civilization it helped to create. Modern technology has created "playthings" too dangerous to be put in the hands of men imbued with the desire to triumph over others at any cost or by any means. In industrial as well as in international relations, the fangs of ruthless competitiveness seem to be hypertrophied beyond a useful size, if not to the point of acute danger.

[14] But not always to control it! It so easily gets out of bounds. At its best, it requires "policing," as Lewin (164) points out, lest the pupils take undesirable short cuts.

If this be even measurably true, teachers and parents have a serious responsibility when they appeal so constantly to the motive of competition. For it must be emphasized again that *motives strengthen as they are successfully appealed to.* We do not, of course, suggest that the competitive motive be left wholly undeveloped. To continue the parallel with the saber-toothed tiger, a child needs *some* competitiveness just as a tiger needs canine teeth. It must be obvious to everyone that ours is, and for a long time will continue to be, a society in which the competitive spirit is helpful, even necessary, for the attainment of other values.

As a matter of rather apparent fact, many children fail to develop enough competitiveness if they are to achieve as worthily as they otherwise can. On the other hand, many children develop far too much competitiveness. The clear implication is that we should play up this trait for the former, play it down for the latter. Both kinds of children—and society as a whole—will be the gainer by an individualization of our use of this potent incentive.

For the classroom teacher the problem has a special form. However much she individualizes some parts of her work, the teacher remains a person who seeks the optimal development of children by meeting their individual needs through *group* activities. What then should be her use of the incentive of competition?

Undoubtedly by using it she can often get immediate results. More children can learn more arithmetic, if they are trying to excel each other than if this motive is dispensed with. It is tempting, then, to stir up a little good-natured (?) rivalry, especially since, as we have been saying, some of the children need competition anyway.

Unfortunately, competition usually works most on just the pupils who need it least. Hank, who is full of "the old fighting spirit" anyway, rises to the challenge and becomes even more aggressive, while meek little Billy withdraws psychologically, if not physically, from the contest. Furthermore, competition acts as a spur to learning for those who already have made most progress and who would continue to progress without the added incentive. The child who finds a particular kind of learning difficult is very likely to believe that there is no use in competing. A group appeal to competitiveness works on the wrong people.

The upshot of it all is, therefore, that we should do well to use this incentive rarely in group situations. The markedly noncompetitive child can be helped to develop more of this attitude by judicious *individualized* prodding. The others will get more than enough of

it from the whole temper of our culture; we don't need to add fuel to their flame.

The Need for Approval. Obviously the need for approval considerably overlaps competition; clearly we often compete to gain approval. Equally clearly we may seek approval through other means. An overlap with the need to achieve is also apparent. The desire to be approved is more or less deliberately encouraged by parents and very early becomes a strong motive. It can be fairly easily manipulated and is therefore one of the chief incentives used in schools.

The Alleged Need for Aggression. We include the need for aggression with many reservations. If a child were never frustrated, he would never need to be aggressive. Unfortunately, frustrations are the common lot of all children. And it does seem to be unwholesome if the frustrations are, as it were, dammed up without outlet. We must repeat the caution made in previous chapters: this expression of damming up or repressing anger is only a metaphor, and, if taken too literally, it may be a seriously misleading one. But whatever the nature of the underlying mechanism, there is the fact that the expression of aggression can be a great satisfaction. Guardedly, then, we can utilize this motive as an incentive to incite the child to action along desirable lines. It is hardly necessary to add that aggression as an incentive overlaps competition and rivalry.

The Need to Belong. We have discussed one aspect of this motive in Chapter 3 where we saw the child's need to belong growing out of infantile dependence. The need is satisfied at first within the family; later it is transferred to other persons and groups, particularly of one's age-mates or "peers." Occasionally the need to affiliate with others is weak, and the child becomes an "isolate." Such cases are so far out of line with our culture that we rightly view them with grave concern. Most children, however, can be readily stimulated to learn whatever they see as helpful in gaining membership or partnership or affiliation with their fellows—that is, with any person or group with whom they feel some degree of identification. Together with the need for approval, this is the primary social motivation.

Virtues, Proprieties, and Required Behaviors. To list the common virtues and social proprieties among the *dependable* motives of childhood will seem to most parents and teachers distinctly ironic. Let us grant that the degree of dependability varies greatly from child to child and at its best falls short of perfection. But it is the goal of social education, at home, in school, and elsewhere, to see to it that these desirable motives *become* dependable; and, once they are in-

stilled, they may be appealed to as supplemental motives or incentives.

The "virtues" that do become dependable at a given stage of child development generally differ considerably from the similarly named virtues of adults, and differ even more from the idealized virtues that we talk about. The child's concept and practice of honesty or truthfulness cannot be expected to be entirely like our own, or like the statements in ethical treatises. Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb (205) summarize a large number of studies of children's moral concepts. Especially interesting are those which show the progressive development with increasing age toward informed adult standards [for example, Lockhart (178), Kemper (144)]. For facts about children's actual conduct under known conditions, the massive studies of the Character Education Inquiry (57), to which we have made previous reference, must still be consulted.

There is evidently a very considerable amount of common (and therefore dependable) motivation toward action in accord with the mores, the virtues, and the standards of our social order. Delinquency and gross misbehavior are exceptional; most children want to be good and succeed fairly well.

The studies referred to reveal, however, an equally impressive amount of individuality in respect to motivation toward "required behaviors." Family patterns also frequently take surprising turns. Misunderstanding often creeps up on us, moreover, because the child —not wholly unlike his elders!—"talks a line" which has only a modest relation with the virtue-motives he actually has. It is, nonetheless, quite a mistake to underrate the extent to which the child's behavior is motivated and controlled by *his own* pattern of mores, virtues, and standards of conduct.

The Psychological Atmosphere. Finally, we should take note of the fact that the total atmosphere of home, school, or group is also a sort of generalized incentive that not only increases or decreases motivation but powerfully helps to determine its direction. Thus the morale of a school class was found by Hartshorne and May (57) more important as a determiner of honesty or of service than was the teacher directly. Indirectly, however, the teacher may very greatly help to determine morale. The incentive of competition, especially when there is only one prize, can very easily injure group morale and lessen rather than increase achievement. Sarcasm may temporarily galvanize a careless pupil into paying attention, but the immediate effect is bought at too high a price in terms of the morale, not only

of the victim of the attack but of all those others in the group who wonder when it will be their turn to be thus cut to ribbons.

On the other hand, an attitude of buoyant cheerful activity on the part of the teacher helps to establish a similarly dynamic feeling in the group and thus enhances other motives.

A Catalogue of Incentives?

The foregoing discussion of some of the chief incentives is obviously incomplete. It will not satisfy certain hard-headed, practical persons who think they want a list of dependable motives something like the list of sure-fire menus which experienced hostesses have in readiness. Why should we not have regular inventories of the goals and goal-objects characteristic of children of a given age and cultural background?

We do have such lists. I have before me a list compiled by a student from just six sources. It contains over sixty different terms. Such catalogues undoubtedly have their values. In building a curriculum for the fifth grade for example, or in planning a program for the 4-H Club or the Campfire Girls, we need to know the sorts of activities that will engage children's interest. The norms, to be sure, have to be kept up to date, since children's interests, like those of adults, are constantly altering with the changing times; but that task is not too formidable. Children's books, toys, and play equipment have been enormously improved in recent years by using just such knowledge.

When it comes to dealing with individuals, however, I doubt the value of presenting any formal catalogue of motives or incentives. If we examine the attempts to formulate such lists, perhaps we can see why. In an earlier day the basic motivations were conceived of as "instincts"; and McDougall, one of the great pioneers in the study of motivation, used to hold that there were seven or eight such primary bases for motives. The list soon grew to twelve or more. By way of contrast, a well-known child psychologist of ten years ago listed only four important desires: to be active, to please others, to achieve, to overcome handicaps. Current discussion makes much of the child's need for security, and under this *one* broad heading often includes his need for love, for achievement, for status, and for self-enhancement.

The fact that these lists use different terms and are built around different concepts does not prove that we know very little about motivation. Actually none of these categorizings is wholly wrong. Take Freud's attempt to reduce all motivation to the libido and the

death instinct. By libido Freud meant all pleasurable strivings, all attempts to incorporate within oneself some part of the world. By the death instinct Freud meant the "spirit that denies," all tendency to withdraw from the world, all self-surrender, good or bad.[15] Well, it certainly seems to be possible to range almost any motive under one or other of such broadly conceived categories. But do we really have just two motives or a whole collection of motives under two headings?

The truth is that any listing of distinct motives is arbitrary. "Motivation," as Murphy puts it, "does not define a box that contains a few distinct tools for our use" (204, p. 89). The several motives are fluid and flow into each other. Take a concrete case. Billy says: "Look, mother, at the funny face I'm making! *Look!* LOOK!" You can say he wants his mother's approval of his "achievement" of a funny face (a fairly specific description); or that he wants his mother's approval (intermediate level of description); or that he wants social approval (fairly general description), or that he is seeking the enhancement of his ego (quite a general description). Which one of these interpretations is best? Well, it a little depends, doesn't it? On you, on *your* purposes. It does not really depend on the actual behavior of the actual child, Billy. The classification is external, imposed on the facts rather than growing out of them. If, then, we were making up a standard check list of dependable motives, at which level of generality should we operate?

A second objection to a fixed catalogue is that motives are always more or less mixed. Even in the laboratory where we strive to keep things as simple as possible, we find it impossible to restrict the animal to a single drive, say, hunger. In the child one need presses upon others fusing with them in compounds of great complexity. We may, if we use great ingenuity and patience, analyze the compound into its components, and for certain theoretical purposes this is valuable. But to understand what is motivating the individual child, we need to grasp the total motivation operating in the particular circumstances.

Moreover, there is always the danger that an inventory of motives found at any given time be taken as fixed and final, taken even as a standard to be attained. Because most American children are almost fiercely competitive, we tend to think that this is necessarily so, or that it is morally right and proper, and that any child who falls short of the norm is "deficient" and should be brought up to the norm,

[15] Is it necessary to warn the reader that we have not, in two sentences, adequately summarized Freud's subtle treatment of these themes?

almost by fair means or foul. In short, the list of current motives tends to make us forget that one of our major educational purposes is to *change* the motives of children, not merely to use them to get things done.

Individual Differences in Motives. A further difficulty of cataloguing dependable motives arises from the fact of great individual differences. While it is true that the motive discernible in a child's behavior may resemble one—or indeed several—of the motives listed in some catalogue of "common motives," it certainly has an individual flavor all its own. You never fully understand a particular person's motive when you think of it in terms of its similarity to that of others. Effective dealing with a child's motives is not to be got by ticking them off mechanically on a prepared list, but by becoming sensitive to the manifold individuality of his whole motivational structure—and to the individual nature of the field of psychological forces in which this child is actually living. *Motives crystallize in the direction of satisfactions actually experienced,* and these may take myriad forms. Long before he comes to school, therefore, the child has developed innumerable highly individual specializations or modifications of his "original needs" according to the pattern of his personal experience.

Suppose that we do discover that Jasper and Juan are both motivated by "desire for approval." Such a statement may give us a fellow feeling with them; to that extent it is a helpful categorization. It may help us to understand some of their behavior and thus adjust ourselves to it better. But does it help us to know just how, for example, Jasper will react to praise, or that Juan will react in the same way? To praise for what? From whom? In whose presence? Jasper, though he wants approval, may be greatly embarrassed by *public* praise, while Juan "eats it up." Jasper may want recognition only for "manly" sports; Juan may be eager to have his singing acclaimed. Both may be a bit scornful of praise from a teacher.

Nor should we ignore the collateral effects of such incentives upon their development. Even though it embarrasses him, praise may help Jasper to overcome deep-seated feelings of inadequacy, but may tend to increase Juan's conceit.

> For concreteness, we have stated the issue in terms of two individuals, Jasper and Juan. Research findings dealing with the effect of praise and blame on many children are available. We get such findings as these: objective public reprimand (not sarcastic) caused 40 percent of junior high pupils to do better, 46 percent to do worse; private reprimand caused 83 percent to do better, 7 percent to do

worse. Breckenridge and Vincent (35, p. 427), after useful summary of many studies, suggest a sort of scale of effectiveness which runs somewhat as follows:

a. Ridicule or sarcasm (especially in public)	- gravely handicapping to learning in most pupils.
b. Ignoring the child's efforts	- discouraging or ineffectual.
c. Reproof (particularly if administered in private)	- occasionally effective.
d. Praise (for genuine effort)	- likely to be more effective, and effective in more instances.
e. Praise for good effort *combined with constructive suggestions* for improvement	- most effective of all methods.

But they conclude with the admonition:

f. A judicious adjustment of any method to individual children	- **absolutely necessary.**

A negative point is also useful here. As adults we must always remember that children's motives differ in many ways from ours. As teachers we must realize that we have the special motivations of our vocation—others, including children, do not fully share them. As members of the middle class we must realize how different are our ambitions and ideals from those of lower class children. The ideals and goals that seem to us both important and self-evident will often seem meaningless or actually reprehensible to children from another class with a different social background. Thus it is natural for us, both as teachers and as middle-class people, to promote the ideal of "correct speech." But in certain social contexts "correct speech" so far from being helpful would be a terrible handicap. A working-class child is quite justified in rejecting such a locution as "It is I." Why make himself peculiar? [16] Many a pupil has ruined his standing with

[16] Intonations are even more indicative of class membership than differences in diction. While class distinctions in speech are less rigid in America than in Europe, it is true here also that "Thy speech betrayeth thee."

Well, then, should not the teacher attempt to prepare these pupils for a "higher station" by teaching them better speech? This is obviously a complex problem involving the ultimate goals of education; it is not to be settled in a footnote! Our present point is that differences between the teacher and the children in social status, if not recognized, give rise to baffling problems of motivation. On this point see the oversimplified but stimulating discussion by Davis (65) in his Inglis Lecture at Harvard.

his peers by accepting a teacher's standards of manners and morals. Fortunately, most children simply ignore indoctrination that lies too far outside the motivational pattern of their everyday life, but the teacher who blandly assumes that children will be responsive to the virtues and ideology that seem self-evident to her is certain to run into stormy weather.

Finally, differences in motivation arise because children have not yet arranged their motives in a stable order of preference. Even less than adults do they know what they want, and what they want today they may not want tomorrow. There are, as we have seen, some "dependable motives" upon which the parent or teacher can rely—up to a point. There is real truth, however, in the weary parent's complaint: "You never can be quite sure what they will want next." We do well to ascribe motives to a child only tentatively and to be ready for the emergence, quite out of the blue, of some unexpected goal.

► Hidden Motives

Is there anything that will help us to understand and even control these unexpected shifts in motivation? Yes, there is at least one basic principle which has innumerable practical implications: *Be sure you have identified the motive actually operating.*

It is always tempting to suppose that others are so like ourselves that what motivates us must also move them. On sober reflection, of course, we know it isn't so, but we forget. We forget that the child may not understand what we are getting at. An enormous amount of stubbornness, of inertia, and of "lack of interest" is simply due to the fact that the child doesn't *know* what it is all about. (In this connection, too, we may note that ability and effective motivation are connected; it is a waste of effort to try to motivate children to do something for which they lack the necessary ability. If the teacher gets any sort of result, it is bound to be a distorted one.)

No two persons are ever motivated in quite the same way in the same circumstances. Ordinarily the differences are small enough to be ignored—but not always. What seems like an opportunity to gain money for one person looks like a chance for glory to another. In the same outward circumstances, one child is motivated by a desire to get a job done well, another is trying to please the teacher, a third is interested in securing applause. And every possible combination

may be found, for most motives easily unite or cooperate. We need then to be alert to the areas and the circumstances in which the child comes alive with enthusiasm. If we watch thoughtfully, we can usually find certain patterns that reveal the underlying motivation.

The situation is complicated, however, by the tendency to concealment of motives. Astonishingly early, children learn to pretend to motives that they do not have and to conceal those that actually move them. We adults have ourselves to blame for this, of course; we make it satisfactory and profitable to the child to dissimulate.

Today, every high-school senior has heard about rationalization, projection, and a host of other means used to fool not only others but ourselves. All of them may be classed together as "defense mechanisms" against "painful" or disturbing recognition of our true motives.

Defense mechanisms are probably not wholly bad; we should think twice before we rob a person of defenses against a too-painful self-knowledge. To understand a child's conduct, however, we must ourselves be able to get behind the defenses to the real motive. This is easier said than done, although fortunately the child—or adult—more easily deceives himself than he does a sensitive observer.

Often the clue is found if we look not for the concealed motive but for the concealed problem. Look at the twisted figure in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 19). Seen in isolation, the child looks like a cripple. Suppose, however, we see this child in relation to his environment, as in the detailed sketch on page 235 (Fig. 20). The twisted posture is now seen as a compensatory reaction to the heavy weight he was carrying up a steep incline.[17] Wherever the motive is obscure, we should try to find what kind of a "weight" the child is carrying and over what sort of "terrain."

To put the matter in another way, whenever the child persists stubbornly in obviously unreasonable behavior, we should look for the *persistent stimuli which he can neither ignore nor yet adjust himself to.* As a clue to these hidden stimuli, we may consider what sort of end the unreasonable act would serve, if only it were reasonable. Suppose that a child, usually friendly and affectionate with his teacher, begins, quite without occasion, to be impudent and recalcitrant. The teacher is sure that she has done nothing to merit such

[17] It may be well to note that there are two kinds of "compensation." In one the reactions are designed to overcome the original difficulty, in the other the reactions are designed to obtain a substitute satisfaction. Either, however, may lead to behavior that looks "unreasonable" to the observer who is unaware of the problem the child is trying to solve.

Figure 19. Concealed Motive or Concealed Problem?

behavior—it is therefore "unreasonable." But to what sort of situation would impudence be a "reasonable" response? Quite a few, perhaps, but we may sum them all up under the heading of "affronts to his sense of worth." In short, we may suspect that someone has been "picking on him."

Going a step farther, we note that the impudence is directed at the teacher—an authority figure. We suspect therefore that the person who is really the cause of the impudence is likewise someone in authority, probably a parent.

Note how this suggestion fits the pattern of a persistent stimulus which the child cannot ignore, cannot do anything about. Here, then, may be the source of his hidden motives. In general, *aggression* is so often the effect of frustration that we are justified in trying to find frustration or thwarting whenever uncalled-for aggression is present.

Is it necessary to add that the clues suggested give no more than a vague notion of the direction in which to search for hidden motives? Popularization of the doctrine of "repressed desires" often gives the impression that there is a fixed relation between certain "symbolic responses" and the "unconscious motives." It is not quite that easy. No principle of understanding is a substitute for the patient search for facts. Nowhere more than when we are dealing with motives is it necessary to be alert to the individual nuances that distinguish one child from another.

► Summary

An incentive is a sort of accessory motive used to get a person to do something for which he would otherwise be inadequately motivated. To be effective, the incentive should not merely arouse a need but point the way at least vaguely toward need satisfaction.

By the artful use of incentives we may get the child to experience the satisfaction of attaining desirable goals; a prize for geography may help the child discover that maps are fun. The danger is that the incentive itself may take the place of the real goal.

There are many motives sufficiently common in our culture to be dependable; we can appeal to them as incentive motives. We can also change them, and we should not forget that a major objective

Figure 20. The Concealed Problem

of education is to modify, not merely use, the child's motives and purposes.

Although in larger outline we speak of dependable motives, the fact of individual differences remains. No two persons are ever motivated in quite the same way in the same circumstances.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that children as well as adults often have hidden motives—even motives hidden from themselves. This often leads to "unreasonable" or problem behavior. Uncalled-for aggression, for example, is usually a response to some hidden thwarting of the child's goal-seeking. The clue is to look for persistent stimuli that the child cannot adjust himself to but also cannot ignore. No fixed relationship between "symbolic responses" and hidden motives or "unconscious desires" can be relied on; we must patiently unravel the relationships as they exist for each individual child.

Exercises

1. List ten goals which a child *must* pursue, yet cannot understand. Exchange your list with another student and see whether you cannot find *intrinsic* motivation for the goals he has listed.
2. Illustrate the difference between sedative and stimulating rewards. (See page 216.)
3. See if you can discover some dependable motives for elementary-school children other than those listed in the text. How dependable are they?
4. See if you can get a ten-year-old child to tell you what it means to be "a good sport." Draw him out gently but get his concept in as great detail as possible. How far do you think this is a dependable motive with this child? What makes you think so?
5. Give an illustration of the way a hidden problem gives rise to a puzzling distortion of behavior.
6. See if you can find examples of "unmotivated behavior." How do you explain them?

► Observing Motivation

Since all behavior is motivated, it is impossible to observe child behavior without including the motivational aspect. But the discovery or isolation within any concrete living situation of the motive actually operating is an extremely delicate procedure. Students must therefore be warned against too free an interpretation of the motive for a particular action.

Actually, no one has much practical interest in the motivation of a single act. What we need to know, even with the small child, is the areas of *dependable behavior.* What kinds of situations stir this child, what are the interests for which he comes to life, what are the purposes and goals for which he will struggle?

The list given of dependable motives in this chapter can be a guide but must not be taken as all-inclusive. Motives are individual, personal. Even when you identify the operating motive as the "need for achievement," do not lose sight of the individual uniqueness of Ronald's particular need to achieve—it is not quite like that of anyone else in the world.

Nor can motive be safely judged from a single incident. The sharp tussle with a comrade may reveal personal antagonism, possessiveness, or an outraged sense of injustice—or just "animal spirit." Only when we watch behavior for some time can we infer with any kind of safety at all which are the enduring motives actually at work. The discussion of hidden motives on pages 231–234 is also relevant at this point.

Privation and frustration are difficult to observe within the limits of a brief case study, and inferences about them must be made with exceeding care. It is altogether too easy to equate poverty with privation. It is doubtful that any of you has ever known a child who was seriously deprived as a direct result of poverty. We have very little of that kind of poverty in this country, though we do have some.

This is not at all to deny that poverty *indirectly* leads to many forms of deprivation. Shame at being poor is, for example, a sort of deprivation, but many poor people do not feel it. Your problem then is to get behind the poverty to the stimuli in the child's environment that *actually impinge upon him* to cause privation or frustration. And, of course, you must get behind wealth in the same way, for wealthy or well-to-do children may be deprived or frustrated quite as much as the poor.

If you listen and watch carefully, you may get inklings of real frustrations of an enduring sort and may be able to trace the effects in the day-by-day behavior of the child. It is a rewarding line of inquiry but we must warn you again, this is difficult terrain. Don't jump at conclusions or you may land on a stony contradiction and break a leg.

V The Importance of Physical Development

10 The Psychology of Physical Development

Growing up physically is the chief business of a child. In what terms is physical growth to be assessed? What is the relation between various physical traits? How do these traits affect the child's social development?

When Zarathustra went one day over the great bridge, the cripples and beggars surrounded him. In profound dejection he turned to his disciples and spoke, saying:

"Verily, my friends, I walk amongst men as amongst the fragments and limbs of human beings!

"This is the terrible thing to mine eye, that I find man broken up, and scattered about, as on a battle-and-butcher-ground.

"And when mine eye fleeth from the present to the bygone, it findeth ever the same: fragments and limbs and fearful chances—but no men! and I should not know how to live if I were not a seer of what is to come.

"A seer, a purposer, a creator, a future itself, and a bridge to the future —and alas! also as it were a cripple on this bridge: all that is Zarathustra." [1]

All that also is Education, which has no nobler role than of being a bridge to that future when children will be born to a birthright of health and will develop in a wholesome environment. But Education is also a very cripple on this bridge, so lame is it in all that concerns the child's physical development.

The first book in America to deal directly with the health of the school child appeared as late as 1914.[2] Students may still be graduated from teacher-education programs and be certified to teach without ever once having come to grips with the notion that the child is a *biological organism*. Education, we still seem to believe, is concerned primarily with the mind and book learning; physical development is secondary and a thing apart.

In part this is due to traditional thinking about mind and body.

[1] From *Thus spake zarathustra*, Thomas Commons (trans.), Modern Library, New York: Boni and Liveright, no date, pp. 147, 149.

[2] That book, written by a psychologist, Lewis M. Terman, is *The hygiene of the school child* (271). A revised edition, published in 1929, contains suggestions which are still in advance of much current practice.

Way back in man's hoary past—before the days of written records —the notion grew up that a person was composed of two distinct parts: a sort of "ghost-soul" or "mind," and a "body." Whole systems of philosophy developed out of the effort to make sense of this distinction, of this effort to assign certain of a person's functions to the soul and others to the body. What is more to the point for present purposes, the rigid distinction thus propounded between mind and body came to infect our everyday way of speaking and thinking. We still think of the child as having a *mind* to be *educated* and a distinct *body* to be *trained.*

The title of this chapter is not intended to give substance to this ancient tradition. Psychology, as we conceive it, is not a study of more-or-less disembodied minds; rather it is one way of studying the complete human being as a "going concern." Such a study must be vitally concerned with the physical growth and the health of the organism.[3] And in dealing with these as psychological problems, we shall come upon many psychological principles which will be helpful not only in this context but in many others as well.

In the past psychology has succeeded in ignoring physical development and health only because it dealt chiefly with *adults;* and adults were believed (probably falsely) to have finished their growth and were conceived (certainly falsely) to be healthy. Child psychology, we may be sure, can make neither of these assumptions. As we have suggested in Chapter 1, size—mere size—and physical development generally, are tremendous factors in the behavior of the child. One of the child's earliest social perceptions is the difference between big persons (adults) and little persons (other children). Even quite young infants (those of six months or so) may make the distinction, shrinking from a strange adult while accepting a small child as playfellow.

► "When I Get Big"

As soon as he learns to talk, if not before, the child has impressed upon him how many are the limitations of ability and of permitted activity which are associated with being small.

[3] Although terms like *mind* and *body* or *mental* and *bodily* seem to imply a hard-and-fast or metaphysical distinction which is not valid, I find myself, in common with everyone else, unable to avoid using them; they are too firmly fixed in our vocabulary. While I regret my inability to propose a terminology that will clear up the ancient muddles, I shall try to avoid using the old words in such a way as to create new confusion. This problem is dealt with for the more advanced student in "The ghostly tradition and the categories of psychology" (75).

To "get big" is a tremendously important affair. This is vividly illustrated in the following monologue of a five-year-old "resting" after lunch in a kindergarten. Though few children can express themselves as well as this astonishing young philosopher, he verbalizes the usually wordless feelings and aspirations of other, less fluent children. (The child was talking half to himself, half to the student-observer, who took down in shorthand exactly what he said.)

Today I'm not going to be big. I'm going to be a little baby and you must take care of me. I can't do *anything* for myself. I can just lie in your lap. I'm tired of being a big boy for a while.

It's awful the way you go on being big. Of course you want to grow big, but you couldn't help it if you *didn't* want to. You just keep on growing. It would be awful if you didn't like it 'cause it would just go on anyhow and how sad that would be.

But being big is the best, best thing, isn't it? When you're big everything happens, instead of just waiting to be big. When you get big you can do what you want to do and nobody tells you and you don't have to ask. You just go ahead and do what you want. And you can tell other people. That's a good thing.

When I get big I'm not going to be afraid of anything and I'm not going to cry *ever!* People who cry when they are big are silly. When my mommy cries she said it's because she loves my sister and me and things make her sad. I guess I won't love anybody. I'll take care of mommy and my sister but I won't love them to make me cry. I will be very big and very strong and I'll kill a lot of people, and I'll take care of people if they want me to, but still be all by myself.

But not now. Today *you* must take care of me. I am a little baby. Only don't tell anyone that. . . .

It would be funny if I was big and you were little. I wouldn't pay any attention to you, and I'd make you do things you didn't like to. But I guess I won't ever be able to do that to you 'cause I won't ever be able to catch up to you. I won't ever be able to be the same as you at the same time. It would be funny if when you were born you were grown up, wouldn't it? And then instead of getting older you got younger and littler till you were a baby. That would be funny.

What if that happened now? It would mix people up a lot, wouldn't it? I wish you were a baby so I could take care of you. . . .

Some day if I grow up, and I guess I will, I'll have to shoot too. Sometimes I wish I didn't have to grow big. That's why you must take care of me and we will pretend I'm a little baby and have a long time to wait till I grow big (177, p. 15). Reprinted by permission from *Parent's Magazine.*

Here we find expression of one of the child's earliest concerns—which is to grow up. And here, too, we see how even this early the concern is ambivalent—that is, mingled of two feelings. Growing

up is wonderful ("the best, best thing") but, as our young philosopher perceives, it brings with it terrifying experiences and sometimes insoluble problems. No wonder that there is in every one of us—in the young as well as in nostalgic elders—a little of Peter Pan, the child who didn't want to grow up. We all have our moments when we want to "regress," as the psychoanalysts have taught us to say, to the safety and securities of early infancy. ("Backward, turn backward, O Time, in your flight, make me a child again just for tonight!") But usually such desire for regression is transient, and the contrary desire prevails. To grow up, then, is certainly one of the child's earliest, most important, and most persistent ambitions.

And rightly enough. As the child early learns, there are things you can't do, and there are many, many more things you mustn't do, because you are "too little." Partly this is because the parents' attitude is also ambivalent—they want a child to stay small, yet also to grow up. A child who cries when told he is too little to have a sharp knife is admonished not to be a baby. To which he might reasonably reply:

> "Why can't I cry if I am little?
> And if I'm big, why can't I whittle?"

As one grows in size and strength, however, the range of experiences—possible and permitted—increases enormously. What a change there is when one is first deemed big enough to visit a neighbor playmate, to go to school, to go to the store to make purchases, to stay out after dark, to drive a car, to have a date. For the child, the new situations which open up are exciting, and sometimes rather terrifying. He does not quite know how to act, various elements in the situation both attract and repel him. Most important, however, is the fact that with each of these new experiences come opportunities to learn, and this in turn opens the way to further experiences. Mobility—literally moving around, going places—is one of the most important factors in the development not only of intelligence but, particularly, of social behavior and personality.

From the standpoint of the teacher, the range of possible and permissible skills and activities is also very important. In the kindergarten just such things as the mere ability—or rather inability—to put on overshoes or snowpants becomes a really major determiner of the day's program. In the early grades motor coordination plays its part in determining how much reading and writing should be

introduced. And throughout the elementary school the sorts of games played, in the classroom or on the playground, are governed in large part by the stage of physical growth which characterizes the group.

► Individual Differences

It is relatively easy for the teacher to adjust her procedures to the *average* developmental level of the group. Curriculums, textbooks, lesson plans, and numerous teaching aids are nowadays scientifically adjusted to the physical as well as the intellectual level of the several grades. Even without such helps only a very insensitive person would expect first graders to play baseball or eighth graders to be more than passingly interested in "Farmer in the Dell." (In fact, when eighth graders play such a childish game it is usually because it gives them a chance to mingle on easy terms and have pleasurable bodily contacts with the other sex without being obliged to admit this dawning heterosexual interest.) It is not so easy, however, to recognize and fully adapt one's program to the differences between the *individuals* in the group.

There is little need to emphasize that children differ enormously from each other in rate of physical growth (see Fig. 21), and that averages or so-called norms are only a highly artificial way of representing trends for a group, the individual members of which grow according to their own "personal style." As *Newsweek* put it,

> One thing that every mother knows is that age does not always tell the size of a boy's breeches. The WPA displayed charts showing that, after measuring 147,088 American children between the ages of 7 and 14 in fifteen states, it had reached the conclusion that there was as much difference in the sizes of the boys as between Maine and Georgia accents (213).

We are interested, however, less in the fact that such differences exist than in their consequences. For differences in physique have at first even more important consequences than differences in intelligence, interest, or character.

Early in September a group of third graders were engaged in the typical unorganized activity of their age when a bright youngster devised a new game. Folding his arms across his chest he charged into the back of one playmate after another, chanting a little song: "He who gets in my way is sure to get bumped." Each child, as he was vigorously spun around by the bump, registered first anger and

surprise, then dawning comprehension and a desire to imitate the innovator. Soon all the boys were chanting the little song and looking for the opportunity to catch one of the others from the rear. All, except one boy. This child, larger than the rest, received his bumps from comrade after comrade with visible lack of understanding and mounting dismay. At length, however, he, too, came to realize that this seemingly uncalled-for personal attack on him was a charming game which he too could play. And because he was larger and heavier than the rest, when he bumped, he *bumped.* In a very short time by virtue merely of his size and strength—certainly not by virtue of superior intelligence or social adaptability!—he was dominating the play of the whole group.

Any kind of physical superiority may play its part in thus influencing the child's relations with his follows. "Vim, vigor, and vitality" are as important as size, and the range of differences is probably as great. Motor coordination and skills play an important part, especially in later childhood and adolescence. So does sheer strength. And, of course, special physical handicaps such as deafness, very poor vision, being crippled, etc., may play a decisive role.

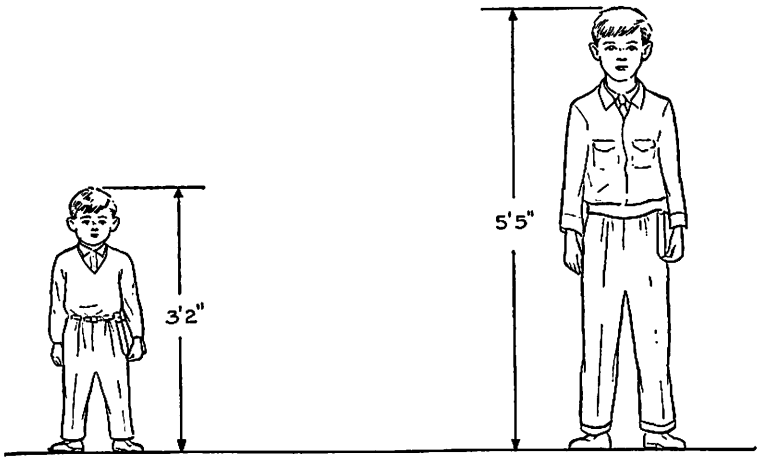
► Interrelationships

The relation of these various physical traits in the person's total make-up is an intricate problem. Two rival doctrines, each seizing upon part of the truth, have been put forward: the doctrine of compensation and the doctrine of correlation.

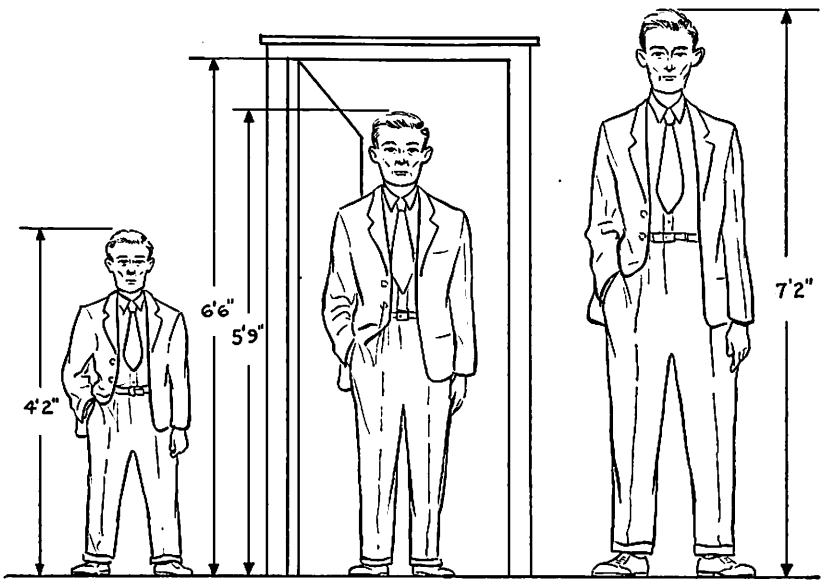
Compensation

The former is the position most often espoused by "common sense." It is based on the obvious fact that a person who is lacking in one trait or quality frequently has a compensating "strength" in some other trait. Thus the blind sometimes have astonishing sensitivity in their fingertips, are guided in their walking about by almost imperceptible sounds, can even avoid obstacles because they "feel" their imminence by air pressure. Emerson, as is well known, seemed to think there is a sort of Law of Nature that gives us such compensations for deficiencies. A little observation shows instead that our compensations are acquired. The blind gain the ability to discriminate with their fingertips by patient and pro-

Figure 21. The Range in Height



If the same size range commonly found in Grade III of the schools prevailed in



adult life, then of every 30 or 40 men, one or more would be about this short or about this tall.

longed attention to the messages their fingers convey.[4] The one-armed man develops strength in the remaining member by exercise.

The handicapped person also learns less obvious ways of "compensating." He learns to act in such a way as to *conceal* his deficiency, learns to put his best foot forward by emphasizing activities in which he is not handicapped, learns to seek and to be happy with other kinds of satisfactions. (In the "sour-grapes" mechanism he, like anyone else, even goes so far as to deny that he ever really wanted the other kind of success.)

Compensation of this sort is well illustrated by the child who makes up for his weakness in games by working very hard at his studies—sometimes scorning games as too rude and rowdy. And, of course, the opposite behavior arises to plague the teacher, with the boy who compensates for his weakness in intellectual pursuits (which he calls "sissy") by all sorts of vigorous physical activities, ruly or unruly. Indeed, Adler (1) has built a whole system of psychology about the idea that nearly everything we do is an effort to compensate for some weakness or other.

Compensation is undoubtedly an intriguing concept; and there is no question that it helps us to understand many otherwise rather mysterious behaviors. We shall need to watch for it in the conduct of children. Let us beware, however, of overworking it as an explanation. Not all strenuous exertion is an indirect or devious attempt to attain a substitute satisfaction. Sometimes a child just plain works hard to overcome the original weakness—think of the preadolescent boy who exercises daily with chest weights and dumbbells to build up his spindly muscles. Though less dramatic than the indirect forms, these direct measures, whether called compensation or not, are more numerous and more important.

Correlation

The evidence for the rival position of correlation among physical traits is less dramatic and personal; essentially it depends upon statistical study. Such study shows that, in general, excellence in one physical characteristic tends to be accompanied by excellence in others. To take what may seem like an extreme case, the child who has a good clear skin is somewhat more likely to be

[4] The blind, do not, however, learn more easily or attain a higher skill than is *possible* for the normally sighted. Indeed, Greisbach and Kunz, after measuring the sensory acuity of a respectable number of blind children in France and Germany, concluded that the loss of a major sense impairs rather than increases the acuity of the others (105, p. 219).

slightly taller than average, to be slightly stronger, to be able to run a little faster, or to throw a little straighter.

Such facts as these have a bearing on administrative procedures for dealing with groups of children—for example, in grade classification. Too much, however, should not be made of them, especially when we think of individuals. It would, for instance, be very unsafe to predict from Mabel's clear skin that she will be a good runner. The correlations between one physical trait and another are, as mathematically determined, positive, but they are very low. Such correlation implies that the *group* of children with a clear skin will excel in fleetness of foot the group of children with poor skins—as a *matter of averages.* But the exceptions to the general rule are numerous and individually important. We do indeed have the child of almost uniformly good physical development, and we have the poor unfortunate whose development is almost uniformly inferior. These are extremes; in between lies the great mass of children with a somewhat irregular "profile" of development—a bit below average here, a bit above there, maybe average in most things but strikingly above or below in one or two. Marked individual differences prevail, both in separate physical traits and in their combination or totality.

Organismic Integration

This leads us to a third point of view with regard to the interrelations of physical characteristics. It lays emphasis upon the *total pattern* of growth or development. It recognizes, of course, the specific functions of special organs; as children will say when asked to define the word, eyes are indeed "to see with," ears "to hear with." Yet, in a broader sense, eyes and ears are parts of a whole organism which functions largely as a unit in relation to its environment. As Anne Morrow Lindbergh writes, when you have to see the clouds through a glass window, they aren't real. "This is just movie weather. . . . To see, one must feel also. . . . One sees with the whole body, not just with the eyes" (172). It is, then, no more verbal quibble to insist that eyes are not *merely* to see with; eyes are to enable the whole person to make appropriate adjustments to what is going on in his surroundings. What we really want to know about a child is how effectively he operates as a whole "going concern" in his own world. The interrelations of physical traits—indeed of all traits—become therefore of fundamental, not merely incidental, concern.

I have here given concrete expression to what is known as the

"organismic" or "holistic" point of view. This view stresses the unique "wholeness" or unity of every act and, as well, the unique wholeness or unity of the organism or person. Accordingly it tends to disparage or even to reject any attempt to analyze behavior into simple and separate "elements." Indeed, some adherents of this view react to what they call "atomistic analysis" with a cultlike antipathy.

I urge a more pragmatic attitude. A theory is of value only when it helps us solve a problem. Now it often happens that to emphasize the relation between certain characteristics and the total nature of the person gives us greater clarity and understanding of a particular problem; and this is what organismic theorists insist upon. (I think the present case a good example: the several physical traits are better understood if considered as dependent aspects of a unified organism rather than as separate or independent entities.) Sometimes, however, we can better explain behavior if we treat a given trait *as if* it worked independently. Thus the most rigid organismic theorist will unhesitatingly explain certain failures to see things in terms of "poor eyes" without any explicit reference to the total person, though this is clearly a somewhat "atomistic" explanation. Adherence to the organismic point of view, however, functions as a reminder at this point that the entire story has not been told; that it makes a difference what kind of person it is who has poor eyes, and that in some situations even such a distinct trait as "poor vision" cannot profitably be treated as independent.[5]

It should be added, however, that while the several physical traits *function* together more or less as a single unit in the economy of the organism, they do not grow or develop as a unit. Instead, each of the several traits seems to have its own rhythm of growth. There is a time when the long bones grow relatively fast, another when the short bones speed up; and it is primarily such differences in the rhythm of growth that give rise to the characteristic differences in proportion between a child of three and one of six or nine or twelve. (See Fig. 22.)

There is a time for the growth of one gland, another for the growth of others, still another when the bones lengthen rapidly, another when muscles increase. Growth thus proceeds along several rather independent fronts each of which may push ahead rapidly for a time, then relapse into relative quiet. The over-all picture of these growth rhythms is set forth in Figure 23.

[5] The very title of such a book as *Motivation and visual factors* (Bender and others) is a tribute to the necessity to consider these traits as interdependent (26).

Figure 22. Characteristic Differences in Proportion

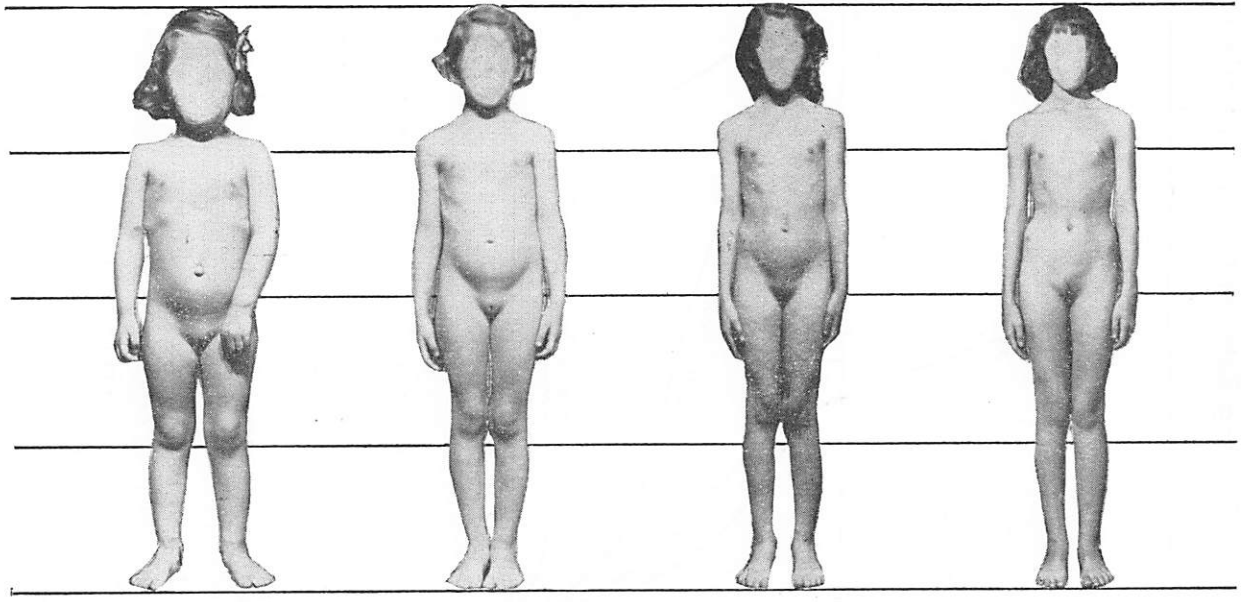
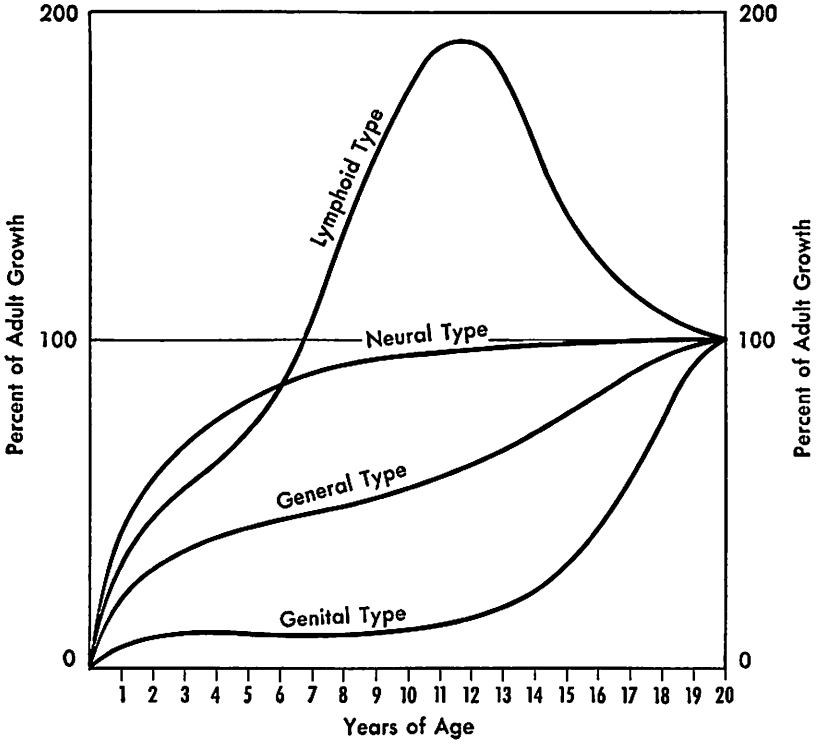


Figure 23. Differing Rates of Growth in Various Tissues



Growth is portrayed schematically in terms of a percent of the final stage at about age 20. Thus the lymph tissues grow most rapidly at first and just before puberty are almost double their adult size. Redrawn from J. A. Harris and others (113), by permission of the University of Minnesota Press.

These growth rhythms seem primarily determined by biological inheritance, but they can be modified by environmental factors; and the speeded-up or retarded growth of one trait may have important effects on the growth of other traits. Indeed some authorities, notably Olson (217) and his associates, hold that there is only a limited amount of total "growth potential" available to the child at any given stage, and that this energy may be to some extent directed in this or that channel of growth by the child's own efforts or by adult control or other environmental pressures. Thus a certain child may seek to emulate the excellence in schoolwork of an older sibling, and thereby so largely divert his "growth potential" into that direction as to lessen his capacity for healthy and normal physical growth—

even such items as dental development being retarded; or the physical growth may so pre-empt the growth potential as to interfere with mental development. Olson accordingly would concede much validity to the popular notion that a child may grow physically so fast that he has little or no energy available for academic or social development.

Other authorities interpret the facts somewhat more prosaically in terms of just ordinary competition for time and energy. Thus it is obvious that too much time devoted to piano lessons may have to come out of time for sleep or outdoor play. Musical development may thus compete with physical and social development. A more complicated example is that of an eight-year-old child accustomed to play with somewhat older children. As a result of this association he was tremendously stimulated to put away his babyhood, to be as big and tough as the other boys. Unfortunately the overstrenuous effort to excel, physically, defeated itself and kept him from growing as fast as he might (35). "The child with limited oxygen reserve is always last in the footrace, no matter how he strains; he is told if he had 'guts' he could run like the rest. He may, in frantic striving to make the accepted pace, literally develop 'guts' in the form of gastric ulcers, mucuous colitis, and the rest" (204). In short, the effort to overcome what seems like a deficiency may actually bring on real defects.

Whatever be the explanation, there is no question that there are very explicit and important interrelations or interactions between all sorts of ways of growing. Furthermore, there is a normal or balanced relation between these various growths which makes for better physical and better social adjustment. Rapid all-around growth—it sometimes occurs—presents no special hazard; *disproportionate* growth in any aspect of development, if long continued, is a definite handicap.

On the other hand, we must expect short spurts and surges ahead, now in this, now in that aspect of development. Some of these spurts are largely biologically determined—notably the whole complex of bodily changes which come with puberty—others are mainly a product of our culture, but are unavoidable nonetheless. (And because they follow the culture pattern they are normal and wholesome.) Since, however, these spurts come at different times for different children, we must be alert to their occurrence and help the child to make appropriate adjustments to them. If a child is growing rapidly,

the least we can do is to see that his seat is adjusted to his size. And we can temporarily minimize strenuous activity. If a child develops a passion for reading (which may be normal enough in one way), we can keep him from making too open a display of his interests and abilities to the derision of his peers; and we can gently steer him toward a better proportion of reading to outdoor and social play. And so with a common-sense effort to tone down any sort of one-sided development.

► Bodily Excellence

The notion of organismic interaction which we have just been discussing proves particularly useful when we consider general "bodily excellence." It is true that a single trait may occasionally determine behavior. Thus height—just height, taken without specific reference to other physical or mental traits—may make it possible to look over the heads of others in a crowd. More often, however, to understand a person we find it necessary to take other physical or "physical and mental" traits into concurrent account. It is not usually important to know simply whether a person can see over others' heads; what we want to know is whether, for example, he will get to see such a spectacle as a parade. That will depend partly upon his height but also upon his strength and upon his willingness to push his way toward the front. Not infrequently the shorter person will work his way into a more advantageous position for seeing than will his lanky rival. It therefore seems necessary to introduce a new concept which we may call *total bodily excellence.* A person's physical efficiency depends upon the total bodily excellence rather than upon any one trait.

It is not easy, however, to find a measure of the totality of physical excellence. Olson and Hughes (218), it is true, propose a single index which they call "organismic age." They first convert any measure of development—whether it be of a physical or a mental trait—into an "age value" computed on the same principle as the now-familiar mental age. Thus, 46 inches, being the average height for six-year-old boys, would be given the "height age" value of six years. A similar procedure yields "age" measures for maturity of bony development, dental development, muscular strength, etc. "Organismic age" is by definition the average of all such age-scale measures of development. In actual practice it is necessary to average only a

small number of selected measures of development; Olson and Hughes have commonly used ten variables; these are held to yield a workable approximation to a "true" organismic age.

It will be noted that this organismic-age concept combines both physical and mental modes of development; it is truly an attempt to measure the "whole child." There is no reason, however, why we cannot use an analogous procedure in obtaining a picture of a more limited aspect of development, say, of physical growth. Indeed we believe that the time is coming when teachers will have available a considerable number of good objective measures of physical development converted into some sort of combined index of growth.[6]

Such a combined index must, however, be interpreted with great care. Merely averaging various measures of development assumes them to be of equal weight or importance and ignores their interrelationships. It is good to have a broad chest, and we can measure that quite easily. It is not clear, however, just how broad the chest should be in relation to, let us say, leg length; nor how many more "points" in the total score should be allowed for a broad chest as compared with a "pigeon breast." Moreover, as pointed out above we must take into account the way a child sometimes compensates for relative deficiency in one area by greater activity in another. And finally we must take account of the fact that different traits play different parts at different stages of development.

Thus, in the nursery-school run-about, a kind of flashy energy output is very significant; it "sticks out" like a salient angle. Endurance is less important, since the characteristic activities of this age have a short timespan anyway. By the age of eight or nine, however, it becomes more important to be able to sustain one's energy output. Or again, at six, mere size and strength are probably more important, more salient, than motor skill; by nine or ten, motor skills become a more significant factor in bodily excellence. At all stages comeliness is not entirely to be neglected as a factor, but certainly at some ages it is more important than at others. We must, moreover, at every stage of development and for each trait, compare the individual with the average or standard; and we must also consider how important *at that stage* is deviation from the standard. At six to be much taller than other girls may be a matter of little account or even an asset; at puberty it may seem a minor tragedy.

No standardized scales exist that enable us to take account of all

[6] This despite the many difficulties in obtaining significant measures. For an excellent review, see Jenss and Souther (128).

these variables and arrive at an assessment of total bodily excellence. Yet the attentive observer of children can directly observe and estimate this quality with some success. You notice and somehow combine impressions (or better yet, you combine impressions and actual measures) of **height + weight + strength + energy output + motor skill + appearance of health.** Out of these and other observations emerges a sort of total judgment of the individual's physical quality.

> Does this apply to adults too? Decidedly; but again we must consider age and the development level. In adolescence and the middle years the grosser skills so important in childhood must share their importance with the subtler "skills" which constitute expressiveness and grace of bodily movement and which give the impression of controlled dynamic energy. As old age draws near, postural tone and energy output again loom large; and at an advanced age, sheer motor coordination becomes dominant in defining bodily excellence.
>
> Although the concept of "total bodily excellence" as a unit trait has not hitherto been explicitly set forth, the notion is latent in most discussions. It will be noted that it raises some very pretty problems for trait theory. We shall not be able to find a unit trait in this area unless we give attention to the three complicating factors briefly discussed above: the developmental level, the salience of various components of the trait, and the environmental field in reference to which the trait must be defined.
>
> Moreover, the trait elements directly measured are anthropometric, but the criterion defining the trait itself as a unity is that of the child's social status. If we seek a unity in these measurements merely as physical facts, it seems unlikely to be found. Total bodily excellence is a social trait determined by physical factors.

Most of us are accustomed to forming such total judgments about others all the time, though we usually find it difficult to make the judgment very explicit. Most of us, moreover, improve in ability to judge with experience and deliberate practice. Teachers need really to *look at* the individual child and learn really to *see* him as well as to think about him.

Psychologists have hitherto been rather loath to encourage such "total-impression" judgments, especially when they are based on appearance. No doubt there are grave hazards; as rapidly as we can we must substitute precise measurement for impressionistic subtlety, just as in medicine laboratory findings are more and more supplementing and even replacing the diagnostic skill of the practitioner. As indicated above, however, we just don't know as yet how to measure total bodily excellence and must, for the present, rely on impres-

sional judgment. It is my opinion that we should develop greater attentiveness to the sort of total bodily excellence children display. If we learn nothing else, we shall learn how an individual *appears* to others, which is, by any criterion, an important part of his total social effectiveness. At the end of the next chapter you will find concrete directions for assessing the physical excellence of a particular child.

► Physique and Social Development

Bodily excellence very largely determines what, and especially how well, a child plays. Excellence at play is, in its turn, of major importance in companionship and friendship and in all the child's social relationships. The physically excellent child—often just the merely big child—has opportunity to lead in games, and thus to learn the vitally important techniques of leadership and cooperation. The child's social development—indeed his whole personality development—is thus from the first in large part dependent upon the facts of his physical development.[7]

A variety of scientific findings give evidence for this relationship. Furfey (92) showed that physical development has a larger correlation with companionship than has intelligence. Wellman (300) found that boys selected companions from those of about the same height.[8] In general differences in size and strength and health are more important determiners of social adjustment than are moderate differences in intelligence.

The relationship of physique to the specifically social trait of leadership is especially close. In pre-Nazi Germany Leib (154) found that both boys and girls mentioned physical superiority most frequently as the basis of leadership. Even at the Lincoln School (Teachers' College, Columbia), where athletics were "de-empha-

[7] Just to keep our perspective, let's note that whether one owns a bat and ball may also be of tremendous importance in determining one's status in the gang. Or whether mother allows one to go out at the "right" time, dressed in the "right" clothes. Or whether—shame to us adults for instilling such ideas!—one is of the "right" color or racial ancestry or "family." In short, a child's social relationships, like an adult's, depend on a whole range of factors. Physique is only one, but it is perhaps more often than any other the chief factor in determining how a child develops socially.

[8] Nonetheless, in junior-high school you may observe a large number of Mutt-and-Jeff pairs. Many are doubtless due to a sudden spurt in height in one but not in the other member of a pair. But often you suspect that at this age a compensatory mechanism is at work: the larger and physically superior lad is pairing up with a smaller friend who has superior scholastic or social abilities.

sized" by the authorities, Caldwell and Wellman (44) found that class presidents and similar leaders were usually taller than the average. Terman (270), in his ground-breaking study of leadership, found that the boys who actually took the initiative were usually the larger boys, even though the experimental situation did not put a premium on bigness. And Cabot (42), in a very extensive study of the relation of body build to personality, found that boys of the athletic type of physique are more likely to be "ascendent"—that is, to take the lead in social situations. Stogdill's summary of leadership research to 1947 (260) found height, weight, energy and health, and especially athletic prowess all associated with leadership.

> It is true that the correlations are rather low. This should not surprise us. Physique is only one trait among many that may influence leadership (or any other social behavior). Moreover, as Barker, Wright, and Gonick (22) point out, physique is not measured in psychologically meaningful units: certain variations in physique are of only slight psychological significance; other variations no greater in ordinary inches or pounds make a great deal of difference. The reasoning here is simply that embodied in the popular expression: "An inch makes a lot of difference on the end of a man's nose." If you are an adult female of 5 feet, 6 inches, even a whole inch more or less in height is not calamitous. If you are 4 feet, 10 inches, or 5 feet, 11 inches, an inch less or an inch more, respectively, makes a great deal of difference.

The true relation between anatomy and personality is suggested by the accompanying cartoon (Fig. 24). Superior initiative and leadership qualities are not innately correlated with bigness or with athletic build; they are acquired, and acquired more readily by the person of good physique because he has more opportunities to acquire them in the social play of childhood.[9]

Finally, in our culture a child's physical vigor and his ability in games and sports is likely to influence markedly his attitude toward himself. Thus, in a diary which I recently analyzed, a distinctly intellectual adolescent devoted over 20 percent of his space to his some-

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[9] There is, of course, another part-explanation of certain relations between visible physical traits and personality. It works on the same principle as making a dog bad by giving him a bad name. If most of us believe that redheads are hot tempered, our treatment of them is very likely to produce just the expected behavior.

Perhaps we should not close the door on the possibility of a more intimate relationship between body build and certain psychological traits. Sheldon (246) has conducted an extensive study which merits respectful attention. But the relationship between bodily constitution and personality which he believes that he has discovered is, even if verified, extremely complex. In the present state of our knowledge, any use of his theory by teachers is likely to mislead them.

Figure 24. Anatomy and Personality

"Us fat kids has got to be good natured. We can't fight and we can't run."

what meager athletic achievements and status. His superiority over his fellows in intellectual pursuits he obviously took for granted; but he wanted "to prove that a fellow with some brains isn't necessarily such a dub in sports." The emphasis on sports and physical prowess would probably be even greater in the diaries of less intellectual youths.

During childhood the desire for physical excellence may be less self-conscious but nonetheless influential. In nearly every classroom is found the frail child who, wittingly or unwittingly, strives to compensate for his inadequacies in the world of physical activity by superiority in study. Perhaps less common, certainly less often noticed, is the child so satisfied with his physical prowess and leadership that he feels no need for scholastic achievement. The child whose inferiority feeling, generated by physical inferiority, makes him so miserable that he cannot try, in class or out of class, stands out clearly enough; but too often his inferiority is attributed to the lack of effort instead of the other way around.

As if the complexities of differing rates of physical growth were not enough, we must add certain social factors. The physical excellence of a child is not to be judged by some absolute standard; it must be judged in relation to the degree of excellence found among his peers or in his family, and in relation to family and social expectancy. Thus the smallish boy whose father was a varsity tackle faces a more difficult problem than does the similarly small son of a frail intellectual. The somewhat hoydenish big girl in a family of older brothers is in a different fix from a similarly developed girl who has genteel sisters to criticize her unseemly ways. The rather dull lad who has been kept back for a year in school may be of only average or even of slightly inferior physical development; but he looks very big among children one or two years younger than he.

As in so many areas of child psychology, I may seem here to belabor the obvious—though the foregoing discussion makes it clear that it is more complex than at first appears. Surely, at any rate, no sensitive observer of childhood would think of denying the importance of physical growth for social and personality development. Not in theory, that is. Yet our school practices are full of concrete denials. To take but a single example, children have traditionally been grouped in school according to the number of seconds and minutes which have ticked off on the clock since the child was born. The purely chronological grouping is then altered a little to take some account of scholastic achievement—primarily by denying promotion

to those of lesser accomplishment. This plan—if you can call it a plan—brings together children of enormously differing physical development and leaves to the hurried and harried teacher the problem of adjusting procedures to these differences.

We don't say it can't be done. As a matter of fact, teachers always have the task of adjusting to great individual differences of some sort, and perhaps the differences in physique present no greater difficulty than others. But if we are going to have such enormous differences, then it is important for the teacher to realize that a child's size, energy output, vitality, and motor skills largely influence his scholastic achievement and, from his earliest years, play a dominant role in the development of personality. Then having accepted this as a general principle, she must utilize her knowledge of each individual in the light of his total bodily excellence to help him achieve a well-rounded development.

► Summary

The truly enormous differences between children in physical development play an important part in the psychology of childhood. Single traits by themselves are less important, however, than the interaction between them. Particularly important is the effect of differences in general physical excellence upon the social and personality development of the child.

Exercises

1. Describe a case of compensation in physical or bodily traits.
2. The text says that on the average tall children are more intelligent. How, then, can we account for the fact that the brightest child in a class is so very often considerably below average size?
3. Visit an elementary school at recess time in company with several others. Let all of you observe the same three children and independently assess their total bodily excellence on a scale from 0 to 10. Discuss your differences and try to account for them.
4. Can you remember how you thought and felt about your bodily self when you were a child? If so, can you trace the evolution of this bodily self concept?

11 Illness and Physical Handicaps

How do illness and special physical handicaps affect the child's psychological development? What can parents and teachers do to help children with physical difficulties attain a normal development?

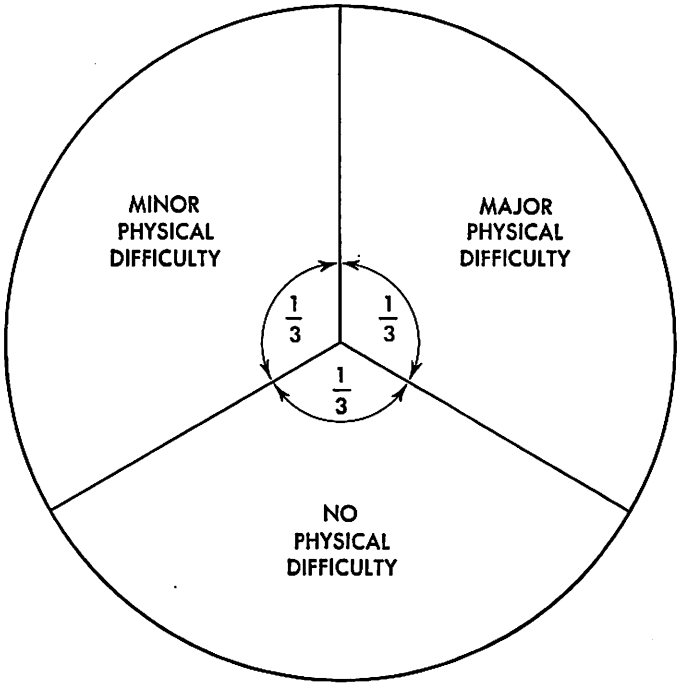
If "normal" physical development is as significant for the psychology of childhood as it was pictured in the preceeding chapter, the temporary interruptions of normality that we call illnesses, and those enduring departures from normality that we call physical handicaps, must be judged still more so. Important for themselves, these conditions also sharply illumine for us the whole relationship of physical to other forms of development. And surely they must be considered important, when approximately one third of American children have major physical difficulties and another third have minor handicaps. (See Fig. 25.)

The handicaps do not become fewer with increasing age; the number of men rejected as unfit for military service has shocked the nation. It is estimated by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation that 16,000,000 people in the United States suffer from chronic disease or physical impairment. As Zarathustra says in the quotation with which Chapter 10 opened, we find cripples and fragments but few *whole* men. Since most physical disabilities have their origin early in life, the teacher will not go wrong who assumes that every child is at least potentially a health problem. In this chapter we can touch only the high spots of this important topic. An excellent survey is given by Barker, Wright, and Gonick (22).

► The Nervous System

Both direct and indirect effects of "organic" conditions come up for consideration. As directly affecting behavior, any sort of injury to the brain and nervous system must be given first

Figure 25. Approximate Distribution of Physical Handicaps among School Children



place. Apparently brain injuries at a very early stage of development have particularly harmful effects. Thus it has long been known that birth injuries may lead to spastic paralysis (in which the patient is subject to jerky or spasmodic movements). But only recently was it found that a milder damage to the brain during childbirth, one which may pass unnoticed, sometimes results in persistent "clumsiness" and motor incoordination. Many a child has thus become the butt of cruel jest or contemptuous pity, when he should have been receiving highly specialized motor training. (Such training, while it seldom wholly eliminates the difficulty, often makes enormous differences in motor coordination.[1]) As high as one fourth of "problem children" referred to a clinic by the courts were found to have had brain damage (13).

Failure of the brain to receive adequate oxygen from the blood during prolonged labor seems in some cases to cause widespread impairment of the brain tissue with consequent feeble-mindedness. And

[1] There is a fascinating account of the triumph over such obstacles in the life story of Earl R. Carlson, *Born that way* (48).

evidence has very recently been put forward which seems to show that similar oxygen deprivation and resulting feeble-mindedness is sometimes a consequence of the incompatibility of the Rh blood factors of the parents.[2]

Striking changes in the whole behavior pattern, mostly for the worse, sometimes follow *encephalitis lethargica* or epidemic "sleeping sickness." Cases so mild in the outward physical symptoms as nearly to escape diagnosis sometimes lead to an almost complete transformation of personality. Epilepsy, also, sometimes leads to mental deterioration, and, in addition, the convulsive seizures or "fits" which characterize this disorder put a severe strain on a child's social development. Other severe illnesses (for example, whooping cough), particularly in infancy or early childhood, may have direct effects on the nervous system and thus upon behavior. Both rickets and calcium deficiency cause widespread and probably permanent damage to the nervous tissue.

Apparently a revolution in medical thinking is thus underway. A few years ago medical men reacted against the old-wives' view that any behavior difficulty was due to a "fever" in infancy—or to being "dropped on his head." Certainly that was a too-easy explanation in most cases. Yet there is now a sufficient number of authenticated cases where injury or disease can be shown to have resulted in brain damage; we may suspect it in many and diverse forms of behavior disorder.

That, however, is primarily a medical problem. Whether or not brain damage be the cause and whether or not a cure can be effected, *behavior training* is possible and necessary. Every resource of medical science should, of course, be utilized, but the role of the applied psychologist and of the teacher remains of fundamental importance.

► Glandular Disturbances and Behavior

So much nonsense has been written about the "glands regulating personality" that one hesitates to deal with the topic at all. Yet there are well-established facts of the greatest importance in this field. Particularly important in influencing children's behavior are the thyroid, adrenal, and pituitary glands. However, the whole body chemistry, which the glands so largely control, has both direct and indirect effects on conduct.

[2] The incompatibility—which is relatively rare—does not affect the first-born child and not all of those born later (255, 256).

Roscoe was a thief—caught in the act and admitting many previous delinquencies. A fat, pleasant, healthy looking boy in the fifth grade, nothing seemed more remote than a physical cause for his misdemeanors. Little by little, however, in conference with the boy, his parents, and later his physician, the story began to take shape. Some two and a half years earlier Roscoe's parents became alarmed over his obesity. On the physician's advice they cut down on his sugar intake. When Roscoe raided the pantry for sweets, they locked it up. He was forbidden to use any spending money on candy and was required to account for every penny.

Roscoe's weight did show a small decrease. But he *had* to have sweets. His craving for it—due to a glandular disorder—amounted to a burning passion. Presently he discovered that he could get money for candy at the "tuck shop" by robbing the cloakroom where many children kept lunch and spending money.

One noon Roscoe appeared on the playground, happily eating. "Whatcha got, Fatso; gimme some." "Yeah, gimme some." "Me, too."

Now Roscoe was not used to being the center of favorable attention. He was absolutely no good at games—too fat for anything but spectatorship. He now found to his great delight that attention and "friendship" could be bought. How far Roscoe was intrigued by the thought that he was buying the other boys' acclaim with their own money was never clearly discovered. At any rate, his thefts became bolder for he now had to supply others besides himself. Of course detection followed.

Glandular therapy was instituted and Roscoe's weight and his craving for sweets were simultaneously reduced. It is obvious, however, that his problems were not all thus easily solved. The distorted point of view with regard to others' property, though in its origin related to hormone defect, was not to be removed by feeding hormone capsules. Nor did glandular therapy wipe out from Roscoe's mind the discovery that "popularity"—of a sort—can be purchased. More important still, the glandular treatment could not supply the physical and social skills which Roscoe had failed to learn during his years of obese isolation from the world of childhood play. A constructive psychological and educational program—a rather prolonged program —was necessary to make up for Roscoe's deficiencies.

Finally we should note that it was only when Roscoe was caught in delinquency that parents and teachers were stimulated to the constructive medical and psychological measures which—quite independent of delinquency—were long overdue. A child so fat that he is seriously handicapped in play is a medical problem, no matter how much the physician may judge, as Roscoe's did, that "his overweight is not doing him any serious physical harm." The harm was psychological, not physical; but the treatment had to proceed along both lines.

► Vitamins and Minerals

Resentment of current attempts on the radio and at the drugstore to exploit scientific findings about vitamins and minerals should not blind us to their very real importance. Probably most readers of this book get all the vitamins and minerals they need, and in the best possible way, as part of a reasonably adequate diet. But there are obscure physical conditions in which extra supplies are critically needed.

More important for us is the fact that a really large number of school children simply do not have a diet anywhere near adequate as to either vitamins or total calories. The assertion that one third of our people are chronically "ill housed, ill clothed, and ill fed" turns out to be an understatement. If to the undernourished by reason of poverty be added those children of the well-to-do who are improperly and unwisely fed, the amount of undernutrition and malnutrition may be seen in its proper light as a major national problem. Lethargy, dullness, inability to put forth effort, and irritability and misconduct are the concomitants of malnutrition; susceptibility to all manner of other diseases is its sequel. If we spend little space on the topic here, it is because it is too important for merely incidental treatment in connection with child psychology. An extended and special treatment of the problems of nutrition should be part of the curriculum for all teachers.[3]

► Illness

Prolonged illness and convalescence are obviously important influences on a child's total development. True, the relation between bodily well-being and mental effectiveness is still obscure. While most of us find our efficiency reduced by illness, there are many examples of high, even permanently great, achievement despite continuing sickness and invalidism. If the illness is such that you are not forbidden to exert yourself physically, it is often surprising what you *can* do. But one of the commonest effects of sickness is to raise the threshold of motivation—that is, to make a person less sensitive to ordinary motives and incentives. Thus most of us

[3] For a review of pertinent investigations, see Shock, Physiological factors in mental development (250).

have experienced the distaste for serious reading, almost for any reading, during the early stages of convalescence. One *can* do things but doing them is so much less attractive than is customary; and with growing fatigue or lassitude, the attraction quickly becomes still less. The child—or adult—who is ill or half ill is a distinct problem in motivation.

Surgical operations, illness, convalescence and invalidism also contribute to personality difficulties. It is natural and indeed entirely proper to give special consideration and attention to the child who is sick, but this must be done with unusual delicacy and finesse if it is not to "spoil" him. Selfishness, self-centeredness, and expectation of attention are extremely common sequels of illness, especially long illness.

A study of college students by Stratton showed that those with a history of much illness in childhood, particularly before age six, are more susceptible to anger and unreasonable irritation (262). Less easily explained is Hardy's (111) finding that children who never are ill frequently show somewhat more personality twists than those who have had a "normal" amount of sickness. Perhaps in our culture—or at least in the suburban communities where Hardy made her investigation—there are too many families where the children never experience, except when they are sick, the warmth of affection they need. Perhaps also a little sickness increases one's sensitivity to others, helps to prevent a sort of bumptious, energetic extraversion which can be greatly trying. These are speculations. The fact is that wholesome personality development is most often found in those whose health history shows a few, but only a few, minor illnesses.

The loss of normal experience due to long illness must also be considered. Teachers are apt to stress the loss of school time, though it has been shown that average or better-than-average pupils can make up for quite long absences in a very short time (215). The loss of social experience and the simple matter of losing one's place in the society of one's peers are probably more serious issues, particularly in later childhood and early adolescence.

When I was six, I returned to school from an attack of measles to find that the one subject of conversation was the performing bear who had just visited our village. For a whole week I was psychologically as much excluded from the life of my comrades as if I were still home with measles, and I felt it keenly. (I still wish I could have seen that bear!)

That was only one and relatively brief episode. But there are chil-

dren who over a period of years are "out of circulation" one fifth to one half of their time because of illness. They can seldom be anything but outsiders in any group of children. They cannot share the current interests, for these are based on past experiences in which they had no part. They are deprived of the chance to learn the usual social skills and the techniques of child social life. From overlong association with adults—parents, nurses, doctors—and overlong periods of solitude, they are apt to seem reserved and too grown up. And, of course, they are apt to expect attention. Now none of these consequences of invalidism is inevitable. They suggest, however, what parents and teachers must do if invalidism is not to cause serious damage to the child's development.

► Special Handicaps

Vision

Perhaps we can best understand the psychological implications of a physical defect if we consider one type in some detail.[4] Take the most common and perhaps the most important: defective vision. Nearly 40 percent of school children have some visual defect. The most frequent defects are: inability to discriminate distant objects (nearsightedness or myopia), inability or strain in seeing near objects (farsightedness or hyperopia), and irregularity in the curvature of the cornea or lens of the eye (astigmatism). Apparently every eye has a little astigmatism and most eyes have, in addition, either some myopia or some hyperopia. Small children generally have what would be called mild hyperopia in an adult —that is, they have much difficulty in adjusting their eyes to seeing objects close up—a point with obvious implications for school work. (The orthodox theory is that their eyeball is too short at first, but gradually lengthens throughout the period of childhood.) But more severe or abnormal hyperopia as well as severe myopia is fairly prevalent. These three difficulties—astigmatism, hyperopia, myopia—can usually be "corrected" by glasses, and a very considerable number of children—perhaps as many as 15 percent—really need correction. This is, of course, a far larger percent than actually wear them. It

[4] If we were dealing only with vision, the section would be disaproportionately long, despite the great importance of this sense in the child's development. But in considering visual handicaps we are really discussing the problems of all kinds of handicaps. In fact, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, we cannot consider one sort of behavior—in this case, seeing—without bringing in its many relations to other facets of living.

SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT TERMS IN VISUAL DEFECT

Emmetropia	=	**normal vision**
Hyperopia	=	**farsightedness**
Myopia	=	**nearsightedness**
Strabismus or squint	=	**"cross-eyes"**

must be clearly understood, however, that glasses never give a person "normal" vision; a fixed lens system is always a compromise.[5]

Strabismus or squint (which include both cross-eyes and walleyes) is not only very disfiguring; it may lead to loss of the use of one eye. It is found in about 1 percent of all children. Other defects in the muscles controlling eye movements set up strain and fatigue and hinder the efficient use of the eyes. Failure to fuse the images from the two eyes—whether due to muscular difficulties or to other obscure causes—makes for low visual acuity, distorts the "space world" of the child, and in extreme cases causes double vision. No one knows how numerous these disorders are, since they are hard to detect unless quite extreme. The child performs the necessary visual tasks but does so inefficiently and at the expense of discomfort, a discomfort which may be vaguely referred to the eyes or may be unlocalized. Special examination techniques are thus required to detect these difficulties.

And the detection of visual defects is by no means as far advanced as people commonly think. True, many schools now have a routine physical examination which includes a check on eyes. It is a question, however, whether this superficial test, by creating unfounded confidence, does not do more harm than good. The Snellen Test Charts, headed by the big E, are now known to be unsatisfactory diagnostic instruments, especially for children, even in the hands of skilled examiners. A routine examination by means of these charts is likely to reveal only the very worst cases of farsightedness and the medium and severe cases of nearsightedness. These are the children that the observant teacher is almost certain to detect without the test! Most other cases of farsightedness and nearly every other kind of visual disorder remain undetected. Yet these may be the very cases most in need of expert care.

[5] This will be apparent if you consider that field glasses or binoculars need an adjustment for different distances. Spectacles are really fixed-focus binoculars.

Whether or not, then, there is a school examination teachers (and parents!) have a responsibiilty to watch the child's behavior for signs of visual discomfort or defect. Persistent or excessive squinting or frowning, forehead wrinkles, rubbing the eyes, irritated lids, bloodshot eyes, holding a book too close or too far away, frequent closing of the eyes or holding the hand over the eyes, tilting the head during visual work, report of seeing double, eyes hurting in bright light, headaches—any of these should excite suspicion that the eyes are giving trouble, especially when they are accompanied by general "nervousness" or irritability.

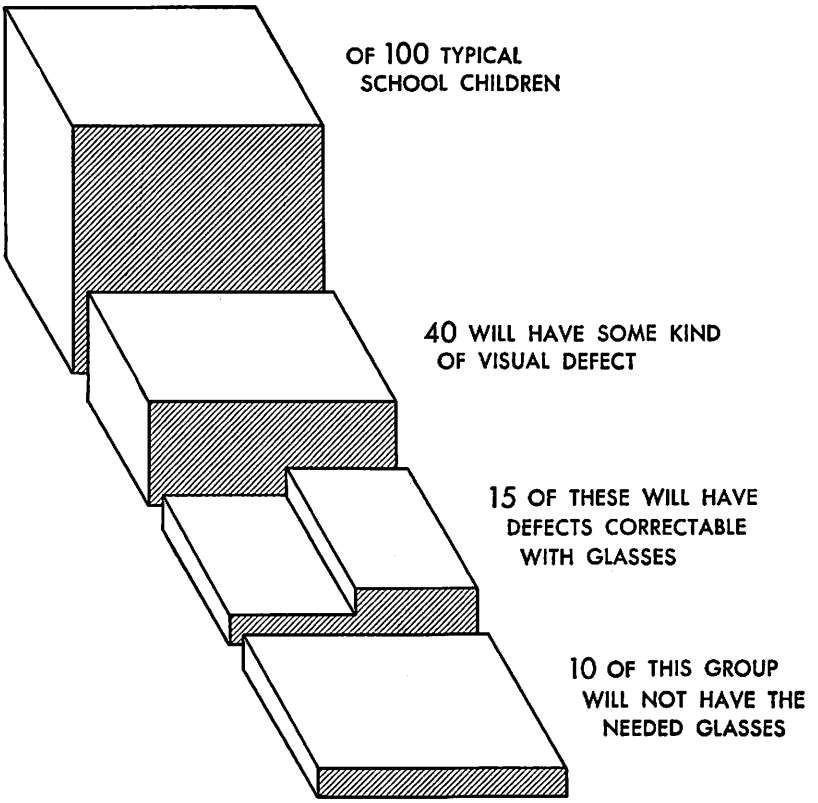
And if you do entertain such suspicion? Here we leave the field of child psychology for the more general realm of the teacher's relation to parents and to various social agencies. Certainly the parents should be encouraged—strongly—to see that the child is taken to a competent specialist for examination. This sounds simple; often it is not. A few parents refuse any sort of medical attention on sectarian grounds; with these we can usually do nothing. More common is the parent who intends to have the matter looked into "sometime"—but never gets around to it. Common also is the parent who takes the child to the incompetent and the quack—the former may fail to find a real defect, the latter is almost sure to find one whether it exists or not, and bleed the family for "treatments." All a teacher's tact may be required to see that the child reaches the really skillful specialist.

> Or sometimes to see that the specialist "does his stuff." Routine creeps up so easily on everyone, the unusual case is so easily dismissed with the verdict "nothing wrong." Many eye-muscular conditions "hide" themselves in the doctor's office only to reveal themselves a few hours later. It takes patience as well as special knowledge to stalk such conditions—and the busy practitioner is, perhaps, to be forgiven for not taking all that time on ordinary cases. But if we are convinced that *something* is wrong, we are justified in insisting that this is not an ordinary case.

Finally there is the perpetual problem of the child from a poverty-poor family. Examinations and glasses cost money—a good deal of money. Sometimes there are charitable agencies which will help. The best specialists almost always do a certain amount of charity work. Often the school administration has ways of having needy cases taken care of. The solution thus varies from community to community. The only general rule which can be laid down is that the teacher must use both tact and persistence until the child's needs are met.

So much by way of preliminary to the psychological problems con-

Figure 26. Visual Defects of School Children



sequent upon visual deficiency. Let us now turn to those problems themselves. The teacher is perhaps likely to think first of the effect of poor eyes upon school learning. We ought not to make too much of this effect, however, or rather we ought not to interpret it in the wrong way. The direct evidence is surprisingly negative.[6] Nonetheless there are important effects.

The effects of hyperopia and of various kinds of eye-muscle difficulties upon school learning are quite straightforward. They make reading, or any kind of close discrimination, just plain uncomfortable. Now if they did nothing but thus make the child unhappy and uneasy they should be of great concern to us. But from this uneasiness and discomfort flow other results. Irritability, peevishness, and bad temper, or a cry-baby dependency on adults follow naturally, though of course not inevitably, from the strain, the headache, and the general discomfort.

Moreover, the unpleasantness is apt to be associated in the child's mind with the place and activities which cause it. He does not always know that his eyes are troubling him; he just feels bad at school or when he is reading. Thus school becomes a hateful place and everything connected with books becomes distasteful. Undoubtedly a considerable amount of anti-intellectualism has its beginnings in the discomfort of hyperopia in the school years.[7] To motivate away from learning certain things is certainly to affect learning, even though sheer "ability to learn" may be unaffected.

A different sort of influence on personality development affects the myope. It doesn't seem to be uncomfortable for the nearsighted person to use his eyes; he just can't see things so well, especially at any distance.[8] From this proceeds, or may proceed, a number of serious limitations on experience and thus on the development of wholesome personality.

It is probably true that children with a moderate myopia *can* learn to read and *can* learn all that goes with reading about as well as those with normal sight. Indeed, many of them obviously do. A person only moderately nearsighted can see letters well enough by getting

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[6] See, for example, Clark (62). On the other hand, Park and Burri (222) did find a fairly direct relationship between *certain kinds* of eye difficulties and reading.

[7] The "normal" hyperopia of the early years usually becomes less, and may be entirely overcome, by the time of puberty; but the distaste for school and the aversion to all intellectual activities may continue long after the original cause has disappeared.

[8] It is still disputed whether close visual work, as in reading, if kept to a normal amount, increases myopia in childhood. The issue is highly technical, but this much is clear: long-continued close visual work is fatiguing to the young child and causes "nervousness." Whether for protection of the eye or for protection of personality development, close visual work should therefore be restricted to a few minutes at a time.

close to them—especially the commendably large and clear letters of modern children's books. He can usually see well enough for most other school tasks—that is, he can if his teacher has noticed his defect and *helped him* to get around it. Unfortunately, teachers do not always detect defects or pay attention to them if they do detect them. I saw a child scolded for walking up to the board without permission, though the thick glasses he wore should have made it obvious to anyone that only so could he hope to see what the teacher was writing there. And this was an experienced teacher, indeed one with something of a national reputation.

When the myopia is very severe the problem is intensified. I once sat in on the intelligence examination of a three-year-old with about 5-percent vision. (Such vision is just at the borderland between the ability to carry on as a sighted person or the necessity for training as a blind person.) Elaine's achievement on form boards—a test in which the subject must fit fairly large geometrically shaped blocks into correspondingly shaped slots—was conspicuously below her performance with tests involving language. The examiner, who was apparently not too well grounded in her understanding of children, was greatly puzzled to explain the discrepancy. "It can't be her eyes," she said. "Bad as they are, she can see these shapes all right." It seemed never to have occurred to her to consider what sorts of experience this child had had in her three short years of life and how these influence achievement.

Elaine's world had been a world of sounds; of the feeling of her bodily movements; of colors, perhaps, but only when these were in great splashes. She was sensitive to masses of light and shadow; already she had learned that "danger" of injury might lurk in shadows. But from her earliest years she had been denied that happy preoccupation with small visual shapes which is so characteristic of an infant's quieter moments. Never had she watched the lazy flight of horsefly or bumblebee; probably she had never been close enough to either to see their differences even as to size. Never had she seen the swooping flight of a swallow or the labored flapping of a crow. How should she be interested in the identification of birds who had never seen them save as flashing blurs? How should she be interested in circles and triangles and rectangles, even if she could *see* them, when in her daily life visual forms played so subordinate a role? She could be *taught* these forms as readily, perhaps, as any other child; but the normal course of daily experience (which is the base upon which intelligence testing rests) had left a great gap in her learning.

If this sort of deficiency of experience continues throughout the

preschool years, the child is apt to be, even more than most children, uninterested in the queer little shapes called letters upon which we adults lay such mysterious stress, likely to be at first very slow in "catching on" to reading and writing. With our schools dominated as they are by these basic skills, the whole academic career of such a child may get off to a very bad start.[9]

Elaine, however, had intelligently cooperative parents. When the decision was made to bring her up in the world of the sighted, a careful analysis of probable deficiencies was undertaken and an effort made to supply them. Elaine thus came to school understanding the "looks" of right- and left-sided things like gloves and like *p* and *q*, with a developed interest in geometrical figures, and with a desire to get close enough to things to examine them and see what they look like. Her reading met with no unusual difficulty. She quickly became a "total impression" reader—or rather was never anything else —and gained fair speed, despite the fact that with the book at four inches from the end of her nose she could see at most two words at a time. But other half-blind children, without the intelligent and explicitly planned training she had had, might, by the age of six or seven, be as good as blind when it came to making visual discriminations.

Two effects of severe myopia may thus be noted in the early school years. There is first a definite and irremediable slowing up of the reading because the myopic eye can see only a small part of the line at a time. And there is a direction of interest away from visual discriminations, a sort of negative preparation for the learning of reading that tends greatly to slow down the process in the first years in school.[10]

Secondly, and more important still, is the effect on nonacademic pursuits. For the myope the physical world is full of hidden dangers. Missiles (balls and the like), people, and vehicles appear suddenly from nowhere to threaten one. Obstacles in the way of hurrying feet are unseen; wire fences and brush and low-hanging limbs catch one unaware. Even chairs and footstools have a perverse way of getting in

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[9] Note that a mere shift to an "activity program" would not by any means meet the needs of such a handicapped child. Most activity projects are just as baffling as reading to a half-blind child. Nor are the needs of all the handicapped alike, even when they have the same *physical defect*.

[10] Many of the studies on reading ability and visual defect fall into a statistical trap by matching pupils in intelligence and then comparing their reading scores. But the child who, despite poor eyes, equals another in intelligence-test scores is intrinsically a *better* learner. "Matching" thus, instead of insuring equality, insures inequality in "learning ability." Matching is an inappropriate method of experimental control when the matching factor correlates with *both* the performances to be compared.

one's road. If he is even to keep on living, the nearsighted child must learn more caution and vigilance in his movements than is entirely consistent with the carefree and possibly reckless play of normal childhood.

Then, too, the games that can be played successfully, or at all, are limited. Ball games particularly require a speedier or more accurate eye-motor coordination than the myope can easily manage—and from marbles to football, it is astonishing how many games depend on some kind of "ball." Games and play involving bodily contact are dangerous for the child who wears glasses. Boxing or fighting, when you can't see your opponent's arms, can barely make out his face as a vague blur, is apt to be a pretty sanguinary business. And so it goes through nearly all the activities of boys and a fair proportion of those of girls.

Now play in childhood, as we have suggested, is the chief determiner of a child's social status; and it is the chief schoolmaster of social intelligence and personality. It is in play that the child first learns to give-and-take, the most essential of social virtues. It is in play that one best earns the applause of one's fellows. It is in play that the child can most easily explore his own capacities, including his emotional capacities. And it is chiefly in play that one learns that easy control of the body which is the basis for poise and grace, and for the appearance of dynamic energy which is so important in social relations. It is no small matter for the child when all of this is sharply curtailed by poor eyes and the necessity for wearing glasses.

Small wonder, then, in view of all the difficulties and perplexities of the active world, that so many myopes retreat to the world of books and become "bookworms." Here no missiles rise up unexpectedly to strike one, no cruel playmates taunt one because of a failure to "smack it on the nose" or to catch an easy fly. Almost we dare to say that children don't wear glasses because they read too much; they read too much because they have to wear glasses.

Another limitation on social learning affects even the moderately nearsighted. Far more than we are likely to realize, we are guided in our social intercourse by the play of expression on a person's face, by the little shifts in posture, by almost imperceptible gestures. Now these guides to the other fellow's feelings are not natural endowments; they have to be learned. It is difficult, however, to learn them when you can't see them, and most of these cues are very fine and fleeting. Even when they lie within the limit of what the myope can *see*, they often lie below the level of what he is apt to *notice*. There is thus likely to develop an insensitivity to social stimuli, and a tend-

ency to tediousness in conversation—which simply means a failure to recognize that what you are saying is boring your auditor. In later life not to have learned these social cues may be one of the most calamitous of all the effects of poor vision.

Add to all these, the self-consciousness of the handicapped due to the taunts of playmates ("Old four eyes"), the disfigurement of strong glasses ("Men seldom make passes, at gals who wear glasses"), the judgment that one is high-hat or peculiar because of failure to recognize friends or acquaintances—put all these together and you have a complex set of problems facing the visually handicapped child. They are clearly too many and too difficult for him to solve unaided.

In strabismus the chief problem is disfigurement. Even a small amount causes a person to look "funny" to other children. The strain this imposes on his personality development should be obvious. Correction (whether by surgery, orthoptic exercises, or just by glasses) has been found to improve very greatly the child's personal and social adjustment.

What Can Teachers Do? This brings us to the role of the teacher in helping the handicapped child. A little can be done by direct action in the classroom. We can insure that window shades are properly adjusted to avoid glare, we can try to have adequate artificial light—something that few classrooms have. Then there is the issue of correct posture and the proper holding of books. The myopic child must carefully guard against reading with his head bowed as this tends to increase the myopia. We can be sure that the children have large type, that they do not read too much or too long at a time. These are sound hygienic measures for any child, and they are particularly necessary for the handicapped.

It will have been noted, however, that we laid most stress upon the effects of poor vision on personality and social development; and it is here that the teacher's responsibility is greatest. *Not one of the dire effects listed is an inevitable result of visual handicaps.* They are merely what will happen *unless someone does something about it.*[11]

Suppose we look back a moment and review the effects discussed. We find the visually handicapped child limited in his play life and therefore in his opportunities to learn effective social behavior. Clearly, then, what the teacher should do is to set the stage for play activities and other opportunities for social behavior in which the child will be at less of a disadvantage. That sounds easier than it is.

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[11] And the most extended study of the problem yet made (22) shows that not enough is done; psychological maladjustment is more frequent among the physically handicapped than among those of normal physique.

We do not dare build our entire program just to help the handicapped; that would be unfair to the normal children. We need, therefore, to develop our insights into the present weaknesses and strengths of the handicapped child, need to watch for every opportunity to adjust both his strengths and weaknesses to the play and social life of the whole group. We need also to plan programs sound for all but giving opportunity and scope for full participation by the child with special deficiencies.

Related to this program of helping the child to make external adjustment is the problem of helping his internal adjustment. The handicapped person must face reality. He must realize his limitations, must accept them with courage; yet he must not get into the habit of making his handicap an "alibi" for failure. The balance between these two is a delicate affair; we should not expect the child to keep it without a great deal of help.

The trend of thinking today is against segregation of handicapped children in institutions and special classes unless the deficiencies are very grave. It is held, and rightly so, that the handicapped need to learn to live in the world as it is, need to learn to associate with normal people. We should remember, however, that an ordinary or "normal" situation for most children is not "normal" for one who is handicapped; only in a "supranormal" environment can we expect normal behavior from a person with subnormal physical equipment. *To give the handicapped—that is, the subnormal—child a* NORMAL *chance to develop requires special pains and special consideration.* For some, the special treatment can be best given in institutions or special classes. In that case, the goal should be the development as fast as possible of the most nearly normal behavior and social adjustment that circumstances permit. For the majority of the handicapped, the special consideration should be given in regular classes. Perhaps no better index of the teacher's sensitivity to the individual needs of children can be found than that of the provision she makes for the social development of handicapped and deviating children.

Other Special Handicaps

We can deal more briefly with other handicaps than those of vision. The essential problems are exactly the same. Defects of hearing are much less frequent than those of vision; but they are also more frequently overlooked. From 10 to 20 percent of all pupils need special attention, both medical and pedagogical, because of auditory defect.

The discomfort associated with poor vision does not often occur

in auditory impairment, but the social consequences are much the same. Many children are unwilling to admit auditory impairment and sometimes make themselves quite foolish in their attempt to conceal the handicap. Often, for example, they pretend to hear what is said when in fact they got almost nothing. Such behavior is not only exasperating to the teacher but very unfavorable to good schoolwork. Somewhat similar difficulties arise when the child genuinely does not realize that he is handicapped. A few hard-of-hearing pupils indulge in misbehavior as a conscious or unconscious way to conceal their deficiency. Occasionally also a deaf child gets the idea that people are talking about him behind his back, though this is commoner with deaf adults. Finally as is well known, the hard-of-hearing are often misjudged as dull or even mentally defective by both teachers and fellow pupils.

The social isolation of the hard-of-hearing is a little more obvious, though probably no greater, than that of the visually defective. In any case it presents us with the same challenge to alter the situation, to create opportunities whereby the handicapped child may develop his personality and learn necessary social adjustments.

Unlike the partially sighted and the hard-of-hearing, orthopedically handicapped children are seldom neglected in school. Their handicap is visible and understandable to teacher and fellow pupils, and usually appeals to sympathy. Yet even here we need continually to remind ourselves of the problem. While full participation in most games is impossible for most of them, various roles may be assumed which permit the child to take part in the activities and feel himself one of the group. One of the most insistent problems is to keep the handicapped from self-pity on the one hand and on the other hand from a bitter resentment of pity or even of sympathy. Especially is this true of conditions which are markedly disfiguring.

Harold Russell in his autobiographical story *Victory in my hands* (236), records the lift that came to his spirit when a wise surgeon reminded him that he was not crippled, merely handicapped, though he had lost both hands. A cripple he learned is one "incapable of proper or effective action"; a handicapped person, on the other hand, is one who has a "disadvantage or hindrance making success in an undertaking more difficult." The particular verbal distinction is not really important; children, at any rate, usually become quite used to being referred to as crippled. But the difference in attitude which Russell points to is of tremendous value.[12]

[12] One is tempted to urge that here again is a place where avoidance of the mind-body duality (see page 242) would be of help. "As long as we are thinking in terms of a mind

Finally, as Barker (19) has pointed out, "the parent may feel guilty, resentful, or socially stigmatized for having produced a defective child, and this may cause him to push the child aside. Or, the parent may, either from genuine sympathy or from reaction to his own guilt, do everything in his power to recompense the child for his misfortunes." Or, worst of all he may vacillate between these alternatives.

In short, the problems of the handicapped are seen to be those of the normal child, somewhat intensified; and the responsibility of the teacher to understand the individual and to deal with him on the basis of his particular needs, is, once more, the same in kind, but greater.

► Summary

Two thirds of all children have health problems sufficiently serious that they may affect psychological development. Defective health or physical development restricts activity and thus the opportunity to learn the things that children usually learn. Especially important are the restrictions upon play—the major vocation of a child, and the occupation in which the child learns both physical and social effectiveness.

The adult can help the handicapped child both by providing opportunities to learn the things he is deprived of by his handicap and by assisting him to make realistic adjustment to his deficiencies.

Exercises

1. Can you see any relation between your own health history and your present behavior? (Note how difficult it is to be sure of the causal connection.) If the effects are unfortunate, what might have been done to avert them?
2. Try to translate into concrete terms one of the suggestions for relating a visually handicapped child to the play group. Just what specifically would you do?
3. Take the special problems of the visually handicapped and translate them into parallel form for the hard-of-hearing.
4. What are some of the things an adult can do to help the handicapped child's attitude toward himself?

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and a body, we must admit that there are 'crippled' bodies. But when we think in terms of a person as a going concern—eating, digesting, hoping, breathing, planning for the future, loving—we see that there are many who are indeed handicapped by loss of limb or sight or hearing but who *as persons* are not crippled at all and are gloriously alive and whole. Many of us on the contrary, though our members seem sound, are, with our petty aches and pains, our anxieties and our fears, our jealousies and our hates—and our indigestions—really crippled persons" (English, 77, p. 571).

► Observing Physical Status

No case study is even approximately acceptable which does not give a clear picture of the child's physical status. We have urged above that teachers get more experience in making *impressional* judgments but these are quite different from *impressionistic* judgments. The latter are based on *few* observations quickly obtained; the former requires *repeated, careful* observations. Furthermore, wherever possible, the observations should be made quantitative through measurement.

Ideally, of course, a case study should include the report of a recent examination by a competent pediatrician. If the child has recently been examined, see if you can get a report. Such a report gives valuable information about the presence or absence of special defects, the general condition of the muscles and skin, the nutritional state, chronic or subchronic disease, and the condition of general health. A really complete physical examination of a child who is not obviously ill is, however, something of a rarity, and you will usually have to be content with more informal statements.

Another source of information is the records kept by the parents and the school. You will probably be surprised to find how meager they are in most cases, and you should also be aware of how untrustworthy they are in many others. Do not fail to include the record of school absence for sake of the light that it throws on health—flickering though that light may be.

Be sure here to give the sources of your information *and the circumstances in which it was obtained.* (This includes the circumstances in which your informant got his information.) Thus a casual remark by Mrs. Smith about Henry's first tooth is quite different from Mrs. Brown's carefully kept record of teeth as one of a number of growth indexes.

Suppose the question concerns Penelope's poor schoolwork. The teacher finds it easy to accept the mother's belief that this is due to "poor health." That absolves the teacher from the burdensome task —so it may seem—of discovering just what *is* wrong with Pennie's arithmetic. What a perfect alibi, in fact, for both teacher and parent! Of course, actual ill health may have its effect on school development. Let's be sure, however, that the ill health is actual and that it has the effect indicated. Nor should we forget the real possibility that frustration and anxiety due to a feeling of failure in school may cause the ill health instead of the other way around.

Let us not forget also that much of our information is second or third hand. Such a statement as, "The teacher says that the mother reports that the doctor told her that Henry's measles affected his eyes," has a perfect right to appear in your field notes—just in that form, terrible rhetoric though it may be. Remember, however, that you can't be at all sure that the doctor really said this: parents may misunderstand or knowingly or unwittingly may distort what the physician tells them. Moreover, there are all sorts of people whom the parents may call "doctor"—charlatans, quacks, incompetents, and real experts. Finally, there is the prior question as to whether there's anything actually wrong with Henry's eyes, and if so what?

None of this is intended to minimize the value of questioning the parents or the teacher about the child's health, past and present. As we indicated earlier, most mothers find this a subject of great interest; and from their discussion and the manner in which the information is given, you should be able to learn much more than what childhood diseases were suffered. Often enough the entire structure of family life is laid bare. Note the degree of concern with which the parent discusses the child's health, the way in which the parent tries to use incidents in the physical history to explain the child's behavior, the general attitude the parent takes towards physical disorders. Laymen are prone to lay much more stress on heredity than are competent authorities. Do not make the mistake, however, of ignoring mother's statements that the child "takes after his father" in this or that physical condition. Such statements may be very revealing of the psychological atmosphere.

But again the note of caution. It is not safe to conclude that because a mother shows extreme solicitude about the child's health, she is given to overprotecting him, or that she is too inclined to worry about minor physical ailments. Nor, on the other hand, should we assume that lack of concern about health matters is a sign either that the mother has rejected the child or that she does not know how to care for the child's physical needs. Such observations may *raise questions;* they do not *supply answers.* Remember the limitations of your information. You may start one mother talking about her son's health and her tongue may run away with her for an hour, but it may be the only time in six weeks she has given Johnny's health a serious second thought. Another mother may be so worried about the child's health that she won't talk about it.

The poverty of the records usually kept make it all the more necessary that you get what information you can yourself. Without at all attempting to displace the physician, there are many valuable obser-

vations that you can make. Even the layman can observe something of the condition of the skin, the teeth. He can note whether the child's muscles are flabby or firm (though here one must be careful to compare the child with his age mates), whether he has notably bad breath, frequent colds and a "runny" nose, signs of frequent fatigue, undue restlessness, or the more obvious indications of visual or auditory defect. Notations of these items, *with dates* and circumstances of observation, should be recorded quite concretely.

If there is no record of height and weight, you should certainly make those measurements near the beginning and at the end of your study. Those of you who are specially interested in physical growth may wish to make other anthropometric measurements: of dentition, of grip or other measure of muscular strength, of lung capacity, etc. These added measures may be of special significance in cases where physical status seems of critical importance. Anything in the home conditions that bears on health should also be noted. Lastly and perhaps most important, do not fail to report any evidence from the child's *behavior* that may throw light on his health and physical condition. (We include as Appendix 3 a Reminder List of Physical Conditions.) This is not exactly a check list in the specialized sense of Chapter 2; it is merely a reminder of things to look for,

Evaluation of the Child's Physical Status: Height and Weight. When you have your evidence assembled, the really interesting and difficult job of interpretation begins. Let us start with the conventional measurements of height and weight, whether made by you or taken from home or school records.

By now practically everyone recognizes that it is necessary to consider together height, weight, and age, if they are to yield an intelligible picture of physical development. Wherever possible, moreover, these measurements should be taken periodically over a space of several years. Fortunately they are, perhaps, the measures most commonly available; unfortunately they are too infrequently put to work. To obviate this neglect, Wetzel (302) has developed a chart or "Grid" for recording height, weight, and age as interrelated variables, which, though it looks complicated, is actually quite simple to use and helps greatly in making the proper interpretations. For each set of measurements all you have to do is to make two entries on what is known as a two-way chart. (See Figure 27 A.)

Let us take the case of Anna Marie, aged 9 years, 3 months, height 50 inches, weight just under 55 pounds. Turn first to the left-hand panel and note the scale showing inches (or centimeters) at the top

and bottom of the chart. Find the vertical line most nearly corresponding with Anna's height. Lay a ruler or the straight edge of a sheet of paper along that line. Next locate Anna's weight on the scale at the left of the panel. Follow this line in to the intersection with the height line. We have marked this point (4).

Running downward from right to left in this panel is a series of Isodevelopmental Level Lines numbered from 170 to 30. These lines represent "body size," a combination of height and weight. All cases falling at the same level are at the same stage of development of "body size." Anna Marie's height-weight point lies at 65½.

To bring in the age factor, we move over into the right-hand panel. Note that the Isodevelopmental Lines cross the space between the panels, becoming horizontal in the right-hand panel. (See the numbers at the left of this panel corresponding with those on the other side of the white space.) Thus we can carry Anna Marie's rating of 65½ over to the right-hand panel. Her age of 9¼ is represented by the vertical lines. Since we want to see her body size in relation to age, we find the intersection of the lines representing these two variables. This point we have located and labeled (d).

That is all you have to do to record height, weight, and age in relation to each other at any one time. It takes less time to locate these two points than to tell you how to do it. In Anna Marie's case we have four sets of measures at yearly intervals. We have joined the points representing these measures to show Anna Marie's growth trends.

What, however, do these mysterious points and lines tell us? What sort of child is Anna Marie physically? Let us consider first just the last measurements made when she was 9¼ and recorded at (4) and (d). Notice that point (4) lies within the set of diagonal lines labeled "Physique Channels." Anna's last measures put her in Channel B_1, right next to the middle Channel M. These "Channels" represent the "body type" or physique. Anna Marie is slightly on the slender side of the average (Channel M) but only slightly. Had she been taller and of the same weight, she would be in Channel B_2 ("Thin") or B_3 or B_4 ("Very Thin"). Or had her weight been greater with no corresponding change in height, we should have found her in one of the channels A_1 to A_4 ("Stocky" to "Obese").

Each child has a characteristic body type largely determined by heredity.

If a child is healthy he will not change more than one-half channel while making a change in body size of ten levels, and this is true

regardless of which channel he is traveling along. Thus, a healthily thin child in B_3 and a healthily stocky or chubby youngster in A_3 possess something in common, namely, the tendency to maintain *their own individual physiques,* which is to be recognized by their progressing along their own channels. Anna, we note, has been for four years in the same channel, her development in respect to body type is thus quite normal despite the fact that she is slender.

When a child changes faster than one-half channel per ten levels of growth—and such changes occur—we must recognize that there is something unusual afoot. It may be, of course, that a child is recovering from an illness or some other setback—such a shift in level upward and to the left would be a favorable sign. More often, however, a change in the channel is a sign of trouble—disease, nutrition, or emotional involvement of some sort. It is the normal stability of the body type which makes it so important to have periodic assessments of growth—a deviation from the child's own normal pattern of development may be the first warning sign of trouble.

We still have to inquire, however, about a second item that helps to define the satisfactoriness of physical growth, namely, Anna Marie's *speed* of development. This we get, of course, from the points plotted in the right-hand panel where body size is correlated with age. Wetzel has shown that the speed of healthy development, as measured by his Grid technique, is one "level" per month on the average (regardless of sex) during the school-life period. Hence, by noting that Anna Marie has progressed from Level 28 to Level 65½ in the 36-month interval from 6¼ to 9¼ years, we see that her speed of growth has been almost precisely normal—that is, one line a month.

Finally, how does Anna Marie compare with her age mates. This also we get from the right-hand panel, where a number of curves run from lower left to upper right. These curves represent various standards of growth stated in terms of the percentage of children of a given age who have reached or exceeded a stated level of body size. Point (d) falls between the 67-percent and the 82-percent curves at about the 77-percent point. This means that about 77 out of 100 children of her age will have a larger body size; she falls at the top of the bottom quarter.

We can estimate Anna Marie's developmental status in another way. The small dots running up Channel M in the left panel represent the body size attained by two thirds of the children measured at successive ages. (The lowest dot, just off to one side of Channel M, is for age 5.) Anna Marie at 9¼ years is about halfway between the

eight- and the nine-year-old standard. She is thus about three quarters of a year or more behind the 67-percent standard, and this has been characteristic of her growth ever since she entered kindergarten.

Now such growth as this, as to body type (channelwise) and as to speed, need not give us much concern from a *health* standpoint. Anna Marie is slender, yes, but not extremely so. She is a little more retarded than most children of her age in physical development. But the evidence would make us think that this is, for her, "normal." The worst one could say is that the margin between "slenderness" and "underweight" is not great.

You have ill understood what we have been talking about in this chapter if you think that just these facts tell us the whole story. As we have said, Anna Marie is slender and just a little behind others of her age in height-weight. What does this tell us? By itself, not much; combined with other facts, a great deal. We need to know something about her energy level, about her drive to physical output, her motor skills. And for even a reasonably complete picture we should interpret her physical development in relation to her intellectual achievement and to that almost mystic concept, emotional maturity. If Anna is intellectually precocious, we have a very difficult problem on our hands. She will not be too happy if limited to the pursuits of her age mates; yet she is much too underdeveloped physically to fit well into the activities of girls one and two years older—who would be her *mental* age mates. If, on the other hand, she is intellectually a bit on the dull side, nonpromotion, if tactfully handled, would be a less serious problem than for many other children. Among eight-year-olds Anna Marie would *look* just about average. (Note that I don't advocate nonpromotion; I merely say that it is *less* serious in such a case than in the case of the physically much more mature child who in a group of younger children sticks out like a sore thumb.)

If you have been trying to think concretely about Anna Marie and have been referring to the chart and trying for yourself to see what it tells you, you will have by now wondered where the chart enables you to determine whether a child is tall, short, or medium *for his age*—and probably have not found it. The chart is not designed for such a finding—a strange omission. But is it? Why do you want to know? What we need to know is whether a child's general physical development is advanced, retarded, or medium? It is this combined height-weight development that counts in determining the child's psychological and social status, not just either trait by itself. And

this combined index is given by the Isodevelopmental Level. Sometimes extremes of height, being very visible, do play a part, quite aside from the correlated weight, but in that case you need no statistical tables to assist your judgment. You can yourself see just what the children see and are affected by: a child decidedly tall or short for the group he associates with in school or at play. If the deviation in height alone is not great enough to be interpreted *without* a table of norms, it is not great enough to be considered by itself. The case with weight is strictly parallel.

A single set of measures of height-weight-age is helpful. But the whole discussion must have made clear that measures extending over several years are far more so. Normal, wholesome development follows a steady pattern. For a slender child suddenly to put on weight may seem to improve his proportions (for a while), but it is by no means always a favorable symptom. Most children should be settled in a definite physique channel by age 6; a few have not found their place at 7, but all normal cases have settled down by 8. Of course, this does not mean that no change can be made after that age —for either better or worse. The accompanying diagrams and figures tell a story to which every parent or teacher should give attention.

Using the Grid for your case study should enable you to make reports comparable to the following:

Harold at 8 years is 53 inches tall and weighs 66 pounds. According to the Grid, he thus exceeds all but about 5 percent of children of his age in body size. He is rather tall but well proportioned, verging on the slight side, is just at the margin between Channel M and Channel B_1. I should have judged him as a little "thin" but of course tall boys do sometimes look thin. No measurements are available of his earlier weight and age, but he is said to have always been slender.

Mary Lou is 11 years, 2 months; 59¾ inches tall, weight 86 pounds. She is decidedly on the skinny side (Channel B_2—Fair). She is pretty nearly "on schedule" for her age in bodily size. The somewhat scattered records indicate that she was formerly somewhat heavier. (See Fig. 27 B.)

She has recently begun to menstruate, and her mother attributed her present thinness to that fact. Maybe so. But the standards of physical development partly take account of pubertal changes. She is a rather "nervous" child, puts forth a lot of energy. The home is well-to-do but a bit chaotic; I'm not sure that the diet is well chosen or that eating is regular, though Mrs. S. undoubtedly knows enough about proper standards.

All in all there is at least a suggestion here of a health problem on the horizon. Certainly a physical check-up is indicated.

Two things may be easily seen from the above examples: first, how much our judgment is helped by having definite norms of growth; secondly, that we need to go beyond a mechanical comparison with the norms, if we are to understand the child as a going concern.

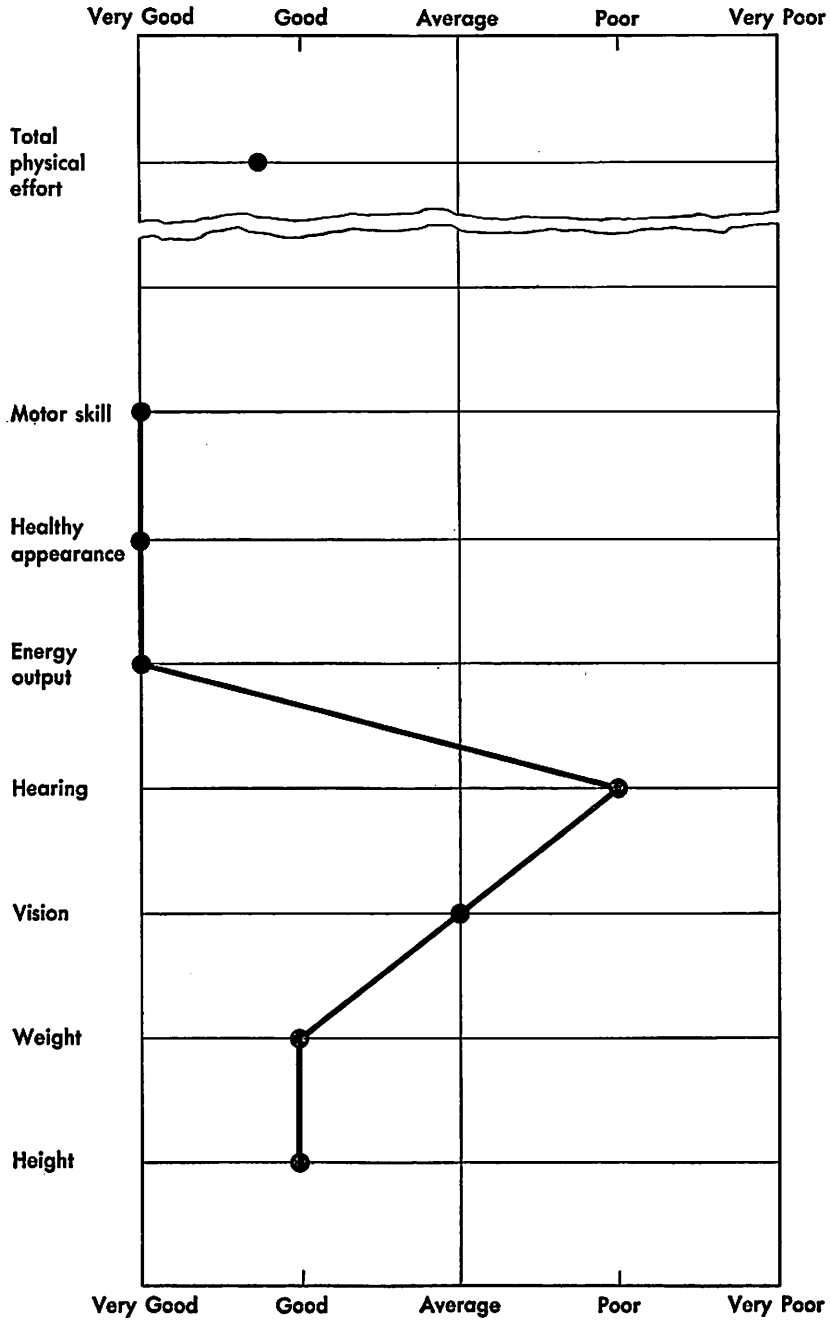
A Physical Excellence Profile. Height and weight, moreover, are only a part of what we have called physical excellence. As we have pointed out, the several components of physical excellence are measured in units that cannot easily be combined; and for most of the components no standards or norms, such as we have for height and weight, exist. For the kind of data we have in this field a five-step scale—Very Good, Good, Average, Poor, and Very Poor—is probably as precise as we can make it.

The ratings or judgments (or scores when converted into such a scale) may be recorded by a cross mark on a series of vertical lines and the crosses connected to form a "graphic profile." An example is given herewith. The vertical lines of the profile are 4 inches long, and are set ¾ inches apart. The average point on each is connected by a horizontal line. Finally, any particularly important or "salient" trait is to be indicated by an arrow. Where your data permit, you may "split the difference" between "Very Good" and "Good" or other points on the scale, but you are warned that your facts are not usually adequate to such precision. The last vertical bar is reserved for a summary rating.

Let us interpret the profile of James. He is a little taller and heavier than average but is not outstanding. His vision is "normal," his hearing is poor. (We shall return to the question of what is "poor" vision or "poor" hearing presently.) On the other hand his "Energy output" is very good indeed; it is an outstanding characteristic that strikes every observer. He has a healthy appearance (very good posture, skin color, solid-feeling muscles, etc.), and in various games and other actions he shows good skill and motor coordination. His hearing is deficient enough to be quite a handicap in many games. It is evident, nonetheless, that he is able to function quite effectively in a physical way—well above the average. Whether this will remain true at later ages—especially if the hearing deteriorates as it so often does—remains to be seen.

It is interesting that it should be difficult to assign a rating of Very Good, Average, or Poor to many of our explicit measurements. Height and weight are often recorded in school records, but, even with such norms as the Baldwin-Wood Tables or those of Wetzel's

Figure 28. Physical Excellence Profile of James, Age 9 Years



Grid, few teachers seem able to tell when a child's growth is Very Good or merely Good, Very Poor or merely Poor. Nor are there careful experiments here to guide us. We will not be far out of line, however, if we say that a "Tall" child for his age should be rated "Very Good," one above the medium range but not up to the "Tall" level should be rated "Good"; and similarly for those below average.

How about weight? Here obviously we cannot follow the same pattern. A child beyond the "tolerance limit" in either direction, one who is "obese" or "very thin" according to the Grid, must be rated as "Very Poor." One just at the level of tolerance should be rated "Poor." But how about the "Good" and "Very Good" ratings? When is one's weight "Good"? Women raters must be careful at this point not to project their own standards of fashionable slenderness on the child. A child is probably better off for being a little heavier than the average for his height and years, and so should be marked "Good." Beyond that we can hardly go, so long as we stick to just the objective measures. Quite frequently, however, it is possible to take the objective measures into full account and to go beyond them: to consider weight in relation to bodily structure, family traits, diet, and the whole functioning of the child's body.

How about vision? The problem here is again not simple. "Average" or "normal" acuity (20/20 on the Snellen Chart) is actually "Good" vision, and if achieved without glasses might be called "Very Good." Anything worse than 20/30 should be called "Poor" and referred to a specialist. Less than 20/70 should certainly be rated "Very Poor."

So much for acuity. Other visual difficulties may, as pointed out earlier, affect the child's physical efficiency as much or more. It does not seem practical, however, to set forth objective standards for such cases.

Few of you will have access to audiometer readings for the measurement of hearing or to other anthropometric measurements. Two rating bars on the Profile, however, are left blank for such measures or for medical or orthopedic findings where they are available.

As for the ratings of the other characteristics in this area, frankly I know of nothing objective to help you—you are on your own as far as standards go. We can, however, note certain general principles and attempt to define our variables. The first point to emphasize is that all of them are relative to the child's general developmental level, and this, we recall, is by no means always the same as calendar or chronological age. The precocious or retarded development of

other traits must also be considered, and the kind of child groups in which he plays a part. With a child who is either accelerated or retarded from his age group, in school or in play, we have to make some compromise judgment, not comparing him exclusively with either his age mates or with his classmates and playmates but a bit with both.

Another thing to bear in mind is that most young children seem distressingly energetic to adults, even to young college people. Actually they are less enduring than the adult: any normal college student can run farther than the preadolescent. The energy output of children is "flashy" rather than steady. In any case, it is energy output in relation to their fellows that is the determining factor. "Energy output," then, is defined by the ease with which action is aroused and the extent to which it is sustained without unusual signs of strain or distress as compared with one's natural peers. Posture (listless or energetic) and vigor of gait in walking or running are habitually sustained behaviors and belong under this category. Even vigorous speech is a form of energy output, as you well know if you have ever been put through your paces by a cheerleader even in practice sessions. (Indeed the failure to yell like a child is a rather good indication of low energy output.)

"Healthy appearance" is deliberately a catch-all. It includes color and condition of skin, eyes, hair and nails, breath, teeth, muscular tone, and firmness of muscles.

"Motor skill" includes not only the special skills involved in various games (or in handwriting) but eye-motor coordination and grace and ease of movement.

Getting such a Physical-excellence Profile is obviously a complicated business, requiring several sharp and attentive observations explicitly directed at physical traits and many supplemental observations made when you are primarily searching for other things. The finished Profile thus belongs in the Final Report, and in that Report will be supported by references to concrete observations. We have described it at such length here in order that you may have your attention properly directed to this important aspect of child development.

Supposing, however, that the Profile is ready. What does it add up to? The Profile is a sort of visual summary of the facts; these facts must still be interpreted. You won't fail to be cautious in that interpretation, for it is interesting to note that when one gets a considerable number of detailed facts one feels less cocksure than when

one has few. ("Fools rush in—.") Certainly you do not want merely to average the various ratings by eye. Rather, beginning with the Profile and any other concrete facts you may have, you will want to conjure up a picture of the child in his manifold activities—especially in his peer groups, at school, on the playground, in the neighborhood, and in his relation to the others in his family. For in the last analysis, *physical excellence is primarily a sort of measure of social status potential.* What is your final verdict?

"Final," did I say? No verdict about a child should ever be final. What I meant, of course, was, "What, finally, is your verdict?" Is this child's total physical excellence high or low? What can be done to make it better? If the physical conditions are irremediable or largely so, how can parent, teacher, and other adults help the child to surmount his handicap?

Physical Maturity. It is worthy of note that just at the end of the period with which we are concerned a few of the children are pubescent—that is, are beginning to show signs of sexual maturity. As is well known, girls mature earlier than boys. The small spurt in height that comes with pubescence is largely covered up in tables, because they show only averages and not many children are hitting this spurt at any one time. It may make a very great difference to the individual child, however.

If one or two girls in the room have begun to menstruate, have begun to put on the physical features of sex maturity, and have in addition very greatly outgrown in height the other girls *and boys*—and this is just what often happens—there is quite an intricate social problem. You should not fail, therefore, to note any evidence of approaching puberty and should carefully evaluate its effect on other aspects of development.

Some Cautions

Certain of the points made above deserve the emphasis of summarization.

1. Always indicate the source of your information and the conditions in which it was received. (Is there record of a physical examination? Was the mother talking very frankly about the child? Does she seem to have enough intelligence or education to understand the medical terminology involved? Were there other people present in front of whom the mother might not wish to discuss the child as frankly as she could?)

2. Is there additional evidence to support the information re-

ported? (If the mother claims that the child has a visual or hearing defect, do the school records or the teacher confirm or deny this claim?)

3. On the basis of all the information available to you does it appear that the information is actually correct? Partially correct? Dubious? Probably wrong? Or a matter for further investigation, perhaps by a specialist?

4. Consider most carefully the *significance for the child* of the facts of his physical development. What does he think of himself? What do others think and say? What advantages and what disadvantages for physical activity, for schoolwork, for social status result from his *real* or *supposed* physique? Which of these relationships are surmise; which are confirmed by various observations? Here is your chance to combine insight and imagination with skeptical reservations.

5. It is very likely that your study will raise more questions than it answers. Do not be afraid to let that fact appear. Raising the *right* questions is a sign of intelligent understanding.

VI The Child's Intellectual Life

12 Intelligence in Childhood

Intelligence is the ability to perform the usual and expected intellectual tasks of one's age. Does a child have a stable amount of such intelligence? Can his intelligence be improved by individual or social effort? What are the factors favorable to intellectual growth?

In recent years it has become fashionable to be a little disparaging of what is called "mere intellectual development." I think it will not be denied, however, that the country and the world in general could use a little more intelligence. Moreover, as the previous chapters have shown, intelligence plays a determining part in emotional, social, and personality development. You cannot possibly deal effectively with children without constant consideration of the intellectual side of their natures.

We shall do well to begin by taking a look at "intelligence." It is true that intelligence is not the whole of the intellectual side of life, any more than "emotion" is the whole of the emotional life. Intelligence, however, is the hard core of rationality, understanding, and wisdom, and most research has been centered about this core.

► The Nature of Intelligence

In no other field, probably, has psychology made more spectacular advances than in the field of measuring intellectual growth, yet in no other area is there more controversy among experts—or more confusion among laymen. If, however, we look to the activities of test construction and to the actual uses of tests, we can escape much of the controversy and eliminate most of the confusion.[1]

[1] What to do about citing research and critical interpretations is a real perplexity in this field. There is just too much of it! A mere listing of titles of publications fills a whole book. Moreover, a text on child psychology is no place for an extended discussion of tests and measurements. Yet the testing movement has so revolutionized our thinking

In constructing a test, the psychologist picks up where our everyday or common-sense evaluation of intelligence leaves off. In a rough way we all know what intelligence is, or at any rate what sorts of behavior are signs of intelligence. What are those behaviors? Thinking, for one thing. Remembering. Attending or concentrating. Generalizing. Reasoning. Solving problems. Putting two and two together and getting at the heart of the issue. Something very like this list would emerge, if you were to ask almost anyone what sort of operations would be evidence as to the intelligence of a child between the ages of, say, four and fourteen. It is not, of course, a perfect list; there is much overlapping (reasoning is obviously one kind of thinking, for example); and there are many omissions. But it will do to indicate the area in which intelligence operates.

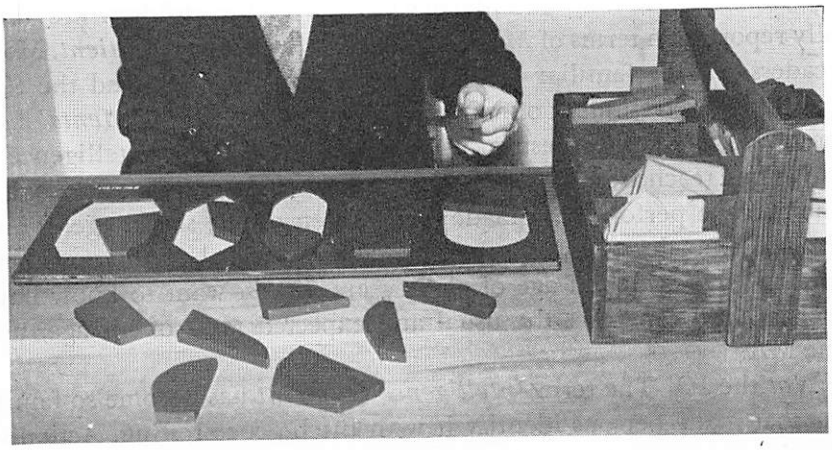
How, then, do you go about estimating a child's intelligence? You pick out some intellectual task which, you think, any ordinary child of his age ought to be able to manage. And that is just what the test constructor does. He seeks tasks that promise to indicate the child's *ability to perform the usual and expected intellectual activities of his age.* If, however, the indicators are to be reliable, a lot of careful and highly technical work must be done. Since it is impossible to ask a child to perform before you all the "usual and expected" activities of his age, samples must be found that give a true indication of the rest of the activities, and the representative character of the sample tasks must be proved by actual trial with many thousand children. A valid and, if possible, foolproof scoring must be provided. Many such sample tasks, now called test items, are then combined in a test scale.

The Varieties of Intelligence Tests

You will recall that we spoke of the "usual intellectual tasks." The term *intellectual* must not, however, be given a "high-hat" or an "academic" interpretation. To rid his fingers of a sticky feather is, for an infant, a real intellectual task. (It would not make a good "test" because just plain luck plays too great a part in success.) In our culture, being able to fit a triangular block of wood into a slot of corresponding shape and size is as much an intellectual task as being able to name the days of the week. (Both these tasks have been used as tests.)

about children that we must give it a place. Fortunately two recent books, Tyler (283) and Anastasi and Foley (4) have excellently summarized the field. This makes it less important to cite supporting evidence all the time, but it does make the text sound dogmatic. I shall try, however, to warn the reader whenever any statement is not thoroughly substantiated by research.

Figure 29. A Kent-Shakow Formboard



A casual inspection of various tests permits classification into two types: *verbal tests* in which the response demanded is made in words, and *performance or nonverbal tests,* in which the response is made in some other way. To test intelligence we need a sample of all the "usual and expected" behaviors, and it is obvious that a sample restricted just to verbal responses runs the risk of being quite unrepresentative. In certain special circumstances, the verbal tests may give us the information we need; even then *they do not measure the whole range of a child's intelligence.* Both verbal and performance tests measure intelligence, and both kinds are needed for any thorough assessment of a child's intelligence.

It should be added, however, that the classification into verbal and nonverbal tests is somewhat arbitrary. Both types of tests include—and should include—a considerable number of different kinds of tasks. We should note also that the names, if taken too literally, are misleading. A verbal test is certainly a test of *performance;* and performance tests, so-called, are seldom reacted to without using words, so they are not wholly nonverbal. The classification is useful chiefly to remind us of the variety of intellectual tasks that are "usual and expected" of children of various ages.

The most frequently used "scales of intelligence" for children—the various varieties of the Binet test, especially the Stanford-Binet—incorporate both verbal and performance tests, but they are more heavily loaded with the former. Various scales composed exclusively of performance tests as above defined are therefore used as supplementary measures.

The MA and the IQ

Intelligence-test scores for children are usually reported in terms of *Mental Age* and *Intelligence Quotient*. Most readers will be familiar with the concepts of the MA and the IQ, but a brief refreshment of memory may be in order. The *Mental Age* or MA is the basic measure; it designates the *level* of intelligence a child has reached, and does so by comparing his performance with the average performance made by children of the stated age. Thus a child who does as well on the tests as a typical eight-year-old is said to have a mental age of eight years. If you want to know how well a child can meet the usual and expected tasks of his age, use the MA.

Not the IQ! The term *Intelligence Quotient* has become so familiar that many persons identify it with intelligence testing. Actually, despite its name, the Intelligence Quotient does not at all measure *how much* intelligence a child has—for that, as we have just been saying, we use the MA. Instead, the IQ is a measure of the *rate* of growth in intelligence. To get a measure of rate you always divide the amount by the time: in this case you divide the "amount" of intelligence or mental age by the length of time the child has lived—his chronological or calendar age (abbreviated CA). To avoid decimals the resulting quotient is multiplied by 100. Hence the formula is $\frac{MA}{CA} \times 100 = IQ$. Thus, if a child has a mental age of 8 years, 2 months (or 98 months) and a chronological age of 7 years, 1 month (or 85 months), his IQ will be $\frac{98}{85} \times 100 = 115$.[2]

A little reflection should show that it is perfectly possible for two children to have the same IQ and yet to differ as much as three or four years in mental age; suppose the respective mental ages are 12 and 8 years, the respective chronological ages 9 and 6: the IQ's are $\frac{12}{9} = 133$ and $\frac{8}{6} = 133$. The two children have developed at the same rate, but the older has had the time to reach a higher level. It is also important to realize that two children could have very different IQ's yet be at the same level. Consider the case of Jim who at 12 has an IQ of 60 and of Gail who at 6 years has an IQ of 120; both have an MA of 7.2 and on the whole can manage the same kind of intellectual

[2] There is a refinement of the formula for the Revised Stanford-Binet after the child reaches age 13.

tasks. But Jim is a dull boy, while Gail is somewhat brighter than most.

The child who developed in mental age at the normal rate would, of course, have an IQ rating of 100. (This is simply an arithmetic implication of the way the score is calculated.) Even "average children," however, are seldom exactly average. It is usual, therefore, to regard IQ's of between 90 to 110 as representing average development in this sphere. About half of all American children fall within these limits on the Stanford-Binet.

As you move up from IQ 110 or down from IQ 90 the percentage of children who make a given score diminishes rapidly. Only about 2 percent attain an IQ rating of 140 or above. It is conventional to speak of these as "gifted children," but the division at 140 is arbitrary, and we could, if we chose, call the additional 2 percent who fall between 135 and 140 IQ gifted, too. These are, in any case, children of exceptional intellectual growth.

At the other end, about 2 percent or a little more test below IQ 65. These children are seriously retarded in their intellectual development; few of them can ever be helped to the point where they can carry on the normal work of the school for children of their age. Nearly all of them, therefore, belong in some sort of special class. It is now recognized, however, that it is wholly improper to characterize a child as "feebleminded" on the basis of low intelligence test ratings alone.

Testing for intellectual growth looks deceptively simple—there is little of the shining chrome or the purring machinery that makes testing in some other scientific fields so impressive. And indeed, as we have repeatedly said, it does rest on just the commonplace tasks and operations of everyday life. Testing is only common-sense judgment refined; but the refinement is all important. Moreover, in making these refinements it is necessary to introduce assumptions—perfectly proper assumptions, but assumptions that limit the way in which the measurements can be used. (For example, averaging of IQ's is improper.) Thus professional judgment is needed in utilizing or interpreting test results.

Many tests, and on the whole they are the most searching and valid ones, cannot be given at all except by professional testers. Not infrequently a principal will say to some teacher: "You've had a little psychology; 'bone up' on the Stanford-Binet tests tonight, and you and I will test some of the children tomorrow." It cannot be too strongly stated that this is professional malpractice—indeed in some

states it is a legal misdemeanor. The so-called tests thus administered are just not the Binet tests—they may not be even reasonable facsimiles thereof. Binet testing is an art that must not be practiced by the unqualified. Serious harm has been done to children through such malpractice.

On the other hand, some tests of intelligence are so designed that they can be administered by any adult willing to follow the simple but very precise directions given with the test. (Apparently, however, a good many adults, not seeing the why of the directions, just won't follow them all the way. Yet if the test is not given as directed, it loses all meaning and value.) Properly administered and scored, these tests yield information of much value and help us enormously to understand the child's intellectual growth.

Moreover, they enable us to define what intelligence is, and to do so in conformity with the demand of modern logicians that the definition be in terms of definite and measurable operations. *A person's general intelligence is his ability to perform the usual and expected intellectual activities of his age and his culture;* it is measured by taking a representative sample of those performances.

► How Dependable a Quality Is Intelligence?

Granted that we have tests of reasonable validity and reliability (and this has been demonstrated to be the case), it is still pertinent to ask whether intelligence is a stable characteristic in childhood. If Jenny stands at the head of her class in intelligence when she enters school at age 6, is she likely to have the same relative position six months later? Or twenty years later, for that matter? When the question is thus phrased, most people, in my experience, answer yes. Jenny, they believe, may not hold exactly the same standing, but she will not be far from it.

Now it is a mere matter of arithmetic that if Jenny maintains the same relative position in intelligence, not merely with her classmates but with her age mates in general, her IQ will remain the same. Thus the question as to her holding the same standing may be generalized in the form, "Does the IQ remain constant?"

The Constancy of the IQ Controversy

This issue of the "Constancy of the IQ" has led to some furious controversy. Yet I cannot find that any psycholo-

gist has ever believed in an absolutely constant IQ. The real question is not, "Is the IQ constant?" but "How nearly constant is the IQ?" How much shift in relative rank do we get with the mere passage of years? How much shift do we get under certain stated conditions? How dependable a quality, in fact, is intelligence? That sort of question calls for a resort to facts, not to speculative charge and countercharge. And enough facts are in to give an answer.

Not quite a simple answer, however. Let's begin with intelligence in infancy, of which it is difficult, but not impossible, to get at least fair measures. It turns out that the IQ obtained from one testing will often differ quite markedly from the next. Moreover the IQ after age 4 will often be considerably higher or lower than the IQ a child had on infant tests. Thus the IQ at first is decidedly not very constant.

Is not this merely a sign that the so-called developmental tests for infants do not really measure intelligence? The theoretical question thus raised is too involved to be discussed here, but the answer seems rather to be that there is a change in the composition of intelligence as we pass from infancy to childhood. The practical conclusion, in any case, is that "infant intelligence" is not a dependable predictor of child or adolescent intelligence. This fact should be known to parents who may be either too hopeful or too distressed by an infant's scores on the developmental tests.

After the child passes about the age of three, however, the constancy of relative position—and so of IQ—becomes fairly high. From one year to the next there is seldom a big change; on the other hand, no change at all is also unusual. Between six and fourteen, *the average change from one year to the next is about 4 or 5 points in IQ,* and it may be in either direction. Where tests are more than a year apart, the change may be slightly greater. But on the whole, children keep their relative positions. The children who developed rapidly at first continue at that rate and the slow ones remain slow. It is a plain matter of fact—abundant, recorded fact—that, knowing a child's age and his IQ, you can predict his mental age for a year or two ahead with a fair amount of accuracy and safety.

If only this were the whole story! Unfortunately, it is not. First, there are some cases of really considerable changes in IQ—changes of as much as 20 points, and changes for which no plausible cause can be assigned. (Some of them just cannot be attributed to poor testing or any sort of accident.) Most people evidently grow in intelligence at a fairly constant rate, be it fast, slow, or average; but a few people

set us a knotty theoretical problem by growing now slowly, now fast. Fortunately these irregular growers are so few that they are not a serious practical problem.

Obviously, however, the IQ is not constant. But it is not highly inconstant either. The important thing is to note that the changes that do take place, take place slowly, gradually. Intelligence must therefore be regarded as a fairly *stable* and *dependable* quality—a fact with important implications which will have our attention a little later.

► Can Intelligence Be Improved by Deliberate Effort?

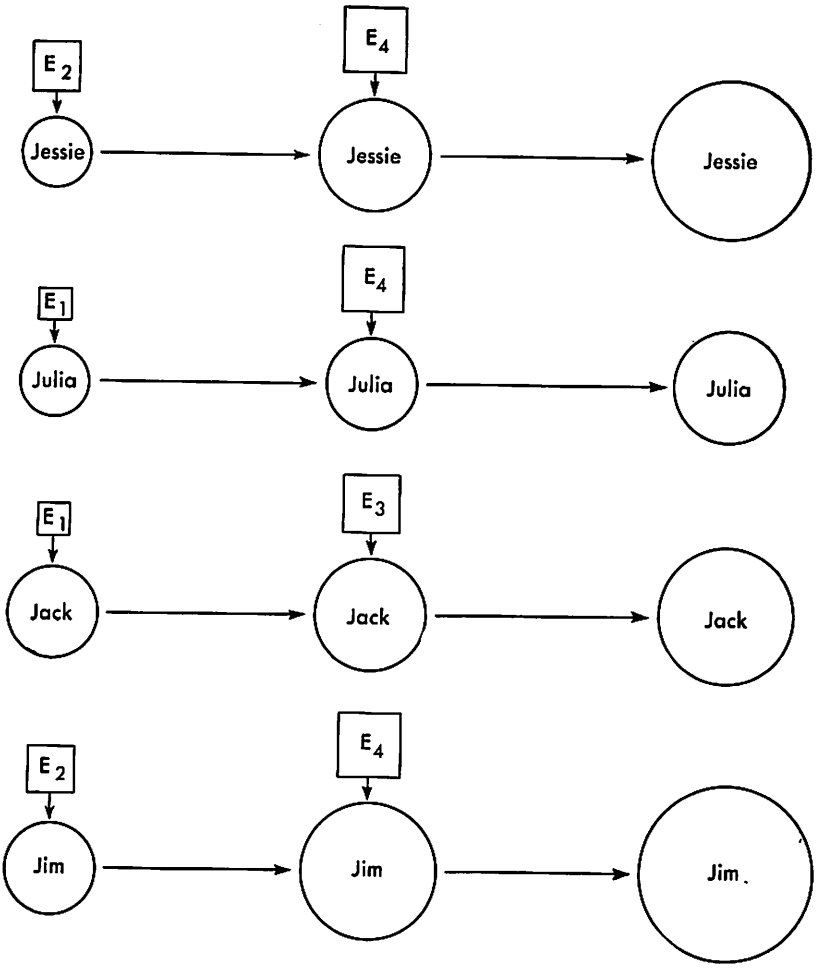
Important from every angle is the question as to whether we can deliberately produce the conditions that will foster or hinder the growth of intelligence. Note first that this question is again couched in terms of the *rate* of growth. All children, without exception unless it be the lowest idiots, make gain in intelligence. The question is, can we increase the rate of gain and thus perhaps the final level reached? In other words can we cause the IQ to change?

To this the only answer must be a resounding Yes! But how much can we change it and by what sorts of changes in environment? That is the proper scientific form of the question; it is also much harder to answer.

For one thing, if it be true that environment makes a difference to the growth of a child's intelligence, it is also true that it makes a difference what sort of a child is in the environment. Is it necessary, then, to review once more the old argument of Nature versus Nurture? Let us see if we cannot steer around it, at least for the time being. At any given age, a child will have a potentiality for intellectual growth—that is his "nature." Logically, no doubt, that nature depends in part upon the kind of organism which was formed at conception by the union of two infinitely complex cells. But that is only the logical starting point. Continuously the individual develops and changes as new experiences are confronted, continuously he puts on a new "nature," and each new "nature" helps to determine how he will further profit from still further experience. The accompanying chart (Fig. 30) sets forth this relationship in a schematic form; it will clarify your thinking if you study it carefully.

We conclude that for practical purposes, at any rate, we need not

Figure 30. Schematic Representation of "Nature" in Interaction with Environment



Circles represent the child's "nature" or capacity to improve at a given stage of development. The squares represent the environment which acts on the "natures."

Jessie and Julia are identical twins, who thus start with identical "natures"; so are Jack and Jim.

E_2 is a more favorable environment than E_1 (the boxes are larger). Thus Jessie develops further than Julia, Jim than Jack, as represented in the second column of circles.

Jessie, Julia, and Jim are now all exposed to the same environment, E_4. Julia, however, is unable to profit very greatly from E_4. The problems of E_4 are too much for her, and she shows only a minimal gain. Jessie and Jim gain greatly, Jim the faster because he had the greater capacity at the second level. Jack is exposed to a different environment, one as little stimulating to him as E_4 was to Julia; he makes little gain.

Not all the possibilities have been pictured, and the entire diagram greatly oversimplifies the complex relations which actually exist.

speculate about the relative contributions of previous experience and of innate capacity; we just recognize that we have a child who, at age 3 or age 6 or age 8, has a certain potentiality for growing in intelligence.

Now as we said above, that potentiality can be altered—it may be much, it may be little—by favorable or unfavorable environmental circumstances. In other words, the IQ can be raised or lowered. The enormous mass of detailed fact which proves this is analyzed in a readily available form by Harold Jones (136) as well as by Tyler (283) and Anastasi and Foley (4). As to the main conclusion there is hardly room any longer for controversy.

The limitations of this conclusion must, however, be recognized. A certain general "goodness" of environmental conditions is necessary for ordinary growth in intelligence, yet improvement in these conditions beyond a vaguely defined minimum seemingly adds little or nothing to intelligence. There is significant parallel here with physical growth. Long ago it was recognized that a man cannot "by taking thought add a cubit to his stature." You can stunt his growth, though, by poor food and unhygienic conditions—at least you can stunt it a little. So it is with intelligence. Deprive a child of certain favorable environmental conditions—of education broadly conceived, or of intellectual stimulation—and his intelligence is apt to be stunted. But these favorable conditions, even if richly provided, do not increase the rate of development once it has been established. Indeed our predicament sometimes seems to be like that of Alice in *Through the Looking Glass;* she had to run as fast as possible to stay where she was. As a far-too-simple summary this must suffice: *if a child has had ordinary home and school advantages, it is very difficult to alter the rate of intellectual development very much.*

All of this holds, however, only when the environment is reasonably "normal." Evidence has been piling up for years that shows that a really impoverished intellectual climate will slow down the growth of intelligence. When the children are removed from these intellectually impoverished circumstances, they often show an amazing increase in IQ, particularly when the change comes early in life.

At this point, however, a number of lay interpreters of the psychological data have been led astray. It is simply not true that improving the environment results in such gains *in all cases.* On the contrary, for many children nothing we have been able to think of does anything to better very materially their rate of intellectual growth. The fact that some children taken from appalling circumstances have

shown great improvement is no justification for implying that mentally defective and dull children from ordinary good homes can be brought up to the average. To say this or even to allow this to be inferred by distressed parents is to arouse tragically false hopes.

The Early Stabilization of IQ. There is much evidence—unfortunately it is not quite conclusive—that favorable or unfavorable conditions are most influential, if applied very early in the child's life —during the years when he is learning to speak and to react to his world as a social being. A few cases are on record of startling improvements due to a radical change in life circumstances after the age of six or seven; more often, the change after that age is moderate or even too small to measure.

> At the cost of being repetitious we must say again that it is the IQ which is thus somewhat intractable after about the age of six. This does *not* mean that the child ceases growing in intelligence (i.e., in MA). On the contrary it means he *does* continue to grow, but that he does so at about the same rate as before, largely uninfluenced by environmental circumstances. There seems to be at work here something like the principle of homeostasis in physiology; after a certain stage of development is reached, the child reaches out into his environment and absorbs what he needs to *continue* a fairly stable intellectual growth, much as he absorbs just enough salt to maintain a stable level of salinity in his body fluids.

Factors of Advantage

This is not to say that there is nothing to do, or that we know nothing about how to foster the growth of intelligence. We know too little, but what little we know is important. And there *is* something to do.

Socio-economic Status. Investigations going clear back to the early years of the century consistently show that the higher the socio-economic status, the higher the *average* intelligence of the children. For a long time there was much controversy over which was cause and which effect. Does the higher socio-economic position help to raise the level of intelligence, or is it merely that more intelligent people rise in the social scale and beget more intelligent offspring? Today you will find few who doubt that it works both ways. It is not possible, however, to say whether heredity or social conditions are the more influential.

For the teacher does it matter? Here are Ralph, Jr., the son of a lawyer, and Bill, the son of a street sweeper. Both are in the third

grade. Ralph, Jr., is age 8 chronologically, age 9 mentally. Bill is age 9 chronologically and age 7.5 mentally. Now we can speculate all we want about how much better Bill might have been had he grown up in a better environment. Here he is. Our task is to do the best by him we can—"as is." And that goes for Ralph, Jr., also; no matter how much we think he has already had the best of it, we still want him to have "every advantage" that will help the further development of his intelligence and its proper utilization in the total growth process.

So the practical thing is to start with each lad where he is and give him every opportunity we can provide for intellectual growth. Ordinarily that does not mean we can take Bill out of a rather unstimulating home; and there's nothing to be gained by complaining about his home. It does mean recognizing that Bill is going to have a rather rough time in doing the work of the third grade, and it means being prepared, therefore, to give him some special attention—which may well include an attempt to make up for some of the deficiencies of his poor home.

It means also that Ralph, Jr., needs some special attention. For him, third grade is a little easy. He needs to have special projects unobtrusively given him, opportunities to work at his own level of ability and at his own pace.

It means that the teacher also has a problem of motivation, of helping the two boys to find a realistic level of aspiration so that each may have a sense of accomplishment. And in most cases, it means that the Ralph, Jr.s, and the Bills will continue to be together in the same class. One asks again: just precisely what difference does it make whether Bill's low IQ is due to poor heredity or to poor socio-economic circumstances?

It does matter, however, if we are thinking broadly in terms of social remediation. Is it worth while to help the underprivileged? Is it not true that they are by heredity too unintelligent really to improve? There is a very large mass of evidence on this point and the answer is fairly clear-cut: embedded somewhere in the total complex of factors that make up social status are some of the factors that influence the growth of intelligence—more particularly embedded in *low* social status are some of the factors *hostile* to growth. You *can,* therefore, raise the level of intelligence of underprivileged children by improving their socio-economic conditions, especially if you begin early enough. Not of every child, of course, and not a big gain in every case, but enough to count. As far as intelligence is concerned,

more "mute inglorious Miltons," waiting to have unsuspected talents developed, are to be found among the underprivileged than among those who have had superior advantages. (More, be it noted, who are undiscovered, not necessarily more in absolute numbers.)

There is another problem, however. Low intelligence is not the chief evil associated with inferior social status. Much more important are superstition and ignorance, bad habits and bad customs, low morals and a low level of aspiration. But we are sometimes told that the underprivileged—most of them—are too unintelligent ever to be educated out of these vices. This is utterly untrue. While there is a small percentage of the too-dull-to-educate among them, the *overwhelming majority* of the children in every socio-economic group have quite enough intelligence to profit by a properly conceived program of education, even at the level of secondary education. When it is found that secondary education does not work, the fault must be found elsewhere than in low intelligence of the children. When morals remain corrupt, it is not because they are too dull to learn.

The widespread opinion that "these people are too dumb to be helped—you can't make a silk purse out of sow's ears, you know" rests upon one solid factual base, but also upon other bases less solid and less respectable. The solid fact is that we do often fail; nothing we can do seems to help in some cases. And people of good will who attack the problem of helping the underprivileged in the hope of effecting miracles are apt to become pessimistic when miracles turn out to be scarce. But a further reason for the opinion quoted is that most of us are just a little unctuous and self-satisfied with our own superiority—and are not unwilling that others should remain inferior. Also it might cost us something to do anything about it; better to close our eyes to the facts. The facts show that we can help enough of the underprivileged, if we try, to be very much worth while.

Race and IQ. Nearly the same things need to be said about race that were said about economic status. In fact, here in America, race is far more a matter of socio-economic status than of biology. Colored people—whether Negro or Mexican—are almost invariably "underprivileged," if not economically, at least psychologically, and in ways which tend to depress the growth of intelligence. Indeed the study of the differences in the way of life of Negro and white children promises to throw light on the subtle psychological factors making for or against intellectual development and may thus lead to the improvement of both races.

Meanwhile it must be stated as unambiguously as possible that there is no great difference in the distribution of intelligence among

Negroes and whites—not nearly so great as the difference in money, for example. (If wealth were redistributed according to intelligence, the Negroes would gain enormously.) At the extremes of the scale there is virtually no difference: there are about equal numbers of feebleminded and of gifted in the two "races." The highest IQ on record is that of a Negro girl. The chief difference is in the slightly greater number of Negroes falling just a little below the average. It is clear from very many researches that much, and possibly all, of the difference is due to the environmental handicaps which the Negro suffers in our culture.

Being of white ancestry is therefore not an important factor of advantage for intelligence; living as a white child in the white culture is a fairly considerable, though not decisive, advantage as compared with living as a Negro in the Negro culture.

Health and the IQ. Most children of high IQ are of better-than-average health and general physical excellence, yet some are not. Moreover, while the feebleminded are, as a group, rather an unhealthy lot, we do occasionally find cases of the "strong back and weak mind." Evidently, then, the relation of health to intelligence is not simple.

What happens when health is radically improved? Before we answer that, let us ask what happens to a child of five, previously healthy and of normal circumstances, who suffers a prolonged illness. Would you expect his IQ to decline? It very seldom does. Why then should we expect the improvement of health to raise the IQ?

Yet someone is always announcing a new physical treatment that will raise the rate of intellectual growth. Adenoids and tonsils had their day as barriers to intellectual growth, but careful studies showed no considerable change in intelligence as a result of their surgical removal. Nowadays we are more apt to hear of vitamin or glandular deficiencies. But again it is very hard to get evidence for a causal relationship.

There are indications, as we saw in Chapter 11, that *very early* and *severe* damage to the brain may permanently interfere with the normal capacity for development. It is altogether possible, indeed rather probable, that there is a small cumulative effect of continued ill health upon intellectual growth, but the experimental evidence makes it very clear that healthiness of the body is not a major determiner of growth in intelligence. The important relation lies elsewhere; ill health is a serious handicap to the effective *utilization* of intelligence, not to its development.

The Effect of Education on the IQ. A considerable number of investigations have been addressed to the effect of schooling upon IQ. Unfortunately, the resulting evidence is less clear than might have been expected; certainly the effects found are smaller than might have been hoped. As a rule, amount of schooling seems to be but a minor influence of the IQ, provided a certain minimum is provided; and there is little gain in IQ when children are transferred from schools of average quality to distinctly superior schools.

On the other hand, where schooling is sharply curtailed, there does seem to be a drop in IQ, though not in all individuals. This last fact suggests that schooling is not the whole of education and that there are compensations for lack of schooling.

This, in turn, prompts the question, "What precisely is it that acts on a child to foster the growth of intelligence?" It is not books as such. Books have to be used if they are to affect growth. Not instruction; that may go in one ear and out the other. What do we do to children that helps them to grow in intelligence?

Intellectual Stimulation. To say that we must provide the child with intellectual stimulation is obvious enough—or just plain circular reasoning. It is surprising, however, how little attention has been given to what makes a situation stimulating. We have such studies as Van Alstyne's (287) which showed that "opportunity to use constructive play materials" was quite highly correlated with intelligence in urban three-year-olds, while the "number of hours the father spends reading to the child" has very little influence on IQ. That is fairly explicit, though hard to generalize. Most of the evidence, however, is indirect. At the present we can probably not be more precise than this: first, the environment must provide the child with a wide range of problems at a level of difficulty suited to his achieved ability; secondly, it must provide him with the necessary means to solve the problems.

Problems are presented to the child in a number of ways; the "constructive play materials" spoken of above provides one way. The whole way of life of the home makes a difference. At one extreme we have the "coddling" home in which the child is overprotected, has too much done for him out of a misdirected affection. At another extreme we have the harried and hurried mother who does things for the child because she can't wait for him to do them for himself. (This mother has her analogue in many a classroom.) Some homes out of sheer neglect fail to give the child problems he can solve. A few force upon him problems that are too much for him. A little later, the par-

ents' own lack of broad intellectual interests may act to restrict the range of problems presented to the child; there is a big difference between homes in which intellectual problems are envisaged and discussed, and those in which such discussion is unusual. (Lest this seem too high-brow, let's remember that why Fred Williams is in a batting slump, or why Nellie should wear yellow rather than purple may both be treated as intellectual problems.) A fair part of the advantage in homes of superior economic status probably comes from the fact that more things in life are treated as problems to be solved rather than by traditional dictum.

The means to the solution of problems again take many forms. In part they are physical. Tools: hammers, screw drivers and saws, scissors, needles, pencils, and spades are a big help in solving problems —and in leading a child on to take on more complex problems. But the chief means to the solution of problems are what we may call the intellectual tools, most of which are verbal in nature. It is not without significance that children who are talked to a great deal have an advantage in IQ. *The growth of intelligence depends pre-eminently upon the acquisition of the verbal tools for problem solving.*

It will be noted that we do not make simple identification between intelligence and linguistic ability. On the one hand, language serves many other functions than that of problem-solving. On the other, by the "tools" of problem solving, we mean something more than language, though these tools certainly involve language; we mean concepts, ideas, techniques and habits of thinking.

Does that sound formidable, especially as applied to the eighteen-month-old or three-year-old child? But that is precisely when children are learning to use simple concepts. They get almost no direct or systematic instruction, of course; they have to pick up their concepts from the conversations of their elders. (Often, of course, they get seriously muddled and are a long time in getting straightened out.) Probably nothing else makes so great a difference in the child's ultimate intellectual growth as the habit, acquired along with his speech, of using abstractions, of comparing, inferring, making generalizations. Here is one of the richest and virtually untapped fields of psychological exploration.[3]

Motivation to Intellectual Growth. More subtle but perhaps even more important are the emotional and motivational factors. These,

[3] As we shall see presently, we are not entirely without research. We know about when certain kinds of thinking appear, about the relative ease or difficulty of certain kinds of problems. Enough is known, in short, to make us aware of how much more there is to discover.

too, are often linked with social and economic status. The total culture of certain groups in our society tends to push children toward intellectual pursuits; in other groups it even tends to pull them away.

There is, furthermore, at this point a decided difference in individual homes. First Champney (55) and then Baldwin, Kalhorn, and Breese (17) found that children reared in an atmosphere of *freedom,* of *emotional warmth,* and of *expectation of achievement* made statistically significant gains in IQ—that is, they not only increased in intelligence, as all children do, but they increased faster than others. The rather casual and indulgent home also provides an atmosphere favorable to intellectual growth (though not so favorable for some other aspects of personality). Indulgence by itself, on the other hand, is not particularly favorable. Warmly indulgent parents tend to protect and coddle the child too much to allow his intellectual development to proceed unhampered.

The *rejectant* groups which are all restrictive and autocratic, retardatory, and cold are marked by stable IQ which would perhaps be a real decrease if the rejection were more severe [than the rather mild forms found in the population studied].

Other aspects of intellectual development round out the picture in an interesting way. The [children from *democratic* homes are] significantly high on the variable of *originality, planfulness, patience, curiosity,* and *fancifulness.* This array of high ratings suggests a group of children who are genuinely interested in intellectual matters. They seem to have not only the IQ but the creativity and imagination to reinforce it and put it to use. The *democratic-indulgent* group on the other hand shows none of this superiority on the other variables. This may indicate a shallow sort of intellectual development or it may indicate a different set of interests. . . .

The *indulgent* group seems to be quite low on a number of intellectual variables, *originality, tenacity, curiosity,* and *fancifulness,* although of these only originality is significantly low. This is much the same pattern as shown by the *actively rejectant* group. These two groups seem to be alike in that they are surrounded by restricting influences. In one case these influences are babying and protective, in the other they are autocratic and domineering, but in each case freedom is curtailed. Perhaps this pressure and lack of freedom constricts the intellectual growth of the child so that he cannot be original, planful, curious, and fanciful.

In summary, it would appear that the democratic environment is the most conducive to mental development; when it is non-indulgent, it is conducive to intellectual growth in all its aspects. The least stimulating sorts of environment seem to be the highly indulgent or the highly restrictive ones (17, p. 66). (By permission of the American Psychology Association.)

It seems likely that the same factors account for the rather startling facts presented by Skodak and Skeels (251). Foster children adopted into homes offering emotional warmth and security as well as superior educational and social position have higher IQ's than might be predicted from the intelligence of their own parents. Furthermore, they have higher IQ's than children brought up by their own parents in homes similar in social and educational status to the foster homes of this study. It is not suggested, of course, that children would be better off if there were a general swapping of parents! Rather we are suggesting that those married couples who adopt children are likely to be especially affectionate and also intelligent in their child-rearing behavior.

Differential Birthrate. We should not end this survey of the "Factors of Advantage" without alluding to a negative factor. It is well known that "the birthrate among families from which the duller children were drawn was about twice as high as among those supplying the brighter. . . . Even within the same social and economic class, fully significant correlations were found" (41, p. 56).

Now, while we have laid stress primarily upon the environmental determiners of intelligence, we have not denied, indeed we have found it necessary to assert, that heredity also has an effect. From the known facts of the differential birthrate, Sir Cyril Burt "calculated that, if no counteracting factors were operative, the intelligence quotient would drop at the rate of about 1½ points per generation." Such a loss would have most serious social implications.

As Burt pointed out, in comment on his own prediction, "an armchair calculation is no safe substitute for direct evidence." The evidence is now available in the results of the Scottish Survey (275). An unusually careful and nation-wide testing program of all eleven-year-old Scottish children was made in 1932 and repeated in 1947. Instead of the expected drop in the national level of intelligence, there was a gain in IQ from 101.6 to 102.5. "Thus the child of today is not duller but brighter than his predecessor of fifteen years ago."

A number of other factors have undoubtedly contributed to this change, but the chief fact is almost certainly the improvement in the total environmental conditions over this fifteen year period. It is perhaps particularly relevant to note that the years preceding the 1932 survey were years of black depression, economically.

A Formula for Creating Intelligence. These, then, seem to be the things that promote the development of intelligence: The child should be presented with intellectual problems so adjusted to his at-

tained level of ability that he is challenged to solve them. The child should be encouraged to solve the problems by a person who believes in him and who is on friendly affectionate terms with him. Only such help should be given as will prevent a sense of failure or frustration, but that help should be available. Especially is it necessary to provide the child with the means whereby the problems can be attacked; such means may be tools and materials, or they may be intellectual tools and information. Particularly valuable is the habit of critical generalization of experiences. The child's zest for achievement should be sustained by having his achievements recognized, especially by those with whom he identifies himself emotionally.

Now all this sounds suspiciously like merely a formula for good teaching; and so it is! In the child's more formative preschool years, the teaching is somewhat more informal, and the results are registered in the development of intelligence—as measured by the gain in mental age—as well as in the acquisition of the skills and knowledge with which intelligence may be said to work. During the school years the latter effect of teaching—that is, the acquisition of skills and knowledge—becomes of greater significance; we can do less and less to affect the *growth* of intelligence as such, but good teaching is as necessary as ever to the effective *utilization* of intelligence.

It is possible, then, to increase the average level of intelligence of a community or a nation. We can raise the level by procedures which take aim with a "shotgun"—merely in the general direction of the factors that specifically increase intelligence, hoping that some of the shot will actually reach their mark. Such "shotgun" techniques include efforts to raise the economic level, particularly of the submerged tenth, to improve the health of the children, and to improve the educational level of prospective parents. These procedures, justifiable on other grounds also, do actually tend to raise the level of intelligence. Results, however, are both slow and "spotty." It is clear that we need a more direct attack upon the *specific* factors which directly foster the development of intelligence. As we saw above, we are beginning to discover the nature of these specific factors.

To sum it up: we have been making the point that, whatever may be the contribution of one's innate capacity, *intelligence must be learned.* The effective conditions for learning to be intelligent are the conditions for any kind of learning. Perhaps we have overemphasized above the importance of the emotional factors as compared with the patient acquisition of skills—both motor and intellectual —and of knowledge. The latter however, is obvious and hence does

not need so much emphasis. Research on the emotional-motivational conditions of learning, on the other hand, calls attention to factors that are more in danger of being neglected.

More is needed, however, than knowledge of what the favorable circumstances are. We must create them. And the chief limitation lies in ourselves. Read again the description of what needs to be done to help the child acquire intelligence; and read it with an eye to the sort of person who can thus help. Does it sound like an easy task for a person such as you? Or will you have to do a good deal to reconstruct your patterns of behavior before you can adequately fulfill your role? Generalizing the problem, does it not look as if we shall need to re-educate both teachers and parents for this task? That takes time—a whole generation, perhaps.

But a shift in the right direction has been going on in America in the past twenty-five years. Beginning with Haggerty's (110) pioneering work in 1925, successive investigations reveal a slow but fairly steady growth in teacher and parent understanding of the child's needs for democratic freedom (142, 259, 273). We inch forward; but psychologically, as well as economically and educationally, the child of today has a little better atmosphere in which to acquire intelligence.

The gain, however, is not a biological gain; it cannot be passed on automatically through the germ plasm. Only through constant vigilance can we maintain and improve the conditions that foster intellectual growth. Each of us, with all his limitations of background and personality, has a role to play; each of us, by an effort to understand and by firm intent, can help to provide children with the conditions for further progress. And if another war brings in its train throughout the world not only economic and hygienic disaster but an upsurge of totalitarianism with all its restrictions upon intellectual growth, we shall simply have to start over again upon the slow uphill path.

► Summary

Intelligence is measured by finding out how well a child can perform the tasks that are usual and expected of his age. In this procedure, testing is merely a refinement of commonsense judgment. But the refinement is necessary, if the judgment is to be reliable and accurate.

No informed person supposes that this ability is acquired at a perfectly constant rate. During childhood, however, the rate of intellectual growth seems very stable. Such changes as there are take place slowly, prediction is therefore practicable; the child who is very bright today will still be very bright a year from now, and the dull will still be dull, though in both cases there may be some change in relative position.

Changes in environment affect the rate of growth in intelligence, but large improvement is to be found chiefly where environment has been conspicuously lacking in the conditions for intellectual growth. Thus, contrary to a widely held prejudice, though not all these children are capable of responding to the improved environment, most is to be accomplished by improving the lot of the underprivileged.

Two specific conditions making for development in intelligence are: providing the child with appropriate intellectual problems, and providing him with social motivation to attack and solve the problems. Both of these depend mainly upon the pattern of behavior of the parents and of teachers in early childhood.

Exercises

1. What is "zero intelligence"? Try to find an act which requires no intelligence at all. Failing that, list some acts that are just barely above the zero level.
2. List some behaviors that are signs of intelligence which are not included on page 296.
3. It is held that a higher socio-economic position side aids in the growth of intelligence. How? Precisely what happens that is helpful? What is it about a slum environment which depresses intellectual growth? Be specific.
4. Many very intelligent persons have grown up in appalling surroundings. How do you account for it?
5. What is meant by the statement (page 309), "Schooling is not the whole of education"?

13 Intellectual Achievements

What other sorts of intellectual development are there besides intelligence? How are they related to intelligence? To other aspects of development? What are the implications for the school of differences in intellectual achievement? Should bright children be kept in lock step with average children, or may they be allowed to progress at their own rate of development?

The Varieties of Intellectual Achievements

It is natural to think of the intellectual achievements of children first in terms of schoolwork: in reading, in spelling, in woodworking, in civics, or in whatever the curriculum includes. Intellectual achievement, however, is fortunately not limited to what we learn in school. Each of us, following the dictates of his interests and the accidents of his individual experience, learns a tremendous lot outside school. The "book openings" in chess, the batting averages of past and present baseball idols, the positively amazing technical information of some twelve-year-olds about electronics—all these are obviously real intellectual achievements.[1]

There are others just as real. When the four-year-old learns the story of "The Little Train That Could" he has achieved something just as genuine as the high-school freshman who learns—under pressure—the plot of Ivanhoe. The elaborate hocus-pocus of childhood superstition as depicted in *Tom Sawyer* is also an intellectual achievement. In fact, knowledge of any sort is.

So too are skills. No one would question that language skills are intellectual; but dance-steps, hopscotch, yo-yo, throwing and catching a ball, cooking and sewing, and caring for the baby—these, although they include a nonintellectual element, also include a larger intellectual component than is commonly realized. Musical, artistic,

[1] These are primarily the boys' hobby specializations. What in the world do girls learn that compares with these rather strange achievements of some boys? I, being a man, confess that I cannot think of proper parallels.

mechanical, and other so-called special abilities are likewise predominantly intellectual in a broad sense of the word and are definitely achievements.

There is another area of specialized intellectual development, peculiarly difficult to measure but of great importance: the special ability that we call wisdom. Though wisdom is clearly related to intelligence it is—unfortunately—not part of the "usual and expected"; it must therefore be classed as a special ability. The same must be said of "practicality" and "sagacity" (both of which overlap with wisdom). Unfortunately, about all one can say about their acquisition is that they are learned by association with "wiser" people who encourage and reward the child's efforts in these directions.

► Achievement in Language

Of all a child's achievements, that of speech is most amazing. Unable to utter a single true word at age one, and able to understand at most but a score or-so, the average child can by age six recognize about 24,000 words—from a tenth to a fifth of all he will ever know (Smith, 252).

True this development is achieved by means of a prodigious amount of practice. Anderson (9) points out—in an estimate which some mothers would find conservative—that a child may utter from 10,000 to 12,000 words a day. None the less, the vocabulary growth in five years is most impressive. Moreover, the vocabulary doubles again in the next five years; thereafter the growth is slower, though it continues throughout life. The average high-school graduate can recognize in the neighborhood of 80,000 words.

But the achievement of the understanding of words is only a part of the total growth of language. The child must master the delicate and complex skills of articulation and of intonation with their coordination of lips, larynx, diaphragm, tongue, and throat, and the fantastic grammar and syntax of his native tongue. We have only to remember that the French or German we struggle with so inglorious is the everyday speech of Parisian or Berlin urchins—even of the morons—to realize how tremendous is every child's achievement in learning to speak his native language. Not to forget reading, writing, and spelling which add new and complex tasks.

The proper assessment of these many language achievements is

much more difficult than at first it seems. Vocabulary achievement is probably the simplest. But consider: just what is a word? Are *play, playing,* and *player* three words or one?[2] Are we interested in the child's "passive" or recognition vocabulary, or in his "active" vocabulary? A word has many meanings, and these shade into each other like colors in the rainbow; is each such shade of meaning a distinct unit? How accurate must the child's comprehension of a word be to be given credit? In measuring his active vocabulary, how much credit do we give for readiness or fluency? How much do we count off for errors? And since we cannot try out the child on every word in an unabridged dictionary, how shall we go about it to make a sample?

Other aspects of language achievement present parallel and even greater difficulties. In measuring of language achievement, moreover, we have not unnaturally tended to classify the gains in linguistic terms—gains in the use of nouns versus verbs, for example, or gains in the length or the complexity of the sentence. Clearly, however, these are rather arbitrary indexes of the changes taking place *in the child*—it is quite conceivable, for instance, that the same change in the child would lead him to increase both the ratio of nouns to verbs in his speech and the length of the sentences. Efforts to find psychological rather than purely linguistic measures of language growth in the child have so far not met with much success. A beginning has indeed been made with the demonstration that the *extent* of vocabulary and the *fluency* with which one uses that vocabulary do not depend upon each other but may develop independently. For the present, however, we have a very inadequate understanding of the developmental changes in the child which are mirrored in the growth of his language.[3]

This is not to say that the measures of language achievement we now have are not useful. The fact that few fourth graders understand the word *cooperate* is full of significance for the teacher who values this virtue as a mode of behavior; she will not be tempted to try to further the virtue by praising it to children who don't know what it means. The fact that a given pupil has a weak understanding of sentence structure points to needed educational practices. Knowing that a fourth grader misuses the comma tells us little about his development, but it indicates an area in need of attention.

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[2] In the estimate of a child's vocabulary cited above, such derivatives as *playing* are counted separately from *play.*

[3] For a full discussion, see McCarthy (180).

Helping Children Learn Language

Since most language is learned by intentional or unintentional imitation, the presence in a child's environment of good models is of prime importance. "Good models," to be sure, must not be taken to mean models of accuracy and purity of diction. A "good model" is one that the child will actually copy to his own advantage.

Now to begin with, there is always the question whether so-called pure diction is correct. "High falutin' " oral speech is *in*correct. Moreover, the rounded oratorical periods of the eighteenth century, if they were ever part of anyone's everyday speech, certainly were never part of the speech of young children. The model of good speech for children must be simple enough to be grasped by the child.

By the time the child comes to school, and increasingly thereafter, speech is a medium of communication with one's *peers*. A stilted formalism of speech is not merely not indicated, it is highly contraindicated. Little Lord Fauntleroys have never been acceptable to their peers. Parents and teachers should recognize more than they do that a certain roughness and toughness of speech is a necessity. It is a substitute form of aggression which might otherwise take more overt form, and it is a necessary weapon in the give-and-take tumble of child life. Much of a child's language must be modeled on that of other children—distressing as that fact is to many parents and nearly all teachers.

Finally, the good model must make language seem satisfying to the child. Intrinsically and naturally it is. The infant spends hours babbling, later spends hours in talking and crooning to himself with no specific purpose beyond the verbal activity itself. Language is obviously fun.

But what happens? Understandably enough, after a while we think the time has come "to put away childish things." Where the struggle of the infant to master a new word has been greeted with cries of loving delight (even though the "word" is barely recognizable), the effort of a six- or an eight-year-old to master a more complex sentence form is met with jeers or at best with a critical comment. We correct and criticize the older child's errors, insist upon his speaking more correctly, until the mechanics of pronunciation, of correct diction, of writing get in the way of free expression. It is probably not mere coincidence that most stuttering begins at around three—when we

quit treating the infant like a delightful doll and begin to expect him to behave, verbally or otherwise, like a responsible human—or at around six—when he meets the pressures of school and its requirements that he talk like a "big boy."

Less and less, especially after school entrance, does the child feel that language is fun; it becomes a mere tool for immediately practical and pedestrian uses—a blunt tool at that, to use which is hard and unrewarding work. Only a stalwart few manage to keep alive to the end of their school days something of the joy in language with which speech begins. Home and school must share responsibility for thus weakening the motivation toward language achievement. By all means, then let us foster first of all the love of language. Let us encourage all kinds of fun and play with language. Let us subordinate correctness or good taste to enjoyment. The child who loves language will in due time purge himself of most of his errors; the child who hates or dreads it will never speak or write well, no matter how meticulously he is instructed.

Obviously, however, I do not mean that teachers should forego all effort to correct faulty speech. I do mean that the emphasis should shift to helping the child succeed in communicating his ideas and his feelings more effectively and with the glow of satisfaction that comes with success.[4]

Speech Correction

What, however, about the child with definite speech defects? That, clearly, depends upon the nature of the defects. Those with organic impairment of the speech mechanism (tongue-tied, imperfect palate, etc.) need surgical attention. Children with baby talk, lisping, and similar habits should be encouraged and helped to learn to speak more clearly; they can. Stuttering, however, presents a more difficult problem.

Stuttering has a very complex causation and both reflects and causes very real emotional difficulties. The layman's efforts to cure stuttering are all too likely to do more harm than good. *The classroom teacher must, therefore, make no effort at all to treat stuttering.*

We do not say, however, that the teacher should not do anything for a *stutterer,* if she has one in her class. It is the disorder of stuttering speech she must let alone, not the stuttering child. But her role is more like that of the nurse who makes the patient comfortable than that of the physician who prescribes treatment.

[4] See also the discussion of language in the development of emotion on p. 166 ff.

There are, however, several things she can do. First, she should try to persuade the parents to call in expert help, though, if the case seems mild, they usually won't.

Secondly, she should treat the social situation which stuttering creates among the others in the class. No easy task that. Little children are not notable for their sympathy and understanding and are apt to react to stuttering with amazement, disgust, or ridicule or all three. To prevent this without increasing the stutterer's already excessive self-consciousness takes tact and understanding on the teacher's part.

Thirdly, she needs to lessen any strain on the stutterer that may be contributing to his disorder. Whether to call on such a child to contribute to class discussion depends on circumstances. Some stutterers feel neglected and hurt if you pass them over; others get into a terrible dither if asked to speak. You should not, of course, discuss the child's malady publicly, and you should almost never intervene to finish a word for the child. Wait quietly, and be yourself at ease. The basic principle for you is to avoid everything that will increase the stutterer's emotional strain. (That is good mental hygiene for all pupils, of course.)

And finally, the teacher can train the stutterer (as she should all the children) in better techniques of social adjustment. Such training will help him to feel more at ease with others and thus lessen the tendency to stutter.

No, the stutterer won't recover as a result of such friendly and common-sense treatment; he needs more than this. But we must repeat, to attempt anything more is dangerous. The treatment of stuttering is strictly for the specialist.

► The Achievement of Concepts

Among animals only the most rudimentary concepts are ever attained; concepts are man's most distinctive achievement. *A concept is a general meaning, usually embodied in a word or phrase.* To achieve such a general meaning, the child must somehow be aware of the similarities between objects.

The mammals, and probably most animals, react to "functionally equivalent" objects, so that in effect they are reacting to similarities. Thus a monkey, having been taught to find food under a square-shaped lid, will try a triangular lid in preference to a circular one.

But the child carries the process considerably beyond such simple generalization. Welch observed that a child who has learned to recognize a folding chair as a chair and has seen one half-opened can recognize the completely folded chair. If this seems a small achievement to you, reflect that the folded chair cannot be sat on (and that is serious, for children think of things in terms of use), and the folded chair certainly looks very different from others.

Impressed by this and kindred observations, Welch designed experiments to throw light on the development of generalization in infancy (296, 297, 298, 299). Suppose we have six blocks shaped like those in Figure 31. If you teach the child that the large equilateral triangle is a VIC and that the square is a DAX, he quickly generalizes that the other two triangles are also VIC's and the other rectangles DAX's. The generalization is what Welch calls "horizontal"—from one member of a class to another of the same class. Generalization of this sort is made by the higher animals all the time and can be demonstrated in infants as young as eighteen months.

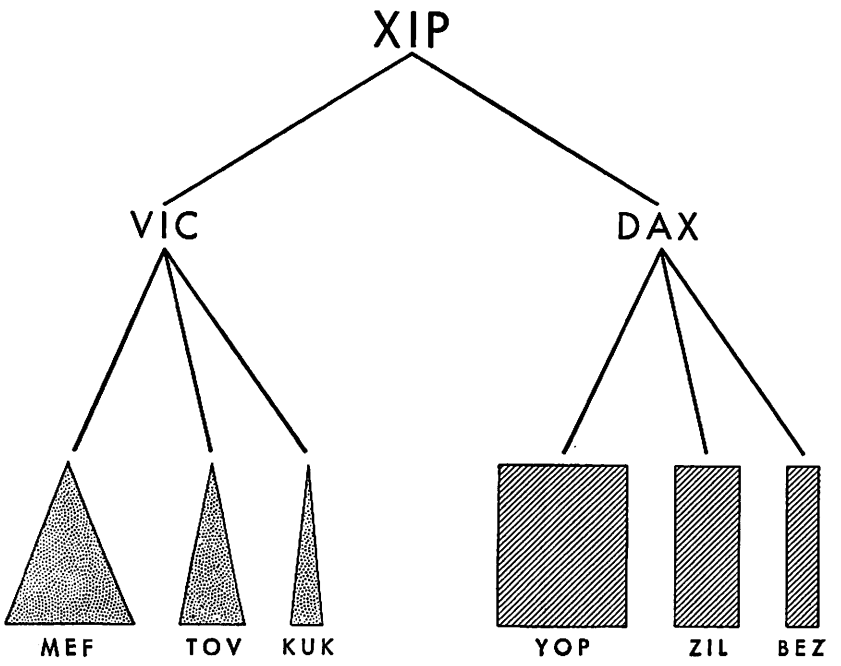
But suppose you give the three triangles their specific names of MEF, TOV, and KUK, and the three rectangles their specific names of YOP, ZIL, and BEZ and get the childran to know which is which; the problem now is to learn that MEF, TOV, and KUK are all VIC's and that YOP, ZIL, and BEZ are DAX's. The next step is to learn that both VIC's and DAX's are XIP's so that MEF, TOX, ZIL, and BEZ may all be called XIP. With appropriate teaching children from 42 to 83 months learned to solve such a problem as this:

"Put XIP on the table." (All the blocks)
"Now take away DAX." (All the rectangles)
"Now take away TOV."

This involves a hierarchical or "vertical" classification. Probably only the ape among the animals can master even so simple a set of categories as those of Figure 31. Yet this "vertical" classification is very important for clear thinking.

The fact that children tend to form concepts on the "horizontal" level often leads them to make what seem like peculiar errors to those who have their eye fixed on a "vertical" grouping of concepts. Suppose you showed a child the KUK and asked him to pick out a piece like it. He might perfectly well pick out BEZ. Now obviously there is nothing fundamentally wrong with this classification. KUK and BEZ *are* alike in being "skinny," and if the problem is to find the pieces which will slip through a small hole, it is the best classification.

Figure 31. Horizontal Generalization



We adults, however, are apt to be a little rigid. Long ago we learned to think of such objects in terms of rectangularity and triangularity; that's a very useful classification, of course, which fits many situations. When the child follows a different scheme, we charge him with grouping objects on the basis of trivial or even fantastic similarities. Indeed the Swiss psychologist Piaget (225) has postulated a special kind of thinking in children which he calls "syncretism" to account for the "odd" way they react to certain intellectual problems. Morgan quotes an example:

A child was given the proverb: "When the cat's away the mice can play," and was asked to select from a number of statements the one which expressed the same meaning. The child selected: "Some people get very excited but never do anything." Asked why the two statements meant the same thing, the child said: "Because the words are about the same. It means that some people get very excited, but afterwards they do nothing, they are too tired. It's like when cats run after hens or chicks. They come and rest in the shade and go to sleep. There are lots of people who run about a great deal, who get too excited. Then afterwards they are worn out, and go to bed."

Here [Morgan continues] is a simple justification of selection based on

superficial resemblance. When the cat is near, the mice run around and get tired, which is the same as men running around. When the cat is gone the mice can rest, which is the same as men resting. Because the child was not bothered by any need for analysis, this conclusion was a direct one; and it carried with it a settled belief and conviction of correctness (197, p. 403).

Nonetheless, it seems unnecessary to suppose that this is a special kind of thinking. Adults also find the abstractness of the "vertical" classification rather trying and are prone at times to think in terms of the obvious similarities which give us the "horizontal" system. Children, as Morgan points out, don't use the more abstract concepts simply because they haven't learned them.

> It takes at least two steps to learn abstract relations: (a) a very clean-cut arrangement of objects in a hierarchical system and (b) intensive practice to master those relationships so that they can be manipulated easily. . . .
>
> In teaching hierarchical classifications it is well to bring together illustrations of the members of the class; distinguish them from objects or events which should be excluded, by this means drawing attention to the characteristics which determine inclusion in or rejection from the class in question; and finally attempt to formulate a definition which will provide a basis for any future judgment as to inclusion or exclusion. For example, if it is desired to teach a child what a triangle is, show him some triangles with other figures; distinguish the triangle from the others while pointing out the factors which determine the distinctions made; and by this means draw finer and finer lines until a definition is reached. If, in the process, a faulty definition is formulated, show the child by further examples where the flaw is. It is poor technique to begin such instruction by giving the child a ready-made definition. Let the child learn to evolve his own differentiations and he will be in a position to reason clearly (197, p. 404). [The conclusion is based in part on research by Smoke (254).]

To Morgan's advice on how to train children in the use of vertical concepts, let me add the caution that they also be permitted great freedom in the use of the horizontal ones. This simpler and easier grouping has its uses. Maybe not when a child says in rapid succession that a broomstick is a gun, a horsie, a man. But decidedly so when he sees that a broomstick is a poker, a rake, a lever, a hammer —or a convenient club for use on an adversary. Such use of simple resemblances gives flexibility to one's thinking. It is the essence of figurative or poetic speech, and of practical inventiveness. Adults tend too greatly to stereotype their concepts, to think of a thing only in the one approved way, to the great loss of originality. To lessen

this tendency we might even find a place in our teaching for the encouragement of all sorts of bizarre classifications, for having fun with imaginative groupings and combinations. Certainly we must beware of impatience when the child conceptualizes the facts in a way that differs from our own predetermined pattern.

Of course the more abstract vertical system of concepts is also a necessity and must be carefully taught. Practice in finding the *appropriate* classification of objects (or ideas) is of highest importance for intellectual development. A poetic classification of animals ill serves the purposes of zoology, and an imaginative horizontal categorizing would play hob with a filing system.

Children, however, like their elders, often learn words better than concepts. Thus they often use abstract terms without true understanding of the higher order concepts to which the words ostensibly refer. The resulting haziness of ideas is a very different thing from the fluid and imaginative freedom of association which we urged above should have expression.

Much has been written about this danger of "empty" concepts; such concepts are the bane of sound thinking at every level of development. It is evident that pushing abstraction too fast is a major cause of this fault. The teacher who is engaged in teaching a certain classification of objects (or ideas) seldom realizes the wealth of concrete detail upon which her own thinking rests and is very apt to forget that her pupil may lack therein. A third-grade teacher in a metropolitan area tried to develop the idea of the Easter chick as a symbol of the world reborn in spring. When the children were then asked to make drawings, a sizable proportion drew pictures of dressed chickens hanging in meat markets. They had never seen any other chicken. We share, therefore, the current demand for a wealth of concrete experience as the basis for abstract conceptual thinking.

Two cautions, however, are in order. Experience alone cannot be trusted to generate concepts, or rather, cannot be trusted to generate the most useful ones. Guidance of the process is essential—the sort described in the quotation from Morgan.

It is, in the second place, a mistake to underestimate the wealth of conceptual thinking of which the child is capable. Studies of children's concepts of time, space, causality, religion, and the rest have overemphasized the blank spots in the child's knowledge—the funny mistakes he makes. We should rather note (and marvel!) at how much he *has* learned. Quite elaborate space and time concepts are learned very early. Many of the basic logical principles are also op-

erative, even though the child could not formulate them. And even such a difficult concept as that of causality is used part of the time, often in a very scientific way (69). In fact the growth in intelligence during the years from three to fourteen is chiefly a growth in the richness and complexity of concepts; and this growth is so nearly complete by fourteen that it was once thought that intelligence did not develop beyond that mental age.

Certainly it is true that there are concepts at once too complex and too abstract for seven- or for ten-year-olds; it is virtually impossible for them to have the requisite experience. But at every age there is a level of abstract thinking which children can learn.

► Scholastic Achievements

A text on the psychology of children is no place to review the voluminous material on scholastic achievement and its measurement. Yet in every culture, and particularly in ours, school achievement plays too important a part to be wholly ignored. For us the important issues revolve around the relation of scholastic achievement to other aspects of child development.

The Relation of Achievement to Intelligence

It is not at first sight easy to see how achievement and intelligence are to be distinguished. Both refer to activities or performances, both are acquired or learned, both are in the broad sense intellectual (in contrast with emotional). If, however, we consider how achievement and intelligence are measured, certain practical operating differences appear.

It will be recalled that we measure intelligence in terms of the child's ability to do the things "usual and expected" of his age. Now I do not see how it can be denied that this includes many things which are "achievements." For example, to be able to distinguish between two sounds one musical tone apart is, in childhood, a part of the "usual and expected," and a test of this sort may therefore be legitimately a part of a comprehensive testing program. But to have very much greater ability along this line would be a sign not of intelligence but of musical ability!

Similarly with other school achievements. Simple addition problems occur in many intelligence tests; in our culture the tasks are definitely part of the universally "expected." But we do not expect

of all children facility at square root or even long division; these we realize are too contingent upon the amount and quality of schooling. We make, that is, a distinction between being unintelligent (unable to do the "usual and expected") and uneducated (unable to do the specific things which have to be taught beyond the "usual" level).

Put in another way, we see that achievement tests *look backward;* they ask whether a child has learned certain specific things. In contrast, the intelligence test, although it certainly consists of items which have been learned, *looks* forward and helps us predict how well the child is likely to learn in future. The distinction is by no means hard and fast, but it is a workable one. *You use an achievement test to find out the specific things a child still needs to learn; you use the intelligence test to discover his learning potentiality.*

The last statement, though a fairly accurate statement of actual practice, needs certain qualifications. An intelligence-test score is the *best* single measure of learning ability, not the only one. A child's ability early begins to show a stable differentiation in certain preferred directions. We need not at this point press the issue as to how far such special ability is the product of nature or of nurture; the point is, it tends to be fairly stable. If, over a period of four or five years, Harriet excels in reading and spelling and the linguistic subjects while Loraine excels in numerical work, the difference is unlikely to change a great deal as the years continue to roll by. Future excellence can be fairly well predicted from already established preference and ability.

Fairly well, only, however. For there are vast differences in background to be considered. Consider the enormous differences in background between two children, both of good intelligence, in the sixth grade. Tom is a lawyer's son. Already his reading has been directed toward simple biographies and historical fiction. At the dinner table he is accustomed to hearing lively, even heated, discussion of current events, not infrequently with references to historical parallels. Tony is the son of a bricklayer. His father came to America at twelve and left school at fifteen with only about fourth-grade schooling, chiefly because of language handicap. His mother finished the eighth grade. Tony's father is skillful and shrewd—a success—but he is certainly not an intellectual.

No one, I suggest, would expect Tony to take to social studies as easily as Tom. In the initial stages of their work in this field, Tom has a great advantage. But he may not hold it long. His interest may lag while Tony's may increase. Such shifts in motivation have their

causes, of course, and sometimes we can find them; the point here is that they exist and that they exert a very real effect on achievement and on achievement-test scores.

Moreover, the achievement test is much more sensitive than an intelligence test to differences in opportunity to learn—indeed it is designed for that. Consider two typical cases. Grace, at eleven, comes in to a centralized school from an isolated outlying district. The one-room school she attended was poorly taught, and Grace's attendance was highly irregular. On achievement tests she makes irregular scores, somewhat higher in reading than in spelling or arithmetic and quite low in language skills. At best she rates placement in the fourth grade. Yet her mental age is nearly twelve, equal to that of most sixth graders. In such a case, the intelligence test is a better index of future learning than the achievement tests. With a little encouragement and special help, Grace can easily catch up with at least the fifth- and probably with the sixth-grade pupils.

Contrast with this the case of Louise, also eleven. She has attended the centralized school from the start and has had the usual instruction. There is nothing noteworthy about her home background. Her achievement tests place her nearly a year in advance of Grace. When, however, we learn that Louise has a mental age of just under ten years, we see that her achievement in school—about a year behind in most subjects—is about what would be expected. Unlike Grace, Louise is very unlikely—ever—to catch up in school achievement with those of her own chronological age. The practical conclusion then is that, *for the prediction of future achievement, we need both achievement and intelligence tests.*

It remains to add that some kinds of achievement are less closely related to intelligence than others: "manual arts" and artistic achievements, particularly. Some have held that this is the result of an artificial definition of intelligence; I prefer to say merely that it is because achievement in these fields is always a little unusual or specialized, hence naturally not well measured in terms of mere intelligence. At any rate, the fact is that we cannot so well predict these special abilities from intelligence tests.

The use of achievement tests in guiding pupil-learning is too important to remain unmentioned, though the details of that use belong to the psychology of learning and instruction rather than to the psychology of the child. Any achievement test is diagnostic—that is, it indicates the areas wherein pupil learning has not taken place. The diagnosis may be fairly gross—the child is weak in arithmetic—or

very detailed—the child does not know how to add 6 and 7. In some fields we have pushed diagnosis to the point where weaknesses in underlying processes are revealed—for example, we may find that a third grader does not have the basic idea of the "decade cycle" of number formation, or that he does not know how to "borrow." Teaching and learning are enormously more efficient when effort is directed at the specifics that are to be learned, whether the specific be a detailed fact or a broad and general principle. Modern testing gives to teachers a diagnostic skill that they should otherwise gain only after years of experience.

► Individual Intellectual Differences and the School

That schooling both brings about differences in intellectual abilities and is in turn profoundly influenced by these differences is beyond any question. Yet the attempt to draw the consequences of this truism has generated considerable unnecessary emotion.

In the first flush of enthusiasm for intelligence testing many years ago, it was proposed that children be graded and assigned to classes according to their mental ages. If you have followed the foregoing discussion, you will see at once that this was a rather myopic proposal. The "mental age" is not what the name implies, a measure of the child's total intellectual development; it is a measure of his development in respect to the central core of tasks which are "usual and expected" in our culture. It takes little account of the individuality of intellectual development, of relatively high ability here and low ability there, and no account at all of other aspects of development. There was, then, good reason to reject the proposal to group children just by mental age.

Moreover, "homogeneous grouping," as it was called, began to be advocated and practiced at a time when thoughtful educators were rediscovering the nonintellectual aspects of development as prime objectives of schooling. Just when we were beginning to think of the "whole child," here was a group of people who sought to assign children to class merely on the basis of intellect! Almost a whole generation of educators has been traumatized by the ensuing controversy to the point where they cannot think calmly of any suggestion that a test score be used to place a child in school. "The *whole* child goes to school. Social and emotional development is more important than

intellectual development [that one is a little inconsistent with the whole child thesis; it should be read "is just as important"]; and a child should learn in his natural group."

The Child's Natural Group

Let us begin by agreeing with the last statement. Note that it implies that some sort of grouping is necessary —as it is. Even if we could, we would not seek to have every child taught by a private tutor. Learning is too social an experience for that.

But what is the "natural" group? Pete is the son of a millhand of foreign extraction. He is large and strong, a trifle below average intelligence, rather uncouth in his social behavior, and not very popular. Is it not obvious that he might best learn certain physical activities such as football in a group of older boys, might learn school subjects with a different group, and social behavior with still a third. The one best "natural" group for learning is evidently not easy to attain.

Well, then, should we not have many "natural" groups? Yes, we should. There are a great many adaptations of this sort; the classroom group or "grade" should not be a fixed unit for all the child's activities. But children need stability in their social groups, and the almost universal policy of having elementary-school children assigned for most of their activities to a single class and a single teacher for at least half a year is a fairly sensible adaptation to this need.

The "natural" group, therefore, needs to be envisaged as a sort of compromise. It is that group in which, on the whole, the child learns best and contributes best to the learning of the other children. It is obvious that this implies that we know as much as possible about the children; and that's where the tests come in.

School Experiences and the Natural Group

But before we elaborate on that, let us consider the kinds of experience the school offers and what these imply if the children are to profit fully from the experience. A school is—or should be—an experience in healthy living. This implies that the children be free from communicable diseases, and that they be at about the same level of physical development. There can be, however, an extraordinary range of health habits and of personal health without interfering with the children's ability to profit from the school's provision of health experiences.

A school is—or should be—an experience in social living. This de-

mands, in sharp contrast to the foregoing, a considerable degree of similarity within the group. Best results are attained when the children have reached about the same general level of social maturity. Nonetheless, there can be large qualitative differences in all sorts of things from manners to morals, not only without loss but with great profit to social experience.

A school is also an experience in intellectual growth. Indeed this is now, as it has always been, central in the whole educative process —central because intellectual processes play an essential part in other modes of growth as well as having a development of their own. We emphatically do not say that intellectual development is a more important goal in school than anything else, but we do say that it plays a larger part.

Moreover, children who are too far apart in intellectual development cannot form a good social group. On the playground, cutting across differences in physical excellence and skill, there are differences in interest that go along with intellectual development. Leadership does not correlate highly with intellectual level, but there is bound to be trouble in a group when many of the members find the leadership "dumb." When experiences are to be shared in a cooperative enterprise, the intellectually more mature may sometimes serve as "teachers" and may benefit from such an experience; but in such a group it is very difficult to have that constant shifting of roles —as between leader and led—which is so important in a true group of peers. Finally, where the differences in intellectual level are too great, the children cannot profitably work together upon common problems: we cannot profitably mix simple arithmetic and the calculus in the same learning group.

From all the above considerations it appears that *the most important single criterion of the child's ability to profit from the experiences offered by the school—that is, of his "natural group" in school —is his level of intellectual development.* We repeat: this is the case not because intellectual development is more valuable than social and emotional or physical development but because intellectual activity plays so determinative a part in *all* educative processes, including those which promote social, emotional or physical development.

How Do We Usually Group Children for Learning?

The answer to this question is obvious. We group children primarily according to the number of seconds which have ticked off on the clock since they were born. Fortunately, this mechanical classification has a certain workability. It is designed for

the average, and most children are by definition rather average. Most children are fairly adaptable. And above all, children learn so much, no matter how poor the opportunities we provide them, that we are inclined to be grateful and complacent. In other words, we can do a bad job of grouping children for learning and get away with it. Which is just what we have been doing.

The Effects of Chronological Grouping. As we have said, chronological grouping works fairly well with children of more-or-less all-round average development. If we are generous in our interpretation of "more-or-less," this includes a fair proportion of all pupils. But the deviants from average development must be considered. At least 5 percent of the children are sufficiently above and an equal percent sufficiently below the average in intellectual development to constitute a serious problem of grade placement. This problem is not solved by "letting nature take its course." *Prolonged association with others of very different ability under conditions of presumed equality distorts the situation not only for intellectual growth but for personal and social growth as well.*

In the case of the dull this has long been recognized. Inability to meet the intellectual demands of the situation tends to frustrate the child, subjects him to the ridicule of his fellows, deprives him of the proper intellectual stimuli for growth, and drives him to other means of obtaining satisfaction—"mischief," and other "disciplinary" activities.

Curiously enough, the effect of poor school placement is much the same for the bright child. He too is apt to be frustrated (by the dullness of the tasks); he too gets into jams with his fellows (for one thing, because he has not learned to be properly tolerant of their inability to learn as fast as he does); he too is deprived of intellectual stimulation; and he too becomes something of a discipline problem (partly for want of enough to do).

> In my own first survey of a school in 1913, Byron, who by our tests was of outstanding intelligence, was found to be doing very mediocre schoolwork. Neither the principal nor the teacher (both competent) had recognized his ability. He was lazy, indifferent, and "troublesome." Moved to a higher class, however, he dug in and not only maintained himself in the new grade but rapidly went to the head of the class. More important, his entire behavior changed for the better: he was more alert, more responsive, more friendly. So far from being socially maladjusted, he was a more acceptable member of the new class than of the old one.

Linda was just under six and was enrolled in a prefirst-grade summer school. When, at her parents' request, I visited the school to observe her adjustment, I found the class engaged in reading a "book" they had dictated to the teacher. Each child was to read the page he or she had composed. Linda was first and rattled off her page easily. George faltered at a word and Linda supplied it. Ken couldn't read his page and Linda immediately volunteered to read it for him. Gwen got through her page without Linda's help, but when Arlene got stuck Linda again tried to take over. At this point, however, the teacher intervened and got someone else to help Arlene. But the whole lesson was one long struggle to keep this bright little child from "hogging the show." There was no exhibitionism apparent—indeed nothing wrong except that she knew how to read so much better than the others that their bumbling efforts led her to eager but untactful efforts to help.

Nothing wrong yet! But how long could Linda go on this way without "getting ideas" and feelings of superiority verging on arrogance? How long without arousing the resentment of the other children? It wasn't her intellectual development which was being retarded by associating with her "inferiors"—she was making excellent intellectual progress. The difficulty was that her intellectual superiority was leading her almost inevitably into decidedly unfortunate social behavior.

A Formula for Grade Placement

No single administrative expedient will solve all the problems arising from individual differences, but there is a *formula* which will cover all cases: grade placement should be made in the light of all that we know of the individual child's development in physique, in social, emotional, and intellectual factors, and all these in relation with the developmental level of the other children.

Consider Linda's case once more. She had taught herself to read by pointing to a word and asking her mother or her brothers, "What does that word say?" She was, of course, a very bright child, though her Binet IQ of 140 was not extraordinary. She came from a home of high intellectuality, and she was the youngest of a family of six, all fairly close in age and a rather compact social unit. Her fund of social techniques was, for her age, unusual. When, therefore, she was skipped past the first grade, she made an excellent all-round adjustment in the second. Explaining her selection by the other children as the leader in a certain school activity, Linda herself said: "Well, last summer I just watched how Mac [her brother] did things like that, so I knew how and none of the other kids did. But," she added, "I just wish the other kids would tend to business and quit fooling around so much." Linda at six-and-a-half was already, you see, exhibiting the desire for

structured teamwork which is seldom shown before nine or ten. Even though she was rather slight and short for her own chronological age, she was fully able to hold her own in a group of children averaging about a year and a half older. Had she been assigned to the first grade, she would have been decidedly *out* of her "natural group." This judgment, be it noted, is based not merely on her intellectual but also on her social maturity.

It should be obvious, however, that the existing group structure also has to be considered. Had the children in the available second grade been unusually large and socially mature, Linda probably would not have belonged with them. Successful placement also requires that we consider neighborhood relationships, the existence of cliques, even such unfortunate circumstances as social status. A child moved into a strange and hostile group, whether as a result of nonpromotion or double promotion or for other reasons, may be so unhappy that learning is virtually impossible—any kind of learning.

Though again it lies outside the specific province of child psychology, I must add that little is gained by grouping children in proper natural groups only to teach the groups in the same way. Children of different intellectual abilities need different teaching methods, different sorts of experience, including different social experiences. And one inevitable consequence of such differential treatment is that there will be school acceleration and retardation.

► Educational Acceleration

Retardation of the dull is an old story and nearly everyone accepts it—in general, too complacently unless the child happens to be his own. But acceleration is one of those ideas that arouses deep feeling.

First, let us be clear what educational acceleration is. It is not limited to grade skipping; that is the commonest and clumsiest method. By acceleration we mean any method whereby a child is allowed or helped to make educational progress at faster than the average or lock-step rate. Opponents accuse the advocates of thinking only in terms of intellectual development. The proponents of acceleration, on the other hand, insist that they seek for every child the opportunity to achieve his best all-round development; but they do not believe this possible if parents and teachers are so afraid of superior

intellectual development that they *artificially hold back the child's progress in that area.* It is granted that lopsided emphasis upon intellectual achievement—or upon any other kind—is unfortunate; [5] but it is held that a child may be allowed to develop more rapidly in the intellectual sphere than his less gifted age-mates without necessarily interfering with other aspects of personality. Indeed they contend that allowing a child to develop at his own rate intellectually is a precondition for wholesome personality.

The Personality Development of the Gifted

The evidence for this view is conclusive. Under the leadership of L. M. Terman a careful study was undertaken of over 1,500 gifted boys and girls. Begun in 1925 and still in progress, the study has followed these children into their thirties. No amount of speculation can stand up against the solid volume of facts thus accumulated.[6] At all stages of their life, these intellectually gifted persons have shown far richer and more varied interests than the average.

True enough, at age eight, the child whose mental age is about twelve finds it difficult to play the "silly" games of other eight-year-olds. But he relishes games adapted to his intellectual *and social* maturity. By actual test, the gifted child knows as much about games as the average child three years older. Usually he plays them with the skill and sportsmanship of much older children. When we find the gifted child retreating unwisely into mere bookishness, it is because the environment provides him too little else of a satisfying sort.

The Terman studies—and many others—show that the gifted child is about 5 percent above the average in height, is more than that above the average in other indexes of physical excellence (194). In general, children superior in intelligence have been found emotionally stable and well adjusted in childhood and follow-up studies have shown them continuing so in adult life (226, p. 39 f.). See Figure 32.

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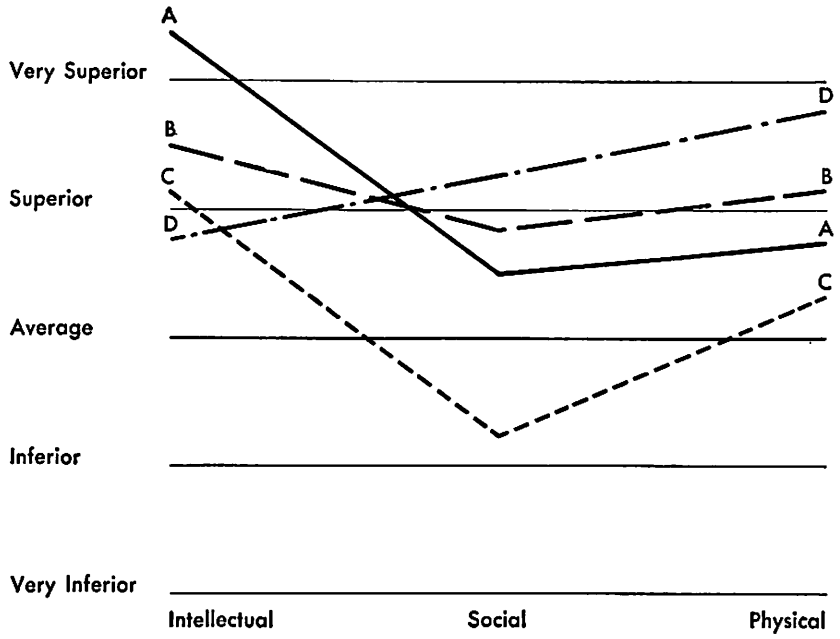
[5] "Our preliminary data suggest that there is a great deal of irrational overrating of physical characteristics during childhood." (130)

[6] The five fat volumes of *The genetic study of genius* are a veritable treasure house of information. Volume IV has a convenient resumé of the earlier findings (272). The gifted, we should add, are somewhat arbitrarily defined as the best 2 percent of the total child population—about 138–140 IQ on the Stanford-Binet tests. With proper allowances, of course, what is true of the top 2 percent is true of the top 5 percent who, we noted, are also too bright to be treated as average.

Figure 32 Other Traits of Four Intellectually Superior Children



A and B represent instances where the child is superior in all three groups of traits but is most superior intellectually. D is also a common pattern. The pattern shown in C is unusual and reflects distorting factors in the background.

The Bugaboo of Maladjustment

Granted, however, the essential healthymindedness of the superior and the gifted, it is still held that allowing them to push through the school grades faster than their fellows tends to make them maladjusted. This belief is based in part upon the sad outcome when an overambitious parent really pushes a child toward a level of school achievement for which he is unfitted, to the neglect of all other considerations. There is no defense of such parental exploitation, but this, of course, is not what advocates of appropriate acceleration are after.

Short shrift can also be given to the argument that acceleration makes pupils conceited. When you accelerate a child, you do in effect tell him and others that he is "smarter" than the rest. Do you think you have told him anything he doesn't already know? Superior children are, indeed, likely to be conceited; but it suffices to inquire which child is most likely to be conceited: the child who finds himself invariably ahead of his duller classmates, or the child who is

placed in a grade with children approximately his intellectual equals?

> We may add, parenthetically, that the same reasoning applies to the duller child. He, too, is building a picture of himself in school. When he is literally outclassed in most school activities, what sort of picture is being formed? Assignment to a slow-learning class may bring some slight initial disturbance—most of the duller children don't mind—but it is much less troublesome than the daily humiliation of being surpassed at every turn by one's brighter classmates. The danger with these children is not so much that much-talked-of neurosis, an inferiority complex, as it is an apathethic acceptance of inability which prevents them from doing what they would otherwise be capable of doing.

A more important objection to acceleration is that the child will become socially maladjusted. This is a hard one to deal with for a number of reasons. Accelerated pupils themselves sometimes make this complaint, though the very great majority of them do not. (For instance, in one study (145), 17 percent rated their personal relations as unsatisfactory, compared with 6 percent among equally gifted nonaccelerates.) The truth is, of course, that we all of us have a sneaking feeling that we aren't liked as much as we want to be, aren't wholly successful in our interpersonal relations. If we can only blame it on our being accelerated!

Besides this, we must remember that nonaccelerated bright pupils have their social problems, too. The true comparison we should make is between two children, equally bright, one accelerated, one not. Moreover, we should follow through to the high school, the college, and the after-school life. This has been done. For example, Keys matched forty-six accelerated high-school graduates with pupils of equal IQ's graduating at average ages. "With respect to participation in student activities, the underage group equals or surpasses the equally gifted controls [i.e., those not accelerated in school placement] on virtually all comparisons"—including even athletic participation (145).

Pressey (226) has brought together data from the Terman studies of gifted children already referred to. These are set forth on the opposite page. They show rather conclusively that accelerates, even those finishing college at eighteen and nineteen, are as a group healthy, socially well-adjusted, and vocationally successful.

Relationships of Age of Graduation from High School to Later Educational Career, Social Adjustment, Health, Marriage, and Vocational Success *

	Age of Graduation from High School †		
	13–6 to 15–5	15–6 to 16–5	16–6 and older
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Test scores		
General Ability:			
Childhood Binet (Intelligence Quotient)	158	154	149
Concept mastery score (1940)	112	98	95
	Percentage record		
Educational Record:			
Graduated from college	83	74	67
Average mark B or better	77	82	74
One or more graduation honors	43	38	35
One or more years of graduate work	58	48	39
Social Adjustment:			
Rated "satisfactory" by field worker (1928)	80	79	85
Activities "several" to "outstanding" (college)	28	37	38
Satisfactory—composite all-round data (1940)	77	83	81
Health:			
Parents' rating of health as good (1928)	100	89	85
Self-rating on health as good (1940)	91	81	86
Marriage:			
Men	73	68	70
Women	60	74	71
Separated or divorced	5	12	12
Vocational Success:			
Men in highest group	42	22	19
	Mean age		
Graduation from High School	14.9	16.0	17.3
Graduation from College	19.9	20.9	21.9
Puberty:			
Men	14.2	14.5	14.8
Women	12.7	12.8	13.1
Marriage:			
Men	24.8	25.5	26.1
Women	22.8	23.5	24.1

* Adapted by Pressey (226) from Terman and Oden (272), pp. 265–279.

† Total number 1,392 persons: 785 men and 607 women. Numbers in the age groups were:

	Persons
13 years 6 months to 15 years 5 months	62
15 years 6 months to 16 years 5 months	332
16 years 6 months and older	998

Pressey's conclusion based on a survey of extensive factual investigations may well be quoted and pondered:

> The commonly used crude method of grade skipping . . . has been responsible for maladjustment . . . in some students. . . . However, a large majority, even of those advanced by such clumsy means, seem to have shown neither academic nor social difficulty. [On the other hand,] not to accelerate superior students—to hold them back with less able fellows simply on the basis of chronological age—may *cause* maladjustment. When accelerated students have been carefully selected as not only intellectually superior but also in good health and initially well adjusted, and have been given some guidance and help in acceleration, maladjustment has been minimal. When public schools accelerate not simply scattered individuals but groups moving forward together in rapid-progress sections . . . much less difficulty of adjustment is found.
>
> In short, it appears that acceleration has caused much less social maladjustment than has ordinarily been supposed. A little care in selection and guidance of accelerated students should make difficulties even less common. Increases in the number of accelerated individuals should decrease difficulties even more. It is not putting it too strongly to say that the risk of social maladjustment in any adequate program of acceleration has been exaggerated to such a degree that it can be labeled a bugaboo (226, p. 138).

► Summary

In this chapter we have not attempted the impossible task of surveying intellectual achievement in all its manifold varieties. Three major kinds of achievement only have been considered.

Undoubtedly the achievement of language is one of the most important as well as the most interesting achievements of childhood. The extraordinary rapidity of the child's spontaneous development in language, the joy that language affords him in these early years, is in striking contrast to the apathy or dislike for language which sets in after formal language training begins. This suggests that there should be greater emphasis in language training upon expressiveness and less upon correctness.

The achievement of concepts is closely related to the development of speech. Children need ample concrete experience as the basis for abstract concepts, but they also need explicit guidance in their formation. Two dangers lurk behind the teacher's desk: that a too-rigid abstract pattern of concepts be insisted upon at the expense of origi-

nality, and that abstraction be pushed so fast that the children acquire only empty words instead of concepts.

Scholastic achievement is a major aspect of a child's total development. It undoubtedly overlaps with the achievement of intelligence dealt with in the previous chapter, but if we look to the methods of measurement used in testing, a difference emerges. Achievement tests differ from intelligence tests in construction and use. The former measure whether a child *has* learned certain things, whereas intelligence tests utilize certain selected achievements as an index to whether the child *can* learn at a given level of difficulty. Scholastic-achievement tests are of great value in showing exactly what a child has yet to learn and in helping to predict proper placement in school.

Reasons are advanced for having children move through the stages of formal education at their own rate, not in lock step. This rate is a function of the child's total level of development. The intellectual aspect of development is necessarily of great importance in determining rate of progress; but social, emotional, and physical development must also be properly weighed in this connection.

Exercises

1. What is the difference between wisdom and intelligence?
2. What is meant by the distinction between "passive" and "active" vocabulary? Cannot a "passive" word become "active," if needed? How valid is the distinction?
3. The text is rather severe, both in this chapter and in Chapter 9, on formal correctness in speech. Write a defense of teaching children to speak correctly. Be sure that your defense takes account of child development.
4. To what extent does physical development help to define a child's "natural group"? Six-footers and three-footers make a difficult fourth-grade combination. But just what are the limits and why?
5. Answer the same question for social development. How would you define the social maturity necessary for third or fifth grade? How long would you keep a child back in school if he did not meet this standard?
6. Some contend that it is good for children to mingle in school with others from a wide range of social maturity. To what extent is this true of intellectual maturity? Why?

► Observing Intellectual Development

Scantiness of Facts. In view of the admitted importance of intellectual growth, especially for the school, it is something of a surprise to find that the known facts about a particular child's intellectual development are usually few. Or rather, to find that the known "facts," though apparently numerous, are of so little real value. The school, of course, has the child's standing in various academic subjects as guessed at by his teachers. In some schools these guesses are somewhat improved by achievement tests. In some there are intelligence-test scores. If all of this is combined in a cumulative record, the school is an exception indeed.

All very well, too, as far as it goes. But it is not enough. Academic achievements, though really important, are clearly not the whole of intellectual development. Many of us have known persons, quite "uneducated," almost illiterate, with a shrewd common sense and worldly wisdom which is admirable. Universal education is making such persons rare, but they really do exist to help us see that school learning is not the whole of intellect. Then there is an amazing range of hobbies and interests, definitely intellectual but with only a slight relation to anything learned in school.

Many of these qualitative differences can, of course, be tapped by appropriate tests. Any kind of behavior can be measured if we really put our minds to it. But there are limitations when we come to interpretation. Tests are standardized for *groups* of children; a large part of their usefulness is due to that very fact. When, however, we come to behavior that does not appear in enough persons to give rise to group standards, the testing method ceases to be very useful. An occasional seventh grader, for instance, develops a collection hobby to the point where his knowledge of beetles is a really important fact of his intellectual development. That only one child in several million does so is not a particularly illuminating fact. Yet it is not difficult for any thoughtful person to recognize that this hobby is a truly central fact in the child's whole development. It may show potentialities for achievement in the future which nothing in the more academic area gives any inkling of.

Interest such as this, and even lesser ones, may, of course, be picked out of anecdotal or diary behavior records. Yet these too often fail us when we come to account for many cases. Consider the case of a popular novelist, the late Edgar Wallace. An orphan, he was brought up

in one of London's most dismal slums. He left school at twelve after a very mediocre record—and the school itself was less than mediocre. He spoke the appalling cockney of the district. Yet this lad was destined to begin only six years later a career as one of the most facile and productive writers of his generation. Although he was far from being a great writer, he was a superb technician; and the task of explaining the development of such a talent is almost as great as that of explaining genius. Nothing in his school record, nothing at all, gave any hint of this amazing development.

No need, however, to look to such outstanding cases. You may know two brothers who are of about equal intelligence. One may be in early childhood a linguist, interested in words, in their sounds, their meanings. The other may show almost the opposite trend. Can you find anything in the family or personal history which accounts for the difference? There is excellent theoretical reason to suppose that such differences are to be explained in terms of the respective intellectual histories. But it is only rarely that we can actually trace the literary interest or lack of interest back to its causes. Still we should try.

Specific deficiencies in a limited school subject such as spelling or arithmetic are often easier to run down in this way. An unfortunate experience or series of experiences may set the child off the track for years, and it is sometimes possible, by checking back, to see when and how it happened. Yet, even with specific disabilities, the search for initiating cause more often fails.

It is of prime importance for your case study, moreover, that you be skeptical of a "history" which "explains" too neatly—especially if it explains something disagreeable. Nothing is easier for a child who is having trouble with his arithmetic than to look back and discover that he did not like Mrs. Brown, his second-grade teacher, and so did not try to learn his number combinations. First of all, we must be on our guard against believing too much that is reported after the fact. Children at a very early age learn from their elders the dangerous art of rationalization. But even if it is true that the child disliked his second-grade teacher, are we to accept this as a satisfactory explanation of his arithmetical deficiency? Many a child learns badly in the second grade and later repairs his deficiency. Many another dislikes his teacher but learns anyhow. Evidently, just disliking a teacher is not the whole story. Naturally, however, we do not ignore what Johnny or his mother tells us about the cause of his difficulty. *What* they say may not be true, but *that* they say it may be very revealing.

Does this sound a little discouraging? School and test records, we

say, are not broadly enough informative and the "history" gleaned from anecdotes is unreliable and may be distorted. All that is true. We must not expect too much from even the best case history. The most we can say is that if you work honestly and thoughtfully, you almost always find *something* which helps you to deal more wisely with the child. That, after all, is a great deal.

Yet, it is just as possible to go too far in skepticism as in uncritical acceptance. That a child early turned to books and read in books old for his age *is* a significant and easily established fact. That another child was unusually curious, always asking unexpectedly mature questions is likewise a significant but *not* easily established fact. The accumulation of facts from various and partly independent sources, an anecdote told by the aunt, an unexpected question asked in school, exceptional answers on an achievement test—all these begin to combine into a significant pattern.

Preschool History. The difficulties in getting data and the uncertainties of their interpretation should not hold us back from getting what we can. The earliest years are often supposed to be the most significant; I doubt that this is so in the intellectual sphere. Certainly the facts are harder to establish. "Baby tests," so-called tests of intelligence for very young infants, are still very unsatisfactory. More than any other tests they require highly expert administration and a wealth of supplementary data; and even granted all this, they give little hint of the child's prospective intellectual development.

Intelligence is so closely tied up with language that offhand one might expect that age at beginning to talk would be a useful index. The facts, however, seem to indicate that age of first speech is not very significant. (Part of the trouble is to get a reliable criterion as to what is "first time he talked," let alone getting a reliable parental application of the criterion.) On the other hand, early speech experiences and the rapidity of learning to talk, once the child has begun, would probably be of great importance—if we could get the facts. The range of vocabulary at thirty months, for example, would be very informative. We wish it were possible to encourage hope that family recollections or even family records will be of much service here. But you can only report what you find and interpret it cautiously along with other data.

Of direct bearing on the pupil's school progress, however, is his interest and attitude toward school and "schoolish" activities in the years prior to school entry. Attendance at preschool and kindergarten should of course be noted, with reports of behavior and progress. There seems no doubt that attendance in a preschool helps the child

off to a good start in the primary grades; whether the initial scholastic advantage is maintained depends on how the child is treated in the elementary school.[7]

We should not fail, moreover, to get a history from the parents of a child's interest in having stories read to him, in trying to understand pictures, in trying to read, in playing school, etc. Obviously much depends here upon the presence in the home (or in the neighborhood) of somewhat older children who stimulate interest and provide information about school. All in all, however, we shall probably get little but a vague impression of preschool intellectual precocity or backwardness—and must not trust that impression very much.

Intelligence Tests. It is tempting to say that only the resistance to change and the dislike of what we do not understand prevents the universal acceptance of intelligence testing. Unfortunately we must add the resistance that results from unjustifiable claims for such testing.[8] Intelligence tests never tell us the whole story of intellectual status, seldom give us critically important information, and often tell us nothing we do not already know. I believe, nonetheless, that it is inexcusable for a school not to have a fairly recent intelligence test score for every pupil. Certainly if you do not have it in your case study you must justify your omission thoroughly.

We may summarize the value of such scores very briefly:

1. They confirm what we already know—or think we know.
2. In certain cases, they raise most explicit and serious doubts about the soundness of our judgments. We do not assert that tests are always better than subjective judgments of intelligence, though the heaped-up evidence is overwhelming that in case of divergence between teacher judgment and test, the test is far more often right. Divergence, however, in every case simply means that further evidence is called for.
3. In most cases, intelligence test scores usefully supplement our knowledge of a child's total intellectual development.
4. In a small number of cases, the intelligence test score is *the* key to the understanding of the child's whole situation. Thus every school psychologist has found scores of cases of "behavior problems" whose difficulty proved to be that their intelligence was either over- or underestimated in the school. Knowledge of the test score is here essential to wise corrective measures. (Note that even here we by no means claim that the intelligence test tells the whole story; it is merely the keystone of the arch.)

[7] The evidence seems to be that the initial advantage is gradually lost *in most cases.* I believe that this is not inevitable, that it is a reflection upon the school situation.

[8] For example, a certain syndicated columnist (who we must admit is actually a psychologist) asserts that we can predict from an intelligence test "exactly" how far a child can go in school. This is a deliberately exaggerated statement made for the purpose of selling the "column." There seems no way to deal with such charlatans and publicity seekers—even the tightly organized medical and legal professions have not eliminated them—except through educating the public

Of all futile proceedings, however, the mere giving and due recording of intelligence tests can be the worst. A test score recorded as a mark in a teacher's office has no magic powers—we must interpret it and put it to work.

The same is true in a case study. To fail to find a child's intelligence-test score is a serious omission; to find out what that score is and not use it properly in the effort to understand the child's ability is much more serious because it is going through the motions without reason.

Your study of intelligence testing may have left you with much anxiety about how to interpret the test properly. There seem to be so many *if's* and *or's*. Well, there are. We must forsake the search for certainty when we come to deal with human beings, and be content when we get fair probability. A simple principle, however, will help you here: **With any test result, take the attitude, "interesting if true; let's see if we can find out."**

In short, as indicated above, we must always look for more evidence than is given by the best test. But we should also have the evidence—it is generally very good evidence—that the test gives.

Meaning of Test Scores. All testing and grading of human attributes is relative to standards or norms. The ancient joke about the birth of a forty-pound baby—an elephant baby—serves to remind us that even physical measurements are relative. To say that Jimmy is 46 inches tall is really meaningless until you refer to an age-height table from which you learn certain significant facts: that Jimmy is taller than the tallest child of four and one half years, is in the top quarter for height among six-year-olds but is shorter than even the smallest normal eight-year-old.

It is precisely this kind of comparison which we make when we talk in terms of "mental age." We have just said in effect that Jimmy is just a little over "height-age" six. The mental age concept is really just as straightforward. The average attainment of children of a given age in height defines the height age; in intellectual performance, the mental age. Given a certain attainment in inches or in centimeters, you look that up in an age-height table to find the height age; given a certain attainment on the Stanford-Binet Form L, or the Pressey Intermediate Classification Test, you look up the score in an age-intelligence table to find the intelligence age—miscalled the "mental age." [9]

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[9] The Stanford-Binet and a few other tests are so scored that the result is given directly in terms of mental age; this saves you the trouble of using the age-intelligence table, but the logic is unchanged.

You should, then, if it is to be significant, report a child's score on an intelligence test in terms relative to the scores of other children who have presumably had about the same length of time in which to develop—that is, in relation to age—or relative to his school status—that is, in relation to grade. As a check on your accuracy, however, you should give the "raw score"—that is, the number of points gained for correct response, and *you must always report the name of the test.*

What Tests to Give. First what tests not to give! Individual tests—those which must be given to one person at a time, such as the Stanford-Binet tests and nearly all performance tests—have rather complex and exacting directions for giving and scoring. These so-called individual tests are for the professional tester. To qualify to give the Stanford-Binet test, for example, one needs at least one hundred hours of study and supervised practice; to be expert in giving and interpreting tests requires much more.

For you, therefore, to attempt to administer individual tests without such training is as much professional malpractice as it would be for you to attempt to take blood pressure records with a sphygmomanometer. In both cases the routine seems deceptively simple. In both cases, though one might be right most of the time, there is danger of serious error. Let us repeat: *Leave the individual type of intelligence test to the expert for whom it is designed.*

"Group" tests are a different matter. Nearly all of them have simple directions designed for the person not particularly experienced in test giving. And although they may be given to fairly large groups of persons—whence the name—there is nothing to prevent their being given to one person at a time.

There are, however, serious limitations to be kept in mind when one uses group tests. When a skilled observer gives an individual test, there is opportunity to take note of the behavior exhibited during the testing and consider how this affects the score. In a group test there is no such opportunity; one has little idea of what happens during the testing (even if you are testing but one child) and only the score counts. Now it is true that in most cases what happens during the test has little undue effect on the score. Thus *group* comparisons are little affected. But in a case study you are concerned with a specific child, and you have no way of telling whether this child is one of the few cases which *are* affected by irrelevant influences. A sound psychologist will never pass final judgment on a child's intelligence on the basis of even the best individual intelligence-test alone. How

much more foolish it is, therefore, for a teacher to accept a score from a group test as more than a first approximation of the child's present intellectual level.

There is another great limitation on group tests for use above the second grade: they assume fairly normal reading ability. If the child is known in advance to be a poor reader, we should not bother to give the group intelligence test at all. In most cases, it is true, reading ability and intelligence go pretty much together, but in studying a particular child we cannot be satisfied with a statement of "most cases." In both case studies and in teaching, the individual must be of primary concern. Since a child may be of good intelligence but read so badly that he did not do justice to himself on an intelligence test which makes much use of reading, no child should be judged on a group test of intelligence if there is any reason to suspect reading deficiency.

On the other hand, the reading deficiency may be due to low intelligence. How are we to tell one case from the other? Well, it is the by-now-familiar story of fitting all the pieces together and judging by the total picture. For immediate practical purposes, you should not accept any group intelligence-test score which is conspicuously low or which is decidedly out of line with other indications. *Not accept* does not mean, however, just throwing out the data; it means that you must probe further and by other means until you have found the truth.

Admittedly, also, the group intelligence tests for first and second graders are not very reliable, and it is therefore desirable to take your subject to a psychological clinic for individual testing. If you make clear your purpose and promise to maintain absolute silence except as the tester addresses you, you may be permitted to observe the testing—itself an interesting and worth-while experience. Be sure to talk over your impressions and observations with the psychologist afterward; there may be profit for both of you.[10]

If, however, it is impracticable to have the first grader tested at a clinic, it is worth while to give a standard primary intelligence test. (See list of tests in Appendix 2.) When given to only one child at a time so that one can be sure that he "gets the idea" of what he is to do, such a test gives a reasonably accurate picture of aptitude for first-

[10] The presence of a third party at an examination is not, however, considered sound procedure. The child's parent, and even his teacher, are always excluded if possible. The tests are standardized on the assumption that the child is on his own alone with a friendly stranger.

grade work.[11] It serves also (and somewhat better) for the second grade.

Above the primary grades a large number of intelligence tests is available—a true embarrassment of riches. A list of good tests with publisher's prices is given in Appendix 2.

Giving, Scoring, and Reporting Test Results. Because the directions for giving one of these tests are simple, you are not to think they can be trifled with. The whole advantage of *testing* as compared with ordinary judgment of intelligence is that the subject responds to a carefully prearranged and standardized set of conditions—including the directions. If these are altered, the test is not the same test and the scores do not mean the same. Nor is it possible for the tester to alter the conditions and then "make allowances" in scoring. Not even the skilled tester can do this, let alone the layman.[12] *The test must be given and scored exactly as prescribed.* If you want to make "allowances," do so at your peril *after the test has been given as prescribed.* Say that the child's intelligence by test is Grade IV or mental age 9, but that perhaps this is a little too low because of certain "accidents"—and tell what they were. But *do not* twist the score so that it will show Grade V (mental age 10), even though you may believe, for fairly good reasons, that this rating is more nearly correct.

Express age in years and months with the months following the dash: 9–3 means nine years and three months. (This is used for either calendar or mental age.) Do not use the decimal point unless you convert months into decimal fractions of a year. Thus 9–3 is the same as 9.25 years. A statement in terms of mental age (MA) which does not specify the test is likely to be misleading; while children who score close to the average are likely to get nearly equivalent scores on different tests, children who are either quite high or quite low may show distinctly different scores as they pass from one test to another.

The Intelligence Quotient or IQ. The IQ, we remember, was introduced as a measure of how fast a child has acquired the intelligence he has, be it much or little. And since children usually continue to develop in intelligence at about the same rate as formerly—the

[11] Indeed, I believe that some such group intelligence test should be routine upon entrance to the first grade. At no other stage in a child's educational career is there greater need for differential treatment according to aptitude. "Reading readiness," for example, differs enormously in first graders, and reading readiness is about 75 percent just intellectual maturity.

[12] When the skilled examiner seems to deviate from prescribed routine, what he is really doing is substituting another standard set of proceedings for one which he considers less suitable. Even this is hazardous except in the hands of one who has really mastered the delicate art of testing.

slow ones, slowly; the fast ones, fast—the IQ provides a rough means of predicting about where a child will be at some future time. As our discussion of the *Constancy of the IQ* showed, however, we must be rather guarded in such prediction. Nonetheless, the prediction is good enough that it serves useful purposes when properly limited and interpreted.

Unfortunately it is often not wisely interpreted. The notion has become prevalent that each person has a definite fixed IQ. A child's IQ, once computed, thus becomes a label, favorable or unfavorable, a "number" which he carries for life like a birthmark. Now there is just enough truth to make this belief plausible, not enough truth to make it safe. In my opinion we do well to get along without ever computing a child's IQ. (Note that the objection is not to the MA, which changes all the time and hence cannot become a fixed label.)

It is to be borne in mind, however, that the IQ concept was formulated to meet a real need—the need to state mental status in relation to calendar age (more often called chronological age). That relation can, however, be stated in less questionable ways. Suppose a child is age nine by the calendar but mental age twelve by the Stanford-Binet (Form M). Only two children in a hundred do as well as that. Does that not give you the picture as well or better than saying that his IQ is 133? Another child of calendar age nine is mental age eight and one half by the same test. Of him we can say that his mental age falls in the middle fifth for children of his age.

Recording Test Results in Centiles. Most published tests provide tables which enable us to state mental status thus in relation to calendar or chronological age. We spoke above of a child in the middle "fifth"; technically when we divide a range of scores into fifths, the divisions are called *quintiles.* Tenths are similarly called *deciles,* hundredths are called *centiles.* (The term *per*centile is often inaccurately used for centile; it has a slightly different meaning.) We should not let these rather dreadful terms intimidate us, for the basic idea is both simple and familiar.

Suppose you have the so-called raw scores of 5,000 children believed to be a representative sample of their age (in most tests, the raw score is simply the number of right answers). You take the scores of the best 1 percent—that is, of the best fifty pupils. The range of scores of these fifty pupils is the 100th centile, and anyone who gets a score in this range is said to be in the 100th centile. The range of scores obtained by the second-best 1 percent is called the 99th centile, and so on down to the 1st centile which is the range of scores obtained by the lowest 1 percent. If a child has a 66th centile score, he is better

than 65 out of 100 comparable children, not so good as the remaining 34.

Note that a centile score simply states how well a person has performed relative to others on a particular test. It is really meaningless to say that Jennifer is in the 37th centile. You should say that she is in the 37th centile for ten-year-olds on the "Blank" Intelligence Test. (The assumption is that the author of the test has given it to a representative sample of like-aged pupils and has published a table showing how to turn the raw score into centiles for that sample.) The same number of answers right—that is, the same raw score —would entitle a seven-year-old to a considerably higher centile score for his age group since fewer of his age would do as well.

In the tests for which centile tables are given by the publisher, these tables should always be used in reporting test results, even though other methods of reporting are available and are used. Centiles are probably a little too refined, however, for small differences to mean very much. We can afford to neglect differences of three or four centiles, even more in the middle ranges. Thus the difference between a child of centile 45 and a child of centile 49 in intelligence on any test is too small to mean very much; it does not indicate that the child with the higher centile should be treated any differently from the child four centiles lower.

To insure understanding, test results reported in centiles should be accompanied by brief interpretations. The following are illustrative:

John had a score of 37 on the (give name of test) which places him in the 68th centile for nine-year-old children. This shows that he did better than about 70% but worse than the other 30% of the school children his age. According to this test, therefore (which is only one measure among many), he is somewhat above average but hardly falls into the superior classification.

Louise had a score of 66 on the (name of test) which places her in the 35th centile for eight-year-old children. Since Louise's teacher said that the child had much difficulty in learning to read last year but seems to be picking up other things rather rapidly this year as compared with the other children, Louise's intelligence may not be as inferior as this centile shows. The (name of test) was a group test requiring much reading. In order to settle more definitely the question of the child's present scholastic aptitude and the possibility of a reading defect, it would be well to have Louise examined by a psychologist trained in the use of individual tests and also by the psychologist or someone else expert in diagnosing reading difficulties.

Note that it was not because she got a low score that we raised the question of fairness to Louise. We grew skeptical about the test in the light of other information. The test is entitled to be considered

"probably correct" until other facts contradict the test finding.

On the other hand, as we have pointed out above, no sound psychologist takes the test as final. Especially in cases where the teacher's judgment or the pupil's academic record seems to tell a different story from the test, we should suspend judgment.

Suspended judgment does not, however, mean suspended animation. It is a call for further investigation. It is an important function of case studies that they bring into clear relief apparent inconsistencies. If, in a brief study, you cannot explore all the inconsistencies, you can at least point out their existence. An honest, objective, and penetrating case study is distinguished especially by the number of significant questions it raises. A good case study is never completed till "Rest in peace" is carved on its subject's tombstone.

Of course, you will not make the error of reporting a child's centile rank to his parents; very few would understand. How then shall you report test results? *It is better not to report them at all.* The best clinics now refuse to report mental ages, though their results are much more reliable than yours are likely to be. They find it very difficult, despite much experience, to tell parents the facts in terms which are not likely to be misinterpreted. Even everyday terms have very different emotional connotations to different people. Take *average,* for example. Have you any notion how your maternal aunt would react to the statement that her daughter is "somewhat above average"?

But if parents ask about the child's IQ? You can reply that the test given is not one which is very suitable for determining IQ's and that your instructor does not believe that the IQ is a good way to measure a child's ability. If there is further insistence, then you can make a guarded interpretation—and I mean *guarded!*—of what the test seems to show about Samuel's probable ability to do schoolwork. ("The test indicates, as far as it goes, that Sam has the ability to do about ordinary work in the fourth grade.") You must make clear that the test might not fit Sam, that it does not predict school success with great accuracy, that, in fact, we use the test just as one way among many of discovering what Sam is like. Which happens to be true! If the parent pushes you further it is always possible and honest to say you really don't know, and be thankful you have this "out."

Recording Tests in Terms of School Grade. In attempting to assess the significance of a mental-age test score, you will often find that it is important to know how the child compares with the range of ability of others in the same grade with him. After all, it is the kind of work that is assigned and the level of achievement that is attained in

the fourth grade, where Harold is at present placed, that are significant for him—at least for the present. Suppose that Harold is eleven and a quarter. A statement of Harold's ability in terms relative to other eleven and a quarter children is not so useful as a statement of Harold's mental age in comparison with other fourth-grade children.

Hence, in addition to providing test interpretations in terms of percentiles for chronological age, many tests give "Grades Norms." A table of Grade Norms merely states the score which is obtained on the test by the average first grader, the average second grader, the average third grader, and so on as far as the test goes. You will note that in such tables only one score is given for each grade. This is illustrated below:

Grade	3	4	5	6
Score	26	35	44	51

In reporting a test result in terms of grade, note that you are disregarding the chronological age of the child and comparing him only on the basis of school grade. To make such a report in terms of the sample table above, a statement such as the following should be made. "On the (name of test) Robert, who is in the third grade, had a score of 32 which is about three fifths of the way between the third- and fourth-grade averages. This indicates that Robert is well above average for third graders on this test, but not a full year advanced."

In using such tables, you will be using norms that are based on averages of children in schools of all kinds all over the country. What does this mean, then, if the school or class which Robert is in is either suspected or known to be very much above average—or very much below average? We know from many studies that fourth-grade achievement in some schools is only third-grade achievement in others; and that the average child in the fourth grade in a very good private school is at least a year advanced mentally over a child in the fourth grade in most public schools. It has been found that such discrepancies in average achievement or intellectual status also exist between the different wards or districts of public schools. Hence grade norms are not enough.

Recording Tests in Terms of the Class. The differences between schools points to the need for reporting test results in terms of the actual class in which the child is working. Interpreting the test result in terms of national grade averages is frequently very useful, but additional interpretation in terms of the child's own class should be given wherever you have test results (on the same test administered at the same time) for the whole class. In such a case one should pre-

pare a table of class test results which is merely a matter of arranging the children's scores in order with the highest score at the top and the lowest at the bottom. Obtaining the class median in the usual way—that is, dividing the number of children in the class by two and using as the median the score of the child who is halfway between the top score and the bottom score—you can then see quite easily just how far above or below the median of the class the child's test score falls. Reporting such scores is required where class medians are available. The interpretation is always given in nontechnical terms since it is pedantic to resort to much statistical analysis with small groups.

Such an interpretation should contain the following elements:

1. The number of children in the class
2. The median, the highest and the lowest test scores
3. A rough estimate of the subject's score in relation to the median and the highest score in the class if the child is above the median; or to the median and the lowest score in the class if the child is below the median.

Such an interpretation should read somewhat as follows:

Harriet's class contains 35 children. On the (name of test) the class median was 45, while the range of scores was from 26 to 73. Harriet's score was 52 indicating that she is slightly above the median but is surpassed by 13 children. The indication from this test would seem to be that she can do average classwork.

Such a statement may seem unnecessarily involved, but all the elements in it must be grasped in order to understand the evidence.

Recording Tests in Terms of Mental Age. The fourth method of reporting and interpreting test results to be used has already been referred to. All recommended intelligence tests provide norms that indicate the score obtained by children of a given mental age.

The following sample table illustrates the method:

Mental Age	9	10	11	12
Score	26	35	44	51

Such a table means that a child with a score of 26 has an MA of 9.

In interpreting mental-age ratings it is well to remember that a difference of one year in mental age at year 6 is much greater than a difference of one year at age 12. The following example indicates how the necessary facts may be presented:

Gerald has a score of 43 (give name of test) and a chronological age of 10 years. The score for Mental Age 11 on this test is 44, for Mental age 10 is 35. Thus Gerald is almost a full year advanced in mental age indicating that he is probably above average in intelligence. (A child should have a

mental age about a fourth or fifth higher than his calendar age if he is to be considered definitely superior.)

Note on Recording Intelligence Test Results. It may seem unnecessary to report and interpret a single test result in four different ways. Yet each one, if available, may provide us with some additional information about the child and what should be done with him. Each of these ways is simply an answer to a rather common-sense question. We ask how the child compares with the general run of children his age (centiles), in what school grade the average level of intelligence is similar to his, how he compares with his own class, and into what age group he most nearly fits in intelligence. True, in the case of most children, a four-method report on intelligence-test results will tell us little that we didn't know before the test was given. There are cases, however, where intelligence is a crucial matter in determining what is to be done about a certain child, and a more intelligent decision can be made if the test score is interpreted in each of these ways. To make sure you are familiar with the methods of reporting, you may wish to submit your interpretation of test results to the instructor before including it in the final case study. This should be done as early as possible.

Scholastic Achievement. *School Marks.* The conventional measure of school achievement is, of course, the teachers' grades or marks.[13] In nearly every case these marks, both for the current and for previous years, will be available to you. What are they worth?

That is not an easy question. Undoubtedly in a majority of cases, the teacher's marks represent moderately well what the pupil has actually done. As has been repeatedy emphasized, however, a case study is concerned with an individual, not with a "majority of cases." And teachers' marks have been shown to be wide of the bull's-eye in far too many cases to be regarded as trustworthy.

Consistency in the marks from year to year, of course, means something, but here we remember the effect of unwitting prejudice. A teacher dislikes to be unable to get as good results from a bright pupil as her predecessors did; hence, if he gets A's from one teacher, the others are apt to fall in line. And if Miss Brown gave Ivan very low marks, well Ivan is probably dull and one had better follow suit. We need, then, to supplement the teacher's marks by more objective devices. Here is one place where the intelligence test proves useful. Many a bright child gets off on the wrong foot with his teacher (for a variety of reasons: physical defect, shyness or obstinacy, emotional

[13] The term *marks* is to be preferred to the term *grades*, since the latter refers also to the class group.

blocking, or some hampering misunderstanding) and never does get back in step until some objective test reveals his superior ability.

Teachers' marks are apt to suffer from another limitation. It is only human to be pleased by docility. The lesson-learner is likely to be rated higher than the more creative and independent thinker. Thus even within the framework of conventional curriculums, teachers' marks represent too narrow a range of achievement, are apt to fail to catch some of the important qualitative differences in achievement. Unfortunately, objective tests are of little service in this respect, indeed are less likely even than the teacher to reveal such qualitative differences.[14]

If teachers' marks are as bad as all this, are they worth ascertaining at all? Of course they are. Remember that they are fairly representative in most cases. Remember also that the study of the individual builds up by bringing together a number of independent lines of evidence; marks are like intelligence-test scores, almost worthless alone but very useful when correlated with other facts. Finally, precisely when a teacher's marks are most in error we ought to know about it. What teachers think about a child, what they say about him (on the report card and otherwise) are very potent factors in the child's whole development. What the teacher reports—no matter how inaccurate it is—influences the parents' attitude toward their child, influences the attitudes of playmates, influences the child's attitudes toward himself. Teachers' marks are sometimes almost infernally important.

Your report will therefore in all cases make at least a summary of the child's previous school marks. Further, any comments you have received from the teachers about his academic work belong here.

Achievement Tests. Standardized tests of achievement exist in great variety. It is never very easy, however, to find the tests that best suit a particular school system. After all, achievement tests are related to the school's objectives and to the curriculum and course of study, which differ from school to school. We ought then to select achievement tests that most clearly represent the academic objectives of the school in question.

There is, of course, some point in using an achievement test that will reveal for the school some of its deficiencies. But there is no point in using such a test when we are engaged in making a case study of an individual child. Our purpose is to study this particular child in relation to his environment. We seek to know how well he is

[14] Teachers can learn to appraise them and tests can be made to measure them. But little has been done in either respect.

progressing intellectually in that environment, what are his handicaps and what are his advantages in relation to the scholastic demands which are put upon him.

If this is clearly understood, we shall avoid another difficulty in the giving of achievement tests. The school system is occasionally inclined to be just a little on the defensive when it is proposed to give tests that measure the achievement of the school. So many times teachers or principals seem to be afraid that the test will reveal that the school is not doing a good job. But if it is clearly understood that we wish only to discover this child's ability to perform the tasks the school puts upon him, there will be less difficulty of this character.

There is another sort of difficulty, however, which must be carefully considered. Time is limited for your case study. Unless arrangements are made to give achievement tests in connection with the entire class, the question is definitely raised as to how many such tests you can take time to give. In the primary grades this is not a very important point, since there would be few tests suitable and these would be relatively brief. But in the upper elementary grades it becomes a very real issue. Sometimes arrangements can be made to test your subject's entire class (you can secure practical experience by helping to give and score them) and to make available to you the results of such testing. This has the obvious advantage also that you can compare this pupil not only with national norms but with his own class. (The principles of reporting scores discussed above for intelligence tests apply here as well.) If this is not the situation, however, you must make a choice as to how many such tests you can afford the time to give.

Because of their critical position in the school curriculum, tests of reading and of arithmetic must be given serious consideration. If you do not give such tests, you should certainly justify your failure to do so by excellent reasons.

Whether to give an achievement test, however, may be decided by the results of the intelligence test, by the pupil's previous academic record, and by what the teacher has to tell you. Suppose, for example, it appears that the pupil has rather average intelligence for his age and grade. Suppose further that he has done rather average work ever since he entered the school. Suppose still further that the teachers report him to be unexceptional in every respect in his academic progress. Now it is still possible that you would learn something about such a child by an extensive program of academic-achievement testing, but it is in the last degree unlikely. In such a case you might well feel that you could spend your limited time on something else.

The implication, however, is precisely the opposite when you find great discrepancies between school standings or the teachers' reports and the results of intelligence testing. In some instances the teachers' report, quite independent of any testing, may indicate to you real need for an intensive consideration of a pupil's academic work.

An annotated list of achievement tests will be found in Appendix 2.

Intellectual Maturity. We learn much about a child when we know his intelligence as measured by standarized tests and his academic standing as measured by teachers and by achievement tests. No greater mistake could be made than to suppose that this exhausts the question of intellectual development. This is not the place to discuss the intricate relations between intelligence and the total of intellectual development; but the latter clearly includes such things as the study habits, intellectual interests and curiosity, thoughtfulness and ability to think, and the development of purposes and ideals. Some surprise may be felt at our inclusion of purposes and ideals under intellectual development, instead of under the topic of character. But even in quite young children, and increasingly as we approach adolescence, it is impossible to consider the development of ideals as a moral and character issue without taking into account the way in which intelligence is at work formulating such purposes.

Of course intelligence—the factor whatever it may be that is measured by our intelligence tests—is a large determiner of development in all these lines. And yet it is only a part. Even in small children we can frequently discern a curiosity about things, a desire to understand, a thoughtfulness which may be high in one child and low in another child of the same mental age.

The discrepancy between study habits and intelligence may be even greater. Children of the very highest intelligence occasionally do not learn how to work at all; other children of quite limited intellectual endowment have learned how to study effectively and thus make every possible use of what intelligence they have.

Unfortunately it is not so easy to obtain objective measures of these somewhat intangible characteristics of intellectual development. Your imagination and insight will here be called upon in high degree in direct observation of the child to obtain the facts. You must, however, also endeavor to obtain light on this in your interviews with the teacher and with the child's parents. Probably no one factor will go further to make you a successful teacher than the ability to understand the varied aspects of intellectual motivation.

Special Abilities. There is a special attractiveness in the idea of discovering a child of talent and helping to start him on the road to

fame and glory. It is well to beware of this tendency. Unless real talent, unusual interest, and other as yet unknown factors are intimately combined in a child, one is likely to push him too hard. Instead of making a great artist of him, one may make him an overanxious or frustrated incompetent.

This is not to imply that expressions of creative work are not to be encouraged. Of course, they should be—and whether they seem to indicate special talent or not. But to "tag" the child as a budding artist is really almost as dangerous, perhaps more so, than to tag him as artistically insensitive.

For these reasons I do not advocate tests for special ability in children, nor do I favor having you or anyone else too freely characterize the child as "talented" or "lacking in talent." You should, of course, take note of any indication of ability or interest in drawing and painting, in music, or in mechanical pursuits. But let the future artistic career of the child take care of itself—as it will if it is not positively thwarted.

Interests. The child's interest in play, hobbies, collections, reading, dramatics, music, etc.—all these are of considerable importance to the classroom teacher who is to motivate the child and to relate his learning effectively to the child's life. Some of these you will learn about from the child's teacher, more still from the fond mother, and, it is to be hoped, still more from free conversation with the child. If you have established the right sort of friendly relations with the child, you may learn much by asking casually what he has been doing lately or what he would like to do. Avoid asking such intensive questions as "What do you like to do best?" Children seldom know the answer to such a question—does anyone? They may give you an answer out of politeness, however, and that is not what you want. On the other hand, spontaneous outbursts of eager interest are very indicative even though the words used need not be taken seriously.

Unfortunately, quantitative statements about interests are as yet of little value. There has been considerable investigation of children's interests, but we do not have the data necessary to enable us to speak of the child as having more or less breadth of interest than is usual for his age. Your consideration of the child's interests will therefore have to consist mainly in describing those which you find, roughly estimating their strength and attempting to show their interaction with other aspects of the child's personality. This is an important part of your study—much more important than might be judged from the brevity of our discussion.

VII Social Development

14 Social Behavior in Childhood

Children are social animals, but they have to learn how to act in the varied social situations in which they find themselves. Adults can do much to promote such learning.

When the difference between poetry and prose was explained to the social-climbing *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* of Molière's play, he was astonished to learn that he had been "speaking prose all his life." Well, we have been studying the social behavior of children in every chapter of this book. Nonetheless, there are many phases of social development which remain for specific consideration.

The Need for Affiliation

Basic to all social behavior is the human being's need for affiliation or belongingness. Every human has this need, even the frustrated misanthrope or the hermit. No person is a whole person who is isolated from his kind. No animal, unless it be the dog, so needs affiliation as does man. As we saw in an earlier chapter, almost the first differentiated behavior displayed by an infant is a reaching out toward the attending mother.

As the child grows older, the need for affiliation takes many forms: the need to love and be loved, the craving to be accepted, the desire for prestige. It remains, however, in all its forms and throughout life one of the most urgent of all needs. Man is essentially a social animal.

► The Requirements of Social Adjustment

Inherently social as a human being is, he does not come into the world equipped with the necessary traits and techniques for social living. He has to learn how to be social. Morgan (197) distinguishes four important *levels of social development.*

(1) The child must learn not to get into undue trouble with others. He must learn not to hurt others, to respect their rights, to refrain from interfering with them and thwarting them. "This is the negative aspect of social adjustments; yet, in many instances, it embraces all that children are taught about social dealings" (197, p. 489).

(2) The passive type of adjustment is a little higher in the scale and is learned a little later. The child is taught to be docile, to obey authority, to conform. This form of social adjustment is convenient for the adult in charge of children; obedient children seldom make much trouble. But as we noted in Chapter 3, obedience and docility, though they have their place, are of very limited value in the child's social development.

(3) The third level is that of full social interaction, of cooperative give-and-take. We shall have more to say of this shortly.

(4) The highest level of social adjustment, Morgan tells us, is understanding the other person—a simple statement, easily made; but to gain this understanding takes a lot of learning.

The Social Code

To achieve any of these levels of social adjustment, moreover, the child must learn the appropriate social codes. By a social code we do not mean merely a code of manners and etiquette. It includes also moral codes and the whole vast critical apparatus which defines *the way people act toward one another.*

Particularly important in the code is the definition of social roles. There is a role for small children and a different role for older children, a role for girls and a different role for boys. From birth to two or three the infant is expected to be "cute," the idol of the family; from six on he is expected to sit quietly at school. From six to twelve, moreover, the boy is expected to be male, and independent of grown-ups; the girl is expected to be "feminine" and, in most circles, to be more docile and dependent on adults (Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb, 205). There are prescribed and proscribed methods of aggression, prescribed and proscribed methods of submission, both changing with advancing age. There are, as we all recognize and as our British friends say, "things that just aren't done." And woe betide the child who does not play his proper role!

An important and difficult part of the social code is that which defines the role and values of others. Part of the difficulty is due to adult inconsistency. Religion and democracy teach the supreme

value of the individual, but countless provisions of the social code gnaw great chunks out of this precept. There are class and caste and "racial" limitations, individuals who are scorned by the child's parents, people who don't count, servants who obviously have a subordinate role. There are naughty children and nice children (children with whom you may play and children with whom "you don't want to play"), children you may taunt or pity, children you must be careful not to offend, children to be afraid of. Jersild (130) has evidence that there is much irrational overvaluation of physical characteristics in both childhood and adolescence, though in the choice of friends this is not so apparent. The role of the child in relation to the parent is usually vigorously taught by precept; the role of the parent is taught mainly by concrete example. And childhood tradition is full of definitions of the role of teacher and pupil, of hero and scoundrel, of the policeman, the soldier, the housemaid, the cook.

The social code—or rather the many different social codes, for each culture and each subculture has its own—is far from a perfect instrument. Who of us has not felt the sting of its harshness and injustice? With Omar Khayyam we would gladly ". . . shatter it to bits . . . and then, Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire." Yet we must help children learn what the code is. We need not strive to make them perfect little conformists—as they grow in understanding we can help them to see both good and bad in the code and can teach them how to evade its more onerous precepts. But awareness of the code is an essential for social growth. And there is further the necessity to make habitual and automatic many of the prescribed behaviors.

► Kinds of Social Participation

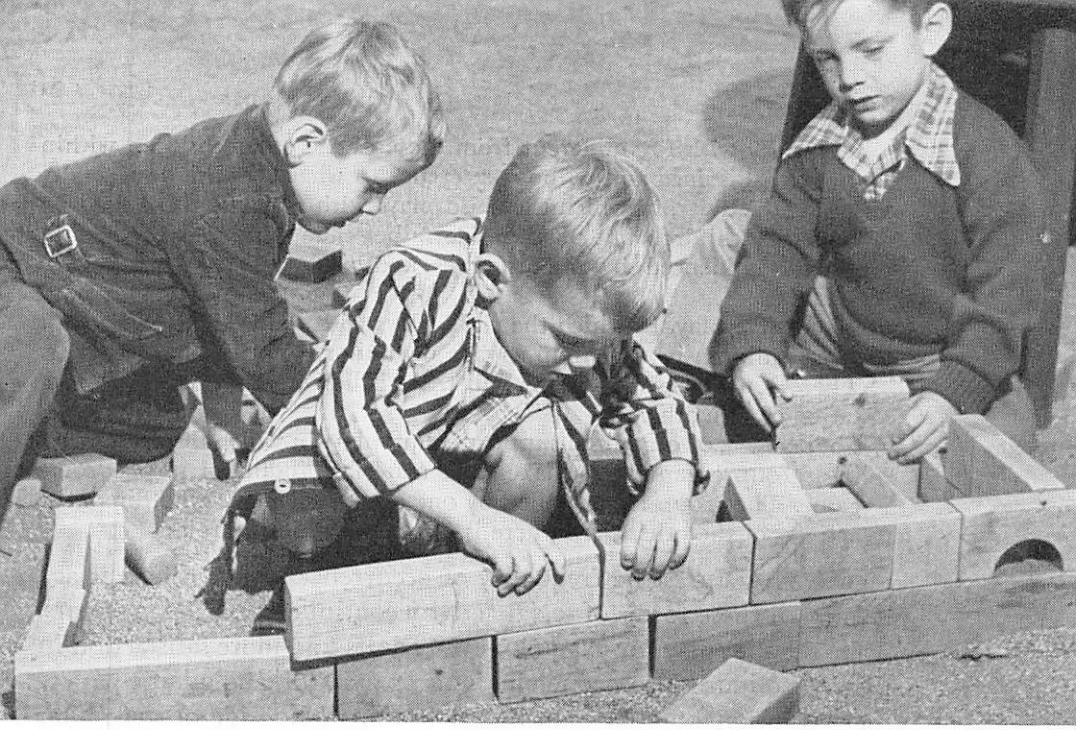
Parten (223), from a study of preschool children, was able to distinguish six forms of social participation—or rather four, for the first and third are forms of nonparticipation:

1. **Unoccupied behavior,** in which the child watches anything of momentary interest, or makes idle movements.
2. **Onlooker behavior,** in which the child watches other children at play. He often talks to the children at play or offers suggestions but does not overtly enter into the play.
3. **Solitary independent play,** in which the child plays alone and inde-

Onlooker behavior (Virginia Babcock)

Figure 33. Stages i

Parallel play (The Buckley Sc



ative play (The Buckley Schools)

ocial Participation

Cooperative or organized play (Virginia Babcock)

pendently with toys different from those of the other children within speaking distance and without reference to what they are doing.

4. **Parallel activity,** in which the child plays with toys like those used by the other children but plays beside rather than with them. He is not overtly influenced by their actions and does not try to influence them.
5. **Associative play,** in which the child plays with others. In this play, all other children in the group engage in similar if not identical activity. There is no division of labor, but there is borrowing of material, imitation of each other.
6. **Cooperative or organized supplementary play,** in which the child plays in a group organized to make some material product or to play some game. The group is controlled by one or two members who direct the activity of the others, and there is other distinction of roles.

Figure 34 pictures the frequency of occurrence at five different age levels. All these forms of social activity continue into the later years. Take parallel play for example: even adults find more satisfaction in playing solitaire if someone else is also playing it, and a large part of their vocational activity consists in working alongside others rather than actually working with them. However, for the group relations of older children, it is perhaps more useful to speak of social participation (*a*) in casual interactions, (*b*) in organized groups, and (*c*) in intimate personal relations of love or close friendship.

Casual Social Interactions

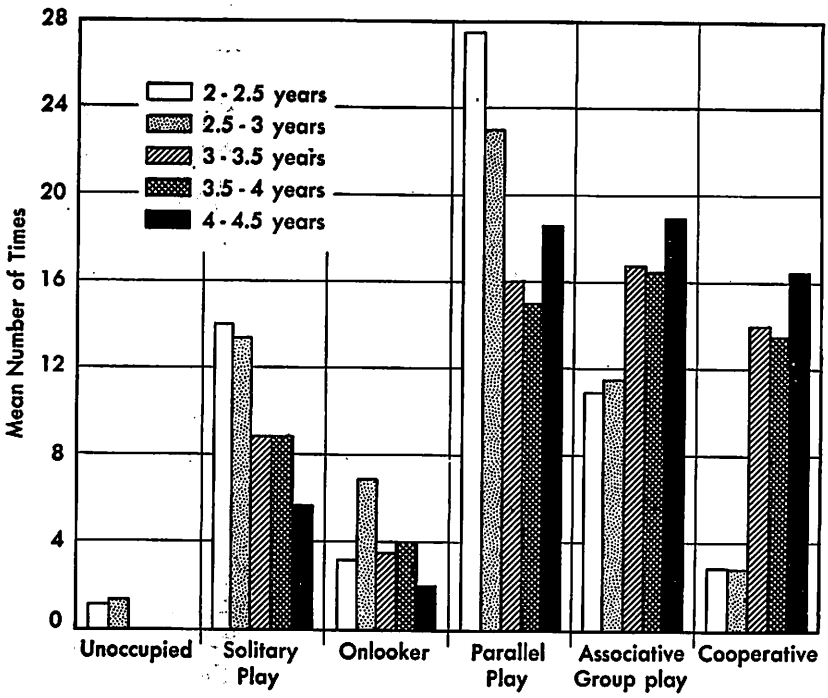
The first of these are so familiar to us all that they need no elaborate description: meeting people, chatting with people one meets on the train, conversation with slight acquaintances, and—at the early childhood level—onlooker behavior and parallel play. It is an interesting fact that in middle and late childhood such casual social interactions, though less demanding in terms of personality and of social facility, occupy a relatively small place. Children quickly and naturally gravitate into the somewhat organized forms of social interaction.

Organized Social Interaction

These organized groupings, it is true, may be very impermanent, and the structure may be rather loose. In early childhood that is characteristically the case. Nonetheless, in these groups, each child has a place, a function in relation to others; even in so simple a game as Pull-away, there is an "It."

It is, moreover, apparent that the degree of possible (and, to some

Figure 34. Types of Social Participation for Ages 2 to 4½



The different bars show the mean number of times each activity was engaged in at different ages. (Six children at each age level, sixty observations on each child.) Adapted from M. L. Parten (223), by permission of the American Psychological Association.

extent, of desired) organization increases with age. The play of younger children is very loose; elaborate rules, teamwork, and the playing of special roles come later. The characteristic social unit in the first grade is a group of two or three, at most four; a child leader rarely holds together a larger group for even a short time. Gradually the group grows larger and at the same time gains in cohesiveness, until in late childhood we reach "gangs," clubs, and cliques with rigid membership and carefully defined regulations for each member.

Gangs. A great deal has been written about "gangs" and the "gang age." There is no question that at least in Western culture there is a tendency for the sexes to separate and for the children to form tight little groups of from four to eight or ten. *Gang* has somewhat unpleasant connotations in English, but gangs as such are neither bad nor good. It does seem at times as if they are more often antisocial than not; but this is just part of the general fact that it is easier to be

"bad" than "good." Properly led and guided, a gang provides a wonderful opportunity for social learning. Here above all a child has a chance to try himself out, his social skills and techniques, and *learn what is effective.*

Not all children get into a gang, however; there may be none available, they may not be accepted, or parents fearful of unwholesome associates (or, unwittingly reluctant to share their authority with the child's peers) forbid the child to join. Even those who do join a gang or club may belong for only a short time. On the whole, this is unfortunate. We should hesitate to declare gang membership an essential phase of development, but it is a valuable phase. If no suitable groups are available, we should be at some pains to see that they are formed.

But these groups are not the only mainfestation of organized social life, even during the "gang age." There are family cooperative activities, many less highly stylized work and play groups, and, not to forget, the school classroom. The last is an experience in group relations of very great value; and more than we realize, it is a social organism in which the children themselves make many of the rules. In fact, one of the chief obstacles to the introduction of progressive methods lies in the stubborn traditionalism of the children. Even kindergartners come to school with rather fixed ideas of the respective roles of teacher and pupil. Many of them are quite frustrated when the teacher refuses to behave in the expected traditional fashion.

Discussion of the third form of social participation, that of close friendship and love, we shall postpone to Chapter 16.

Play

In this discussion of the forms of social participation we have made no distinct place for play. Nor shall I describe play as a special kind of behavior in the section which follows. It should be obvious by now that this is not because play is unimportant. Play, however, is not a special kind of activity but an attitude toward one's own activity. Play is just what you do when you are free to do what you want to do (Guilick, 109). It is thus very close to being the same thing as the intrinsically motivated behavior discussed in Chapter 9. Much that is sometimes called play—especially the "play" of adolescents and adults—is rather grim work, not play according to this concept; but fortunately a great deal of what is called work is genuinely playful.

I do not, moreover, retract from the position, repeatedly taken in this book, that play is a great educator. The spontaneous activities of children, though without any thought of utility, provide much the largest part of the child's learning. Constrained and guided learning in contrast, plays but a minor role. Particularly is this true of the acquisition of social behavior.

► Different Sorts of Social Behavior

Manners and Social Skills

An old proverb has it that "Manners myketh a manne." If we take the term broadly enough there is considerable truth in this observation. For I have in mind not merely conventional rules of politeness and the like but the whole range of behaviors with which we respond to others or cause them to respond to us. Posture, bearing, facial expressions, gestures, manner of speaking, ease and poise, self-confidence (or a reasonable facsimile thereof), the know-how of meeting people, graciousness, heartiness, joviality, a quick attentiveness to the other person, alertness, quietness or loudness, dignity—these and a thousand others are included. Many of these behaviors do not seem to send deep roots into the personality; they are in that sense relatively superficial. They are not, on that account, unimportant. They are indeed the "small change" of social life, yet the person who is short of this change is greatly handicapped. However great one's other merits, one simply cannot get along without knowing "how to act."

The Learning of Manners and Social Skills. Manners, even in this broad sense, are much more susceptible to direct instruction by precept than most other social behaviors. They can be learned by assiduous drill, and they are enormously influenced by example, especially a regular example.

It ought to be remembered, however, that even manners may spring from somewhat deeper sources in the personality. We cannot expect the chronically unhappy child to grow up with a "bright and smiling face." Friendliness of manner is seldom found unless the child feels secure. Part of the task in educating for habitual good manners is to provide the situations in which good manners are the natural outcome.

It is often said that manners must be learned early in life. The popular view is vividly stated by James:

> The period below twenty is . . . important . . . for the fixing of personal habits, properly so called, such as vocalization and pronunciation, gesture, motion, and address. Hardly ever is a language learned after twenty spoken without a foreign accent; hardly ever can a youth transferred to the society of his betters unlearn the nasality and other vices of speech bred in him by the associations of his growing years. Hardly ever, indeed, no matter how much money there be in his pocket, can he even learn to *dress* like a gentleman-born. The merchants offer their wares as eagerly to him as to the veriest "swell," but he simply *cannot* buy the right things. An invisible law, as strong as gravitation, keeps him within his orbit, arrayed this year as he was the last; and how his better-bred acquaintances contrive to get the things they wear will be for him a mystery till his dying day (125, Vol. I, p. 122).

The point is undoubtedly well taken; but there is also a good deal of picturesque exaggeration. James neglected to notice, moreover, that many of these behaviors are foreign to child conduct, correspond to no contemporary need of the child, and seem to him meaningless and arbitrary. We thus face a small dilemma: shall we let the child grow past the stage of his development wherein he can most readily make these manners automatic and smooth; or shall we force him for his own good to learn something that makes so little sense for him at the time?

One solution is to make the learning of "manners" more interesting by means of dramatic games and like contrivances. Even a rational approach has some merit; most children can be helped to see *some* sense in "doing things the right way." Usually, however, we endeavor to inculcate these behaviors by main force. We dingdong away—"No, give Mrs. Purcell your right hand, Herbert; your *right* hand!"—at the expense of strain, anxiety, and resentment. It isn't worth it. After all, despite what James said, manners *can* be learned later when needed—at least well enough.

Moreover, we should ask ourselves whether the manners we are so exercised about are really those the child will need in the sort of social life in which he is actually going to move. Certain old ladies to the contrary notwithstanding, "good manners" can sometimes be out of place; and "good manners" that are out of place are bad manners.

Yet, for success in life and for pleasant and comfortable living, it would be hard to exaggerate the value of having the social skills that are valued in the society in which one is actually to live and work. Teaching children *how* to act is almost as important as teaching them *what* to do.

Ascendancy

Ascendancy is defined as the tendency to direct the behavior of others and to persist in one's own purposes against social obstacles. A very large number of behaviors seem to be covered by this definition. In the nursery-school period we list as evidence of ascendant behavior: possessiveness with playthings (attempts to get them from others by force, words, or guile, or to retrieve them when lost to others); attempts to guide and direct the behavior of others; and criticisms and reproof of others. In older children we may have overt aggression, coercive leadership, bullying, rivalry and jealousy, competitiveness, criticism and verbal disparagement of others, and the same struggle for possessions (in slightly more sophisticated form) as found in younger children.

The names of these behaviors, it will be noted, are all slightly disapproving. But ascendancy can be described in more favorable terms. Instead of aggression we can speak of courage, independence, initiative; we can speak of persistence; we can speak of leadership by persuasion and diplomacy. Ascendant behavior, as defined, it is clear, is intrinsically neither good nor bad.[1]

Modifying Ascendant Behavior. Even at a very early age children differ enormously in their tendency to be ascendant. There is some indication that bodily constitution plays some part; healthy, energetic infants seem to be more ascendant. In nursery school it is certainly the mobile child, the child who gets around, who displays this trait (Murphy, 207). But Jack (123) and Page (221) have shown that young children low in ascendancy can be trained to be more ascendant, and Chittenden (61) showed that children high in aggression can be helped to be less so. Clearly then, the amount of ascendancy can be influenced by the child's experience. Moreover, the particular way in which it is expressed is even more subject to control by the kinds of experience to which the child is exposed.

Reducing Aggression. Although we harbor a sort of sneaking admiration for many of its manifestations, most of us profess a desire to lessen aggression, at least in "aggressive children." It can be done. In the first place, we must lessen the amount of aggression to which the child himself is exposed. In childhood as in later years, aggression begets aggression. And in this connection we note that repressive

[1] Are all these varied behaviors manifestations of a single trait of ascendance? There is much evidence that they are. This means that there are some principles which apply to them all. Of course there are also differences: gaining your ends by diplomacy may be somewhat (it is clearly not wholly) like fighting for them.

adult discipline in the child's eyes is aggression; whatever our rationalizations, valid or invalid, he usually sees it in no other light. The literature is full of evidence that the children from repressive homes are likely to be quarrelsome or sneakily aggressive. (See, for example, Meyer, 190.) When the child cannot work off his aggression upon the adult who arouses it, he is likely to displace it upon the most convenient and available victim among his associates—or upon his pets.

Teachers and parents, moreover, generally have simply no idea of the number of times they interfere with and block the child's activities. (See, for example, Murphy, 207, and Dawe, *et al.,* 67.) When faced with an objective record of their own behavior, they usually refuse to believe the record is fair or typical. The cumulative effect of these interferences certainly is to induce overt or covert aggression. The overanxious parent or teacher may thus create aggression almost as effectively as the authoritarian parent discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. And aggression is no exception to the Law of Exercise; other things being equal, the more a child practices aggression, the more aggressive he becomes.

Of course some fighting is hardly aggression at all. It is just fun—more like the fighting play of two puppies than anything else. Moreover, much fighting and quarreling is due to ignorance and lack of understanding of how to get things done without fighting. Jersild and Fite (131) found, for instance, that quarreling reaches a sort of peak at age three; the children are old enough to get about and to have many contacts with others but haven't yet learned how to manage them. That is why it is possible with nursery-school children to lessen the tendency to be bossy and domineering by helping the child, as Chittenden (61) did, to understand the social situation and why the other children were acting as they were. When children get a firmer grip on the techniques of social adjustment they have less need of fighting. Guidance in less violent techniques can be of great help here.

The heavy reliance upon rivalry and competition in our schools certainly does nothing to lessen undue aggressiveness. We must remember, furthermore, that in any competitive situation there is always a loser—usually many losers to one winner—and that the frustration of losing tends to build up aggression.

But do we really want to eliminate or even greatly reduce a child's aggressiveness? Basically aggressiveness is just wanting to see one's own purposes fulfilled. Wanting that enough to do something about

it, even if others stand in the road. Of course there's the rub. What we are really concerned about is that aggression shall not be carried to the point where the child cannot recognize the rights of others to carry out *their* purposes. It is more important that the child be taught awareness of the rights and feelings of others than that he be taught to be less aggressive.

There often develops, however, a love of aggression for its own sake, a pleasure in dominating others just for the sake of dominating. It may appear very early in childhood. Such love of being the boss is rather dangerous. Aggression needs to be demoted from the position of being an end to that of a means to the end. Children should learn to utilize aggression and other ascendant behaviors in order to reach objective goals.

Moreover, they must learn the acceptable and effective ways in which aggression may be shown. Note that I state the case positively in terms of learning acceptable modes rather than in terms of learning to avoid unacceptable ones. We are much too prone merely to forbid "bad" aggression and leave it at that. "Good" aggressiveness differs greatly in various cultures and social classes at different ages. (But the child may actually have a better idea of what is acceptable in his peer group than the teacher, especially if the latter comes from a different social class.) All in all, the proper use of aggression presents many problems, but they are all learning problems—learning problems where we can be of much greater help to children than we commonly are.

Leadership

As we have implied, there is a positive side to ascendant behavior. We no longer think in terms of "born leaders." Any child has the potentialities for some sort of leadership.

The Desire to Lead. There have been many attempts to discover and describe the qualities of successful child leaders. Probably the most important qualification for leadership is the desire therefor. Many children seem perfectly content to sit back in a spectator or follower role. This, however, is almost certainly a learned response, just as eagerness to take over leadership is learned. The child needs satisfying experience in leading if he is to acquire the desire to lead.

> But note the inevitable semicontradiction here in our thinking. Only four paragraphs back we were condemning the desire for domination; now we are praising the desire to lead. Is there really any difference? Inherently, probably not. It depends, does it not, on the

total pattern of behavior, and on ethical values? "Bossiness" for its own sake and "selfish leadership" are condemned, but leadership as such is "all right" or even commendable. As inconsistent as this sounds, it is probably quite reasonable. Every kind of human behavior may be either "good" or "bad," "useful" or "harmful," "wise" or "foolish," depending upon the relations this behavior has with other behavior and with the total human situation. The difficulty in guiding the development of children is to keep this wider context in mind. In promoting the desire to take the lead, we have to be careful that we do not promote "bossiness." It is probably very much the same trait; only the context makes it different.

Visibility. If the desire to lead is to bear any fruit, the leader must first of all manifest a certain "visibility," must somehow stand out from the group. Almost any quality, sometimes even rather disagreeable ones, can contribute to visibility.

Superiority. Once visibility is gained, the leader must be able to manifest useful superiority. He may be the child who knows the rules of the game, he may be able to think of interesting things to do, he may inspire confidence in his fairness; he may be able to play the games better than the others; he may simply be bigger and stronger; at any rate, in some way or other, he is superior in doing the things which the group wants to do.

Child leaders, like their elders, often have their own axes to grind; but they early learn that they can gain their own ends only as they make the group feel the *usefulness* of their superiority. Thus the successful leader will seldom interrupt an ongoing activity—he joins it. Only later will he attempt to divert the group to some other activity.

Self-confidence. Sheer superiority, however, is not enough. The leader has sufficient self-confidence so that he puts his superiority to work. Leadership which is thrust upon a child (because he is thought to be able) is seldom held very long, unless the child responds by doing something to hold his leadership (Jennings, 127).

Social Sensitivity. Finally the successful leader is "socially sensitive." He is quick to sense the needs of his followers, quick to perceive their reactions to him and to adjust his behavior accordingly. This is especially true in later childhood; in early childhood the leader is more likely to just "bull it through."

Leadership Training. We said above that leadership may be acquired; more than that, it can be taught. Thus Jack (123), in a widely quoted experiment, took those children whose ascendance scores

were in the bottom third of their nursery-school group and brought them up pretty close to the top in ascendancy, particularly in the matter of directing the activities of others. She did this by putting them into a situation where they were confident of a special skill and where they were almost compelled to take the lead and show the other child how to play. Apparently they found this an agreeable occupation, for their ascendance spread to many other situations.

There clearly are implications here for the classroom. As Breckenridge and Vincent say: "Much more than is ordinarily done can be done to train the less prominent and less skilled children in some special capacity which will be useful to the group and which will give them status in the group" (35, p. 410).

The training for useful superiority should, moreover, precede the child's attempt to assume leadership. You can't just throw the socially nonascendant child into a group in the hope that he will find his own level. He will—at the bottom. If a child is to learn to lead, he must, as it were, have aces or at least kings and queens to lead with.

There are no comparable experiments dealing with the second main requirement of leadership, social sensitivity. We know, however, that social sensitivity depends on the perception of minimal cues (which we discussed briefly on pages 166–171) and on facility in emotional communication. Unfortunately, we do not seem to know very much about how to increase it.

We make a brave beginning in the nursery school by specifically calling attention to the manifest feelings of the other child—particularly in cases where feelings have been hurt. We say, "See, Jane is hurt. She is crying." Or to a child whose approach to a timid newcomer is too vigorous we say: "He's afraid of you. See how he pulls back. You must be more gentle." We specifically direct attention to the behavior and guide the child in interpreting it.

But as the children grow older, we do less and less of this. Surely the need is not less. On the contrary. The indicative behaviors become actually less visible, a slight movement replaces the overt gesture; and the interpretation also has to become more subtle. Why then do we let the child alone to learn this much-more-difficult task by sheer trial and error?

Because we feel so insecure about it, for one thing. And particularly because it is very difficult to translate our social perceptions into verbal terms. How do we know that Mrs. Brown is a bit bored by the conversation? We know it all right, but how? We have a total impression from her facial expression and from little restless move-

ments but we can't put our finger on it. Indeed if we try to analyze our impression and put it into words, we are practically certain to overemphasize parts of the total complex of expression and thus distort it. The little wayward frown on Mrs. Brown's face helps to tell us she is bored; but the same frown on Mrs. Smith's face means attention and on Mrs. Jones's that she is myopic and needs better glasses. Thus, even if we are fairly skillful at social interpretation, we are unable to transmit our skill to others.

But you can challenge the child to learn, even if you cannot instruct him. You can direct his attention to the little behavioral signs which have such important social meaning, can check the cocksure extrovert in his certainty that everyone feels as he does, can encourage greater awareness of others' reactions. Here's a boy who is too insistent upon his own plan. Ask him (preferably in private) to notice the expressions of the other children; he probably hasn't been aware of the extent to which he is offending them. Equally important is to learn to detect approval. Thus, the child who scores a hit may also be encouraged to observe people's reactions. The classroom can and should be a wonderful laboratory in human relations.

Within limits! In the nursery, you can say to Billy that Gwen is afraid of his vigorous friendliness—say it in Gwen's hearing, and point out the signs. But if Gwen is six and still shy, you don't dare publicly to dissect her behavior or even to direct attention to it. By six years, children have developed far too much self-consciousness to be made the public object of such scrutiny. While some attention can still be directed to the behavior signs of feeling and attitude, tact and consideration impose strict limits.

In many cases, then, we need recourse to literary and, particularly, to dramatic presentations. Stories are full of first-rate descriptions of the way children behave—the descriptions are usually not too subtle; in the early years of childhood, they can't be. But the lesson is there to be reinforced by the teacher. (It often does need reinforcement. Take any story you like and ask the children to interpret the behavior depicted. You will be enlightened as to how deficient is their ability to interpret.) Drama—suitable to the child's level—is even better because the presentation of behavior, though artistically simplified and thus made more intelligible, is still concrete. Plays written by the children are of course excellent for this purpose.

Good teachers, of course, have always striven to increase children's sensitivity to social stimuli. I am suggesting nothing new but rather a more explicit awareness of the problem and a more conscious effort

to develop in all children one of the essential qualities needed if one is to act as a leader.

Compliant and Submissive Behavior

We have already discussed compliance with the directions of adults in Chapter 3. Child leaders quite as much as adults seek and gain the compliance of their fellows. It is important to notice that the compliant behavior need not be in the slightest degree burdensome. Indeed, if the leadership is good, there is real joy in following it.

This holds for those capable of being leaders no less than for others; in the nursery school it was found that those who are most ascendant are more likely also to be submissive when the occasion requires (Murphy, 207). Good leaders do not necessarily make poor followers; it is likely to be just the opposite.

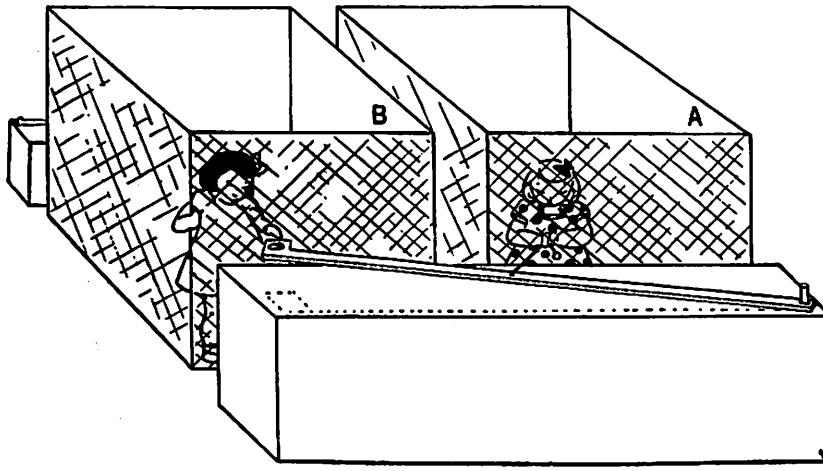
Cooperative Behavior

Organized interaction between children makes somewhat higher demands upon the children's maturity. In Parten's study of nursery-school activity, cooperative behavior was the slowest to develop. (Compare Figure 34 on p. 367.) Wolfle and Wolfle (310) believe that only the most rudimentary kind of cooperation is possible without speech. Thus monkeys, and children who had not learned to talk, were unable to solve the simple problem of helping each other which is pictured in Figure 35, whereas equally young children who could direct each other by words were able to solve this cooperative problem quite readily.

Cooperative activity incorporates a great deal of leading, and of compliance with leadership; but it is more than that. It involves the ability to perceive the goals of others and the willingness to help forward them. The social awareness of which we spoke earlier under the heading of leadership is thus fully implied. Undoubtedly, also, intellectual maturity plays a big part. The children must be able to understand what others are doing and how their own efforts can be coordinated with it. Man has developed quite a body of rules for effective social interaction, and just to learn them is an intellectual undertaking.

In its most developed expression, cooperation merges into what Harold Anderson (5, 6) calls integrative behavior. In integrative behavior, neither child dominates the other. Neither is there mere compromise—that is, each child giving up part of his purposes in

Figure 35. A Pictorial Diagram of Apparatus Used to Test Cooperation in Children



The child in Cage B can obtain a cookie only when the child in Cage A pulls on the string in her cage. Conversely, the child in Cage A can get a cookie only when the child in Cage B pulls the cookie to her by means of the lever at the back of the cages. Real cooperation was found only with children old enough to use verbal signals. Adapted from D. L. and H. M. Wolfle (310). From Morgan (197).

order to salvage the rest. Instead, a way of acting is found whereby both children find better satisfaction than would either pursuing his ends in dominating fashion.

Does this sound too elaborate and difficult for young children? But even so simple an activity as teeter-totter is an illustration of integrative activity. Here the physical requirements of the situation compel it. Where they do not, it is the function of the adult leader to help the children discover activities in which all find greater satisfaction just because others are likewise achieving their purposes.

Cooperation and teamwork are a fairly slow development, though the beginnings are laid in early childhood. Childhood play is here the great educator, closely followed by the massive structure of the traditions of childhood—a structure whose educative function in all directions we tend grossly to underestimate.

Sympathetic Behavior

Writing in 1937, Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb complain that "sympathy, humor, enthusiasm, and other subtler aspects of a warmly human personality receive little or no mention" in works on child psychology and development (205, p. 369).

Lois Murphy's monograph (207) the same year was a strong corrective, but it still remains true that sympathy receives scanty research investigation and is too little understood.

She found reason to believe that, viewed from the standpoint of origin, there are really four kinds of sympathetic behavior. First, there are specific habits of sympathy learned from others by imitation or by direct instruction. Second, there is that sympathy that comes from identification with some one, from making his feelings yours because of your love for him. Third, sympathy may be a reflection of a "basic, warm attitude or feeling toward others in general." Fourth, sympathy may be a direct, spontaneous response to perceived distress.

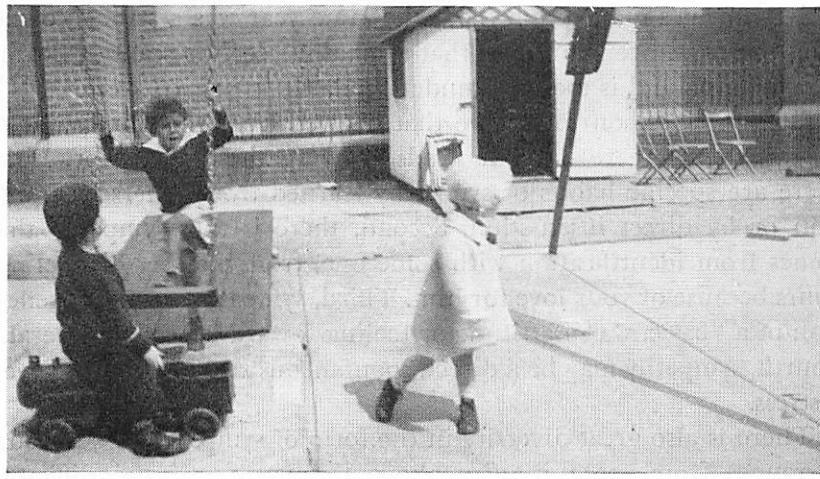
There is also great diversity in the form of sympathetic behavior: it ranges from mere inquiry about the nature of the difficulty through anxiety and protest to punishment of the attacker or help to relieve the situation.

> Functionally, however, we do find . . . that *all* sympathetic responses may be distinguished from all unsympathetic responses in the following respects: first, the need of another person gets the attention of the sympathizing child; . . . second, there is some response directed *toward* the other person; third, the response is positive, in the sense that it is an effort to share intellectually or emotionally, to relieve or to compensate for the distress. The common ground, then, lies in seeing and feeling the distress as the other person sees and feels it, and in doing something about it which he would want done (207, p. 285).

Logically, sympathy would seem to be the very opposite of aggression, yet in careful studies we find that there is a fairly strong tendency toward correlation: the child who is aggressive is rather likely to be sympathetic. Murphy and others have suggested that both forms of behavior rest upon a basic sort of "outgoing response." Looked at prosaically, we find that it is the socially active child who bumps into others and receives and gives aggression and who also runs into distress and learns to be sympathetic.

Two-year-olds occasionally react with sympathetic wails to the crying of another child; they do not often respond to the objective causes of distress in another—cuts, bumps, etc. By three, many children have begun, and by four nearly all, have learned to recognize such signs of distress. They also will sometimes respond sympathetically when another child is being punished or is attacked by a third child or is entangled in playthings or is locked up in a playpen or yard or to the child's obvious failure in some undertaking. Gradu-

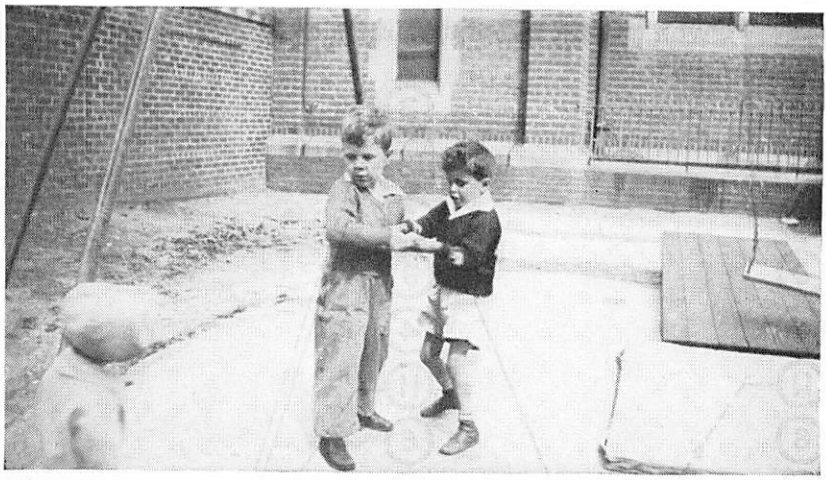
Figure 36. Sympathetic Behavior *



Patrick calls Joyce for a swing

Patrick swings Joyce

* From L. B. Murphy (207), facing page 102, by permission of Columbia University Press.

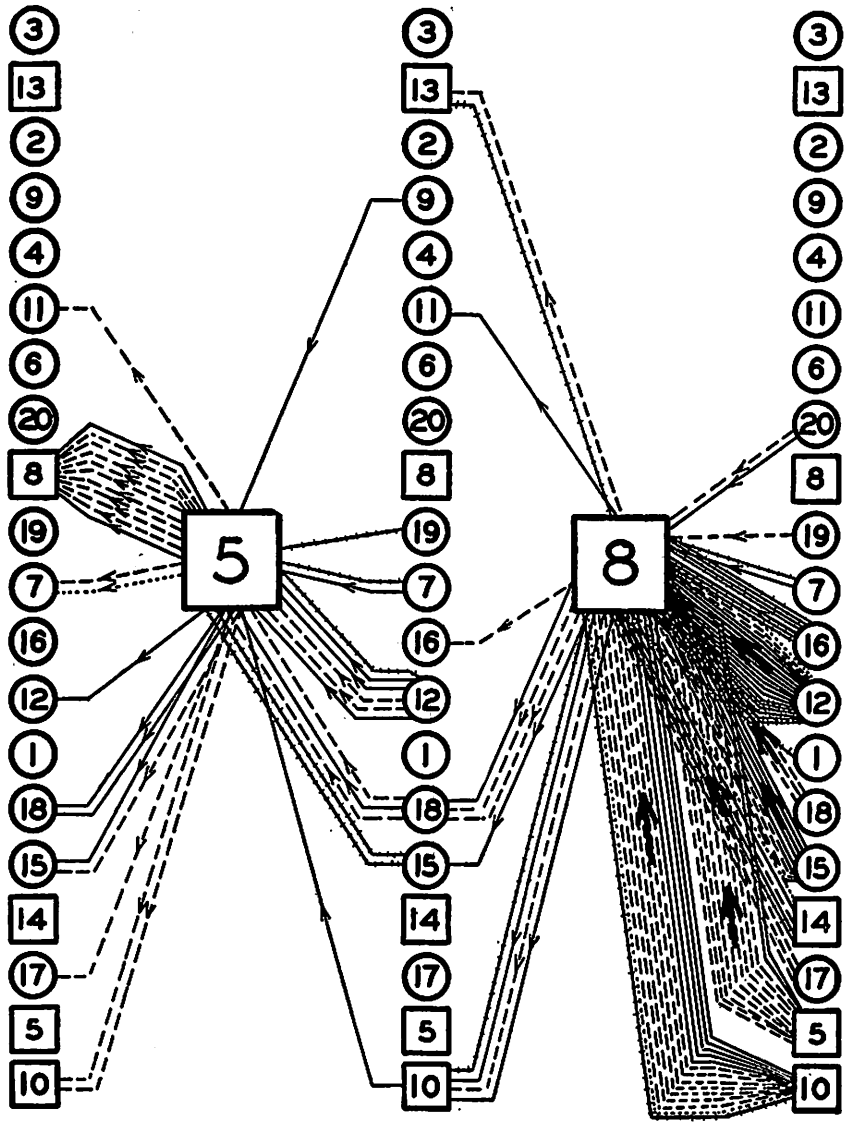


Patrick takes Joyce's purse from Seth

Patrick returns the purse to Joyce

This is characteristic behavior of Patrick during 1933–34, although it is the same Patrick who, unadjusted in his group in 1932–33, appeared to be one of the consistently unsympathetic children at the time.

Figure 37A. Individual Differences in Sympathetic Behavior
Gwen [5], 52 months, and Heidi [8], 47 months



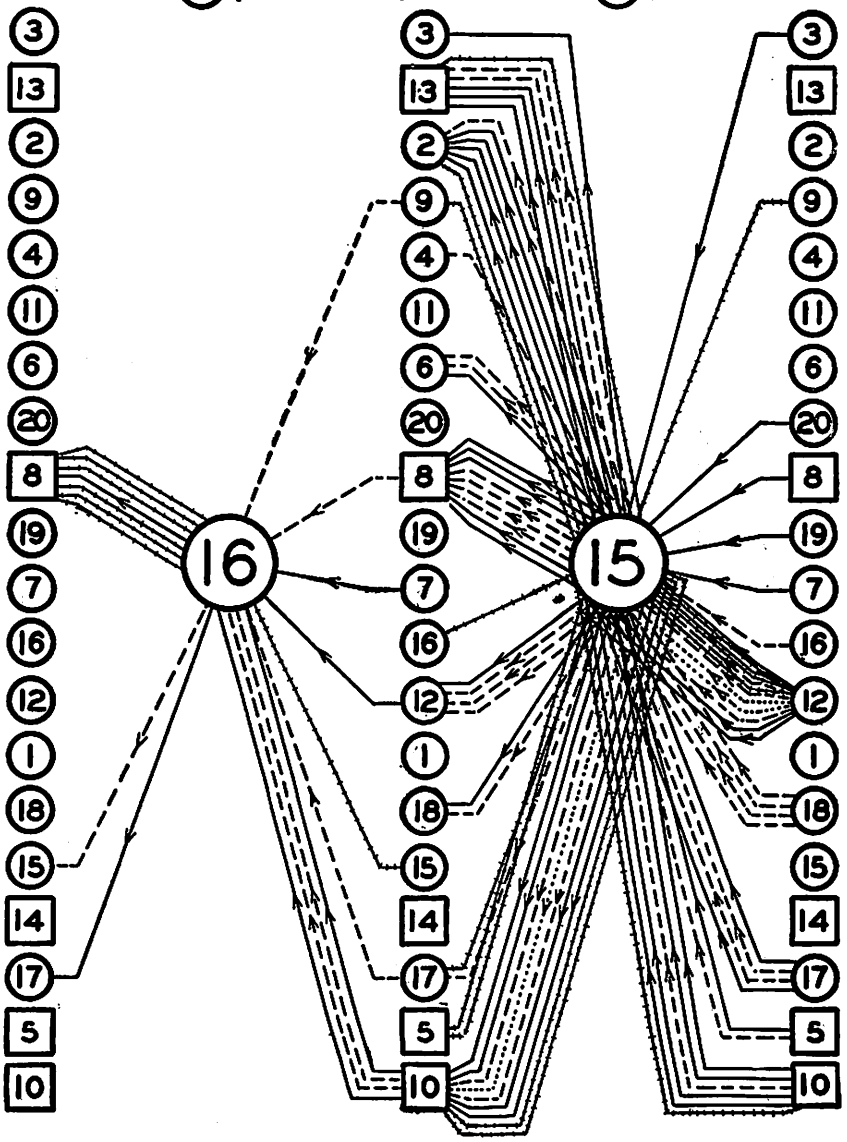
EXPLANATION

Active
Verbal
Miscellaneous
Unsympathetic

Arrows indicate the direction of the behavior. Girls are numbered in squares, boys in circles, from youngest at the top to oldest at the bottom.

Although one of the oldest and most brilliant children, Gwen's sympathetic contacts are few, while Heidi, beloved by all the group, receives many more than she gives. (From L. B. Murphy, 207, p. 140, by permission of Columbia University Press.)

Figure 37B. Individual Differences in Sympathetic Behavior Reinhardt (16), 48 months, and Patrick (15), 50 months



EXPLANATION

Active
Verbal
Miscellaneous
Unsympathetic

Arrows indicate the direction of the behavior. Girls are numbered in squares, boys in circles, from youngest at the top to oldest at the bottom.

Reinhardt's few contacts included a majority of unsympathetic ones; Patrick, who was unhappy and unsympathetic in 1932–33, is more happily placed in his group and is both recipient and giver of many responses. (From L. B. Murphy, 207, p. 142, by permission of Columbia University Press.)

ally, as social maturity increases, more and more situations are perceived as distressing and may give rise to sympathetic response. The ability to recognize the facial and postural expressions of distress in their more subtle manifestations is, as we have noted, a slow development. Individual differences are very great both in ability to recognize the distress of another and in the tendency to respond to it in some sympathetic manner. At first no sex differences are apparent, but later society demands that girls be more sympathetic than boys —so, of course, they are. It is interesting to note that between nursery-school children there were approximately eight times as many instances of conflict as of sympathetic behavior (Murphy, 207). As children grow older, however, they are more *capable* of sympathy, and thus the proportion of sympathy rises.

Sympathy gradually merges into altruism in older children. But where in the early years sympathy shows a fairly consistent increase with age (both chronological and intellectual), altruism apparently does not. At least Turner (281) failed to find any consistent gain with age in the group of boys from nine to sixteen. This should not be too discouraging. It merely indicates that we have to do with a learned form of behavior and one which is not always well taught. What is the remedy? We have already discussed the problem of teaching social sensitivity; it is difficult but not impossible. We know, unfortunately, very little about how to make children really *care* about the distress of others, even if they notice it. It is reasonable to hope that experiencing satisfaction from both giving and receiving sympathy will help.

► Summary

Running like a silver thread through the discussion of social behavior is the theme that such behavior must be learned and that adults do entirely too little to assist in this development, either by direct teaching or by intentionally providing the social situations in which effective social behavior can develop. We do teach parts of the social code—the vast body of rules that define the way people act toward one another—but even at this point we often hinder more than we help by teaching an inapplicable or unrealistic code. Much of our teaching of the code is unwitting and by example.

Manners and social skills, also, though open to direct instruction, are more often learned from example and from the traditional lore of parents and peers.

The personality traits that play a part in social effectiveness are less easily taught, less affected by percept. They are none the less learned, and the conditions for learning may to a great extent be controlled.

Exercises

1. List about ten items in the Social Code that are not legal, not moral, not etiquette but are important determiners of social adjustment.
2. Describe one of the "gangs" to which you belonged. What were some of the benefits, psychologically speaking, of your membership?
3. Suggest several ways in which a teacher could increase the children's social sensitivity. Be very concrete.
4. Look up Anderson's scale for rating teachers' integrative behavior. Observe a class and see how much integrative behavior goes on. (See H. H. Anderson, The measurement of domination and of socially integrative behavior in teachers' contacts with children. *Child Develop.*, 1939, **10**, 77–79.)

► Observing Social Behavior

The Biographical Approach. In a complete case study one would attempt to trace the development of a child's social relations from their earliest beginnings and would try to relate his present social behavior to its roots in the past. One might find the origin of an adolescent's conflict with the law primarily in a rebellion against parental domination, or one might attribute an eight-year-old girl's timidity to an oversheltered infancy and a too-abrupt plunge into school society. In the hands of professional students the complete biography has given us some very valuable insights and generalizations which are a genuine contribution to our understanding of how children develop.

Even in expert hands, however, the method is full of pitfalls as a means of studying the individual. One's informants usually have to depend on memory. They know what the child is like now, and they select from the past what they think "explains" him. The account is thus likely to reveal more about the informant than about the child. Deliberate concealment of facts, even deliberate distortion, may be added to unwitting selection and fabrication. Obviously it takes long experience on the part of the case worker to disentangle the false from the true, the irrelevant from the germane.

Fortunately, it does not usually seem necessary to make such a complete biographical study in normal cases. What we need most is a picture of the social behavior of the child now. Although we should certainly use, with due precaution, any information about the child's past that we can easily obtain, major emphasis in this study may be put upon existing social relationships; but we insist that it be upon all sorts of social relationships and not just those usually seen in the classroom.

Social Development Is Relative to Types of Situation. Almost every separate individual the child meets poses for him a different problem of social adjustment. Adults are not like children, teachers are not quite like parents, strangers are not like familiars, girls are not like boys. Every type of social demand also poses a different problem; and opportunities to learn how to meet these problems differ greatly from child to child. We talk of social development, but it is obvious that there are many kinds of social behavior, each with a different rate of development. For example, a child may be very active and successful in his relations with other children, yet shy and retiring with adults. Another child may have what is called "an old head on his shoulders." He enjoys talking with friendly adults but is at a loss in free play with children. These differences in the rate of development in different kinds of social relations are of fascinating interest and importance. If they are very great, they may lead to imbalance and difficulties of adjustment. It is one of the teacher's most urgent duties to help the child keep a sane balance.

How does one decide whether there is a "sane balance" in a particular child? What is a sane balance? Unfortunately, we have very little information on "social norms"—that is, concrete statements based on the social behavior of the "average child" of a certain age. Even if we did, it is doubtful that we could make much use of the norms in individual cases. Social development varies widely from community to community. The Chippewa Indian child who is very shy and retiring in the presence of adults is the normal Chippewa child; the Chippewa child who carries on a relatively free and easy conversation with adults, states his own opinions, and manifests his independence is considered abnormal by his parents and relatives. Similar differences characterize the social norms of different religious groups, different social classes, different localities, and, most pertinent of all, different families. One must know something of all these life circumstances if he is to evaluate social development. A child's social adjustment cannot be determined by studying only the child.

The Child's Relations to His Parents. Psychologists and case workers have vied with the novelist in writing volumes about the "normal" parent-child relationship. Yet here again there is no simple statement by which to define a "normal" relationship, no possibility of saying absolutely that one kind of relationship is better than another. Naturally the relation between parent and child should be friendly; but how friendly? Only a generation ago great emphasis would have been placed upon the child's respect for his parent rather than upon affection. Members of our own generation disagree among themselves as to the place of obedience in the home. And even experts fail to agree about the amount of leading or stimulation a parent should impose upon a child.

Security in the Home. Most of us agree, however, that the chief value of the home is the sense of security it gives a child. Of course, here we mean "psychological security" of which physical security is only a small part. If this "security" were only one thing, and we could easily discover how much there is of it, our problem of estimating the quality of the child-parent relationship would be easier. Unfortunately, security is complex and hard to assess. I know a child whose mother has given him almost unequaled "security" intellectually. He is bright, a fluent speaker, wholly unafraid of people so long as the intellectual aspect of things is to the fore. In short, at nine and in the fourth grade, he is a star pupil and the delight of his teacher. But this boy has been very invidiously compared at home to his brother and his sister in respect to the affections and to creative feeling. They are "musical," "sensitive to beauty," "warm and affectionate," while he is said to be "cold and unresponsive." As a result, if this child is put in a social situation calling for any kind of emotional response, he feels inadequate, insecure. How will he meet the challenge of heterosexual relationships in adolescence? Will he ever believe in himself as a lover? He is cocky enough in class discussions, but how secure is he, really?

I do not mean to disparage current emphasis upon "security." I do mean to urge that you see how complex a problem it poses. By all means be alert for signs that parents are helping or hindering the child's security; be alert, also, to the many, many angles from which this can be viewed.

There are, however, certain general considerations. Anything that disturbs the child's faith in his home is likely to damage his security. Now, of course, "faith in his home" is no absolute, but itself a very complex and relative matter. The child living in the physically hum-

blest home in the neighborhood is apt to feel it, even though the home is far above the city average. Behavior within the home is also relative. A drunken father is far more hurtful to security in some groups than in others, and the same is true of many other objective characteristics of the parents or the home. Thus, quarreling between the parents, while probably always somewhat disturbing, is much less so in certain social circles than in others. Indeed, what looks like a violent altercation to you may seem to the participating parents and to their child merely a peaceful difference of opinion. It is necessary to discover what the family situation *means to the child.*

That is not easy to do. It is hard to suppress your own standards and ideals, particularly in relatively small matters which elude attention but still influence judgment. Moreover, there are always likely to be at least some "party manners" when you are around. For obvious reasons you cannot depend on the testimony of parent and child. Social pressure does not allow the child to go very far in criticizing his home, even in those cases where he is really aware of what is wrong. In fact, the child who complains of mistreatment at home is more likely to be a spoiled, overdependent youngster than one who is actually mistreated. Social pressure also forbids most parents to expose freely and honestly their weaknesses as parents. Few mothers will admit that they do not love their child, and not many more will admit that the child does not love them.

Overprotection and Dependence. In the effort to give the child security, parents sometimes make the child too dependent on them and correspondingly immature in their behavior. Such immaturity is somewhat more objectively recognizable than security. Much, it is true, depends on local or family customs and on other individual factors. But there are certain modes of behavior which will characterize the behavior of average children of seven or eight or nine years. A few differences from such average behavior might not be particularly important, but to be generally ahead or behind is to be either somewhat precociously independent or somewhat immaturely dependent.

Broken Homes. Much has been written about the effect of parental friction, separation, and divorce upon the child's security. Again it is necessary to view the matter through the child's eyes. Often less damage is done than is usually implied; in other cases it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm. And real facts, unbiased reports, are anything but easy to obtain.

Broken homes, moreover, sometimes face the case worker with a

delicate problem of tact. The injured wife not infrequently insists upon telling all her woes, nor will she be diverted by your reminder that you are concerned with the child. The father's delinquencies, she is likely to say, with more or less plausibility, are the clue to the child. You will just have to be skillful enough to divert the conversation into more fruitful channels, or listen and learn what you can about the "facts of life."

But it goes without saying that you must *never* take sides in such cases—no matter how strongly pressed to do so. The word *never* is meant to be very emphatic. It includes your report to your instructor as well as your talks either with the parent or the child. Marital tangles are too complicated to be unraveled by the casual outsider and emotions run too strong for much objective discussion.

Indeed we do well to remind ourselves of the danger of *invading the parents' right to privacy*. That right is not complete, of course; courts, social agencies, or the school may be obliged to invade it in defense of the child. But in this case study you must be very careful not to go beyond the limits of the parents' willing cooperation.

This means that nearly all your information about parent-child relations must be obtained indirectly. Any conclusions will be derived from scattered observations of how parent and child act toward each other, from revealing expressions when they are off guard, from the teacher's remarks, and from a variety of casual contacts. If you are fortunate, all this may "add up" to make an intelligible picture having some claim to reliability. Don't force your interpretations, however; if your observations don't fit together, if the pattern is not clear, let that fact stand out. Let me repeat once more that a clearheaded recognition of what you do not have is one of the best criteria of progress in psychological observation.

Describing or Rating the Home. In Chapter 2 we consider the value and also the limitations of describing the home in socio-economic terms. In addition to rating the home by means of the scale described on page 45, you should have an eye open for the general conditions in which the child lives. And try to see these as the child sees them or as they have impact on him.

When you comment, therefore, as you should, that "the home was meagerly furnished but very neat," you should also be asking yourself what this means to the child. It may mean security and pride, the pride of those who are "down but not out." It may mean an emphasis upon finical cleanliness by everlasting nagging which alienates the child from the mother. It may mean that the child is learning

the bad habit of overattention to details, or any one of a multitude of other things.

A more direct approach to the child's home background is to describe parental behavior as it affects the children. The Parent Behavior Scales prepared by the Fels Research Institute provide a rather concrete and objective way of recording one's judgments. You will certainly *not* have opportunity to observe all the sorts of behavior covered by these scales, but reading them through carefully will suggest things to be on the watch for. Copies of the Scales and directions for using them will be found in Appendix 5. Don't make a rating, however, unless you have factual observations as a basis. And don't make a rating and then fail to use it explicitly in your total evaluation.

Sibling Influences. The effect of brothers and sisters upon a child's social development is inevitably important, although usually hard to determine exactly. It is impossible, moreover, to make general statements about these influences which apply in all, or even a majority of, cases. For instance, popular tradition long has held that the only child was almost bound to be "spoiled," to have difficulty in establishing social relations with other children, to show unhealthy dependence upon adults, and to be more liable to maladjustment and delinquency. Yet several surveys of the facts known about only children all show that they are not more handicapped, retarded, or maladjusted than the average child in our society. We cannot, therefore, stop with the oversimple explanation that a child is maladjusted because he is an "only," but must find the real causes of the unusual behavior. These causes are to be sought in certain concrete experiences or lack of experiences, not in some rather abstract condition like "onlyness."

Again, common sense and tradition, abetted by some psychologists, have insisted that the family birth order of a child—that is, whether he is the youngest, oldest, or in between—has a definite influence on social development. In a certain family the eldest may be treated in certain definite ways which influence his development; he may be favored by the father, for example. But in another family the eldest child may be expected to work or to take care of younger sibs. Obviously, being eldest has different effects in different families. We have to look for family and sibling influences very concretely as they actually have occurred and forego the spurious ease of explaining things by some easily ascertained circumstance like birth order. Even if it were proved that youngest children are likely to be dependent,

it would still be necessary to observe whether this particular youngest is dependent and, if possible, to discover what kinds of parental and sibling behavior made him so.

One way to get information about the family-relation pattern is to ask the parents to compare the children's personalities. This often frees them from certain inhibitions and helps them to express things which have become matter-of-fact. (Beware, however, of the parents' desire to find plausible explanations for the facts. If Johnny is a little slow in school, you will get some fancy, not to say fanciful, accounts of what last year's bout of measles did to him. Other relatives are often more observing and objective than parents.)

Teachers who have had two or more children from the same family often have valuable insights into the sibling relations. They may know that Peter is scornful of his younger brother's physical weakness but a little jealous of his excellent scholastic ability and hence inclined to bully him. On the other hand, frequently the teacher knows only each child by himself with no understanding of the relationships.

The child himself usually finds it difficult to express any feeling about his sibs, especially in response to direct questioning. "Oh, sure, we fight a lot. Just like other kids." "Yeah, he's all right, I guess." Asking the child to describe his sib's hobbies or favorite activities occasionally brings out a revealing glint of pride or admiration or a sullen disdain. The best information, however, if you can get enough of it, can be obtained by watching the sibs play together or by taking care of them some evening when the parents are out.

Social Behavior in the Classroom. One of the reasons for making a case study is to reveal the extra-class-conditions behavior which helps us to understand the child's class behavior. But observing the child's classroom behavior is important in its own right and, if properly done, goes far to help the teacher to know how to help the child. The child's attitude to the teacher and the complex relations of the child with his classmates are both important.

The six questions that follow can usually be answered by making a number of observations spread over a period of several weeks. They cannot be answered reliably by only one or two observations, nor can you safely predict from the answers what the child will do a year from now. In some cases you will obtain no clear-cut answers to any of the questions; and in most cases the careful observer will find some inconsistencies from one observation to the next. Direct observation and interviews with both teacher and child are necessary.

Even these three sources—teacher, child, direct observation—may not provide you with an acceptable answer.

1. *Is he accepted by other children?* By all of his classmates or just a few? How warmly do you think he is accepted or liked? Does he have a few particularly good friends? Does he have a few or many "enemies"? If rejected, is he rejected by both sexes or just one? On what do you base your answer?
2. *How much does he participate:* (*a*) in recitation or other formal schoolroom activities? (*b*) in the more social activities such as playing games or talking to a neighbor? Does he seem to participate more than the average child in both (*a*) and (*b*) or less? Your evidence? If he withdraws, is it from certain children or all? From some activities or all? From the teacher?
3. *Does he come into conflict with the rules of the class?* With the habits and customs of the other children? Occasionally? Frequently?
4. *Does he seem to have a feeling of responsibility to the group?* To certain children or to the whole class? When things go wrong with class procedures does he try to help? When things go wrong with another child does he try to help? Does he defend class standards or does he defend wrongdoers? Does he defend wrongdoers if they are particular friends?
5. *Does he usually seem to be cooperating in social activities or competing?*
6. *What is his relationship to the teacher?* Does he seem to like her and does she seem to like him? Is he docile and compliant? Take her for granted? Seem to be stimulated by her? Is he made ill at ease and self-conscious when she pays attention to him? Is he encouraged by her praise? How does he take rebukes she administers to him?

Watch the child's relationship to space as well as to other children. Are his actions free, untrammeled, with wide sweeping movements, or do they show cautious restraint? Is he careful with play materials—even overcareful—or careless? What is his reaction to a new toy—curious, tense, excited, calm, indifferent? These may seem like reactions to physical objects, but a little thought will convince you that they are in origin social responses.

Another interesting facet of the child's social behavior is the one he turns toward you. You are a different sort of person—not an authority-figure like parents and teacher, yet not quite a peer. His first reaction to you as a strange adult and the changes in his reaction can be very significant. Do they show how much he is at ease or secure? Not always. If he accepts you confidently, obviously expects that you will lead him into new and satisfying experiences, you do get a glimpse of what his home experience has been. If he accepts you with joy as he would a new toy—someone who can be bossed into

providing pleasure, then that too means a lot. "Correct" behavior is also to be noted.

But if the child is shy, reticent? It is hard to make safe inferences. "Shyness" is a question, not an answer. The *development* of the child's relationship with you from then on becomes both a delicate matter to manage and a thrilling thing to watch.

These general questions can be asked about every child. Many other aspects of social behavior may be important in describing the social adjustment of the child you are studying. The kind of clothes worn may have marked influence, for instance. You are specifically cautioned, therefore, not to limit your statements to these questions.

Neighborhood and Other Relationships. As a part of the factual information about the child's various contexts you will, of course, have already included a brief description of the neighborhood in which he lives. Such things as residential or business or manufacturing district, general educational, racial and economic status, are important determiners of what influences the child will have exerted upon him from late infancy onward. The presence of play space outside the home, prevalence of traffic, or other conditions which limit or do not limit his wanderings and play are obvious factors which need careful observation and description.

The play group in the neighborhood, and to some extent the supervised play group, constitute a sort of child society, relatively free from adult domination. It is quite clear that there are problems of adjustment, quite peculiar to this situation, which the child must learn to solve. He must learn to make friendly and acceptable advances to strange children, must learn the techniques of accepting and rejecting the coactivity of other children, the techniques of being accepted and, alas! of being rejected.

Each of these items, then, might well form the basis of a record of the child's social behavior in this sort of context. Or we might record the number of times the child makes friendly overtures to others and of the ratio of "success" to "failure." We might record the number of times he assumes leadership or initiative in games or the number of times he successfully accepts subordination to leadership. We might record the type of reaction to frustration by children and compare it with the reaction to frustration by adults. The possibilities are limited only by time and the observer's imagination.

These are, one or both, sometimes severe limitations. We should, therefore, in this area as elsewhere, get such information as we can from others. Parents can usually be depended on to know something

of the child's friends and neighborhood groups. On the other hand, they may know surprisingly little about the actual influence exerted by the child's associates. The child has seldom learned to verbalize his own experiences very well and cannot tell his parents, even if he wishes to, what his friend Sam means to him. Moreover, some parents who are spending more than they can afford for a "good neighborhood" will idealize it; others will try to blame the neighborhood for any untoward conduct the child may display.

But direct observation is possible. Here, however, it is not easy to be sure how far the presence of an observer alters the situation. It is obviously difficult for an adult to arrange to observe how children behave when no adult is observing them! Various kinds of changes are evidently the result of the adult's presence: self-consciousness, unusual politeness, "showing off" by attempting to boss the group, etc. Of course these behaviors are important for themselves, even though they are deviations from the pure child-child relationships.

Little has been said so far about "athletic" ability, though it is a commonplace that games tend to dominate the life of the school child. The prestige of boys with both boys and girls is profoundly influenced by being good or bad at games; and increasingly the prestige of girls during this period is affected in the same way. Teachers are often at a loss to understand the prestige of an exuberant, rather noisy, rather dirty and unkempt, not overly bright child. If they are not temperamentally debarred from understanding, they can learn much by seeing how such a child dominates child society at its peak in free play.

There are other experiences that may exert enormous influence upon specific children. Since they vary so widely, I can only mention them with the hope that you will thereby be warned to keep on the lookout for influences that stem from sources other than the conventional home-school-neighborhood contexts. Among the more commonly encountered are such events as spending summer vacations with the family in a markedly different environment, living part-time with relatives, frequent visits to friends of the family, chance friendships with adults in the neighborhood, summer-camp experiences, marked divergence of socio-economic status between the child's family and fairly close relatives, and religious influences.

Minority Groups. A child whose religious affiliations differ sharply from those prevailing in school or neighborhood is likely to discover

this fact with much dismay. The child whose parents are "free thinking" discovers that his friends are all either Roman Catholic or Protestant; he is neither. Now, although overt religious conflicts have long since disappeared from our culture, they have left many social legacies. To be different in religion is still sometimes to be the object of strange regard, even of suspicion or contempt, with resulting feelings of social insecurity.

The case of "racial" or ethnic difference is, of course, quite parallel. Members of minority groups are greatly affected by their status in our culture, and peculiarly so when they live in a neighborhood with few or none of their own group. Direct questioning is usually of little value in revealing this influence, even when the adult is a sympathetic member of the minority group.

And indeed there is some danger that we overestimate the specific effects of minority-group membership upon personality development. When you find a sensitive or "touchy" Negro child, it is a little too easy to say, "No wonder; think of what he has to put up with!" There are native white children who are also touchy. Essentially similar personality patterns are found in all the social groups of our culture despite the undoubtedly strong pressures which tend to mark off minority groups.

I do not mean that you should ignore the fact of membership in a minority group in your case study any more than you should ignore the fact that the child is the eldest of six. In both cases, however, you should look for the concrete experiences associated with being a member of a minority or of being eldest.

Interrelations of Social Behavior Patterns. I have emphasized that you must be at great pains to observe the child in varied circumstances; you must not neglect to consider also how these circumstances affect each other. A mother-dependent child may progress or fail to progress in a play situation, not so much in the light of what happens on the playground as of what happens in his relations with his mother. And, naturally, the effects are reciprocal—or may be. In some cases at least, growth in socialization at school or play will result in a demand for more freedom and independence at home. If this demand for independence at home is thwarted, there is very likely to be, in compensation, a development of overaggressiveness on the playground. It is clear, then, that a child's behavior with playmates cannot be fully considered without considering his relationships with adults.

Moreover, to understand a child's behavior with other individual children, it is usually necessary to take into account the nature of the group and the roles the children play in the group. In a group where he is dominant, Bob may be inclined to tyrannize over Herbert a bit. Transfer the boys to a group in which both are underdogs and Bob may assume the role of Herbert's protector. If an observer sees Bob in only one of these two situations, he is likely to characterize him either as heartless, unfeeling, and mean or as sympathetic and helpful. Neither is quite just, since Bob has been observed in too limited a situation.

As another illustration, consider the case of the retarded child who acts the bully on the playground and is cruel to little children. In part this is due to, or at least made possible by, the fact that the retardate is bigger (because older) than the rest of the group. There is really no inherent relation between being cruel or a bully and being dull or feebleminded. The very dull child of twelve with a mental age of nine certainly does not have the social awareness that you expect of a child of twelve; he does have—or rather certainly can have —as much or even more than would be expected of a child of nine. And a child of nine knows better than to twist the arms of smaller children. The tendency to act the bully, therefore, is not an inevitable corollary of dullness or retardation; it is rather a corollary of *our treatment of the retardate.* If he is made in school to feel his inferiority to others—and merely being with others who are almost uniformly superior is pretty sure to have this effect—then if he has any spark of self-esteem left, he will try to find an outlet for it. It is the fault of supposedly wiser adults if he is left to find in bullying or other antisocial behavior the only way to assert his personal worth.

The case of the retarded child may also show concretely how the child's relationship to the group as a whole determines his behavior in the group. If the retardate feels generally inferior because of the way he is treated by some of the group, he may compensate by bullying other members of the group who may never have been at all responsible. Indeed, he is likely to take out on the inoffensive members of the group his resentment against being made to feel inferior by the more aggressive.

The same general principle may be our guide in understanding other examples. Thus the security of a child in a group seems to depend as much upon the presence of warm feelings for a few other children in the group as it does on the general activity engaged in or

on the person directing group behavior. Since friendship and enmity among elementary-school children tend to be impermanent and subject to rapid changes, we are too frequently apt to overlook their importance. A clue to such feelings, especially of friendship, can frequently be obtained from simply asking the child himself. But even in the lower grades the social disapproval of expressing one's feelings openly has had some effect, so information on hostilities and aggressions must usually be obtained from someone such as teacher or parent who has had an opportunity to make long-time observations, or be inferred from some revealing off-guard expressions. Open aggression, however, especially in younger children, may not be an indication of a prevailing attitude of hostility.

The illustrations point to an important principle. We all agree that we must study the "whole child." But to study the whole child means to study the whole complex of circumstances among which he moves. Obviously it is never possible to study exhaustively every situation that a child experiences. Practically, then, the principle comes down to this: **To understand the whole child, endeavor to observe his behavior in as diverse circumstances as possible and be alert to the way one kind of experience affects another.** And then, be most painfully aware of the inadequacy of your observational base and humbly aware of the uncertainty of your conclusions.

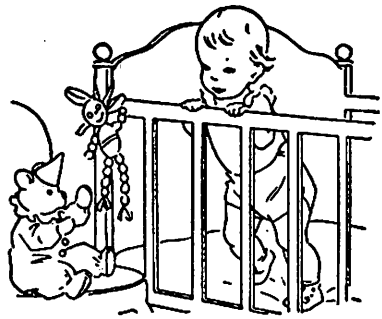
A Check List of Social Maturity. The Vineland Social Maturity Scale is an attempt to give greater objectivity to the kind of judgments we all tend to make by setting down those social behaviors in our culture that seem most regular in their appearance and thus most characteristic of maturity (Doll, 71). When it is used as a standardized measuring instrument, there must be expert examining skill and interpretation at a professional level.

We suggest a less-ambitious use of the scale for your purposes. The items of the scale may be used to give you a rough idea of what can be expected in general of a child of a given age range. You can study to see whether the child manifests these and similar modes of behavior. Remember, however, that the particular circumstances of the child's home may bring it about that the child, while remaining quite normal in social maturity, may not do some of the things expected of his age.

With the permission of the author, I reproduce herewith a list of the behaviors characteristically (but not invariably, remember!) found at several age levels.

Figure 38. Some Milestones along the Way to Growing Up *

Before First Birthday



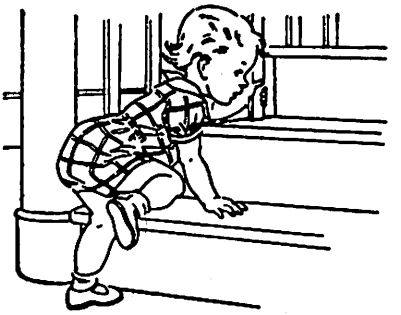
Sits up unsupported and steadily. Pulls self up to standing position, holding on for support; balance may be a bit "wobbly," but stands alone on firm surface.

Moves about floor by crawling or creeping; plays with rattle and simple objects for quarter hour or so. Does not need constant watching, but likes attention; "asks" to have parents pick him up.

Imitates sounds and attempts to say words which only his parents understand. Follows such simple instructions as coming when called, pointing out pictures or objects when asked.

* Reprinted from "Your Child Grows Up" (1950), by permission of John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Before Second Birthday



Climbs up stairs without help, gets about house and yard with only occasional oversight. Gives up baby carriage to walk or ride in go-cart.

Eats with spoon from bowl or cup, without help or too much spilling. Chooses between suitable food and substances unfit for eating. Removes wrappers from candy.

Performs useful little errands such as bringing named objects from nearby places. Opens closed doors, climbs up on chairs to reach, removes simple obstacles from his path. Uses basket to carry things.

"Helps" with undressing by removing socks and shoes (if untied). Uses short sentences, and has vocabulary of twenty-five words or more—not mere "parrot talk." Names familiar objects for practical purposes.

Before Third Birthday

Occupies self without "looking after" at own play such as drawing with crayon, building with blocks, dressing dolls, looking at pictures. Uses blunt-end scissors in cutting paper and cloth—is not destructive.

Uses fork without much spilling and eats solid food that does not require cutting. Can get drink of water unassisted, turning water tap on and off. Dries own hands if washed.

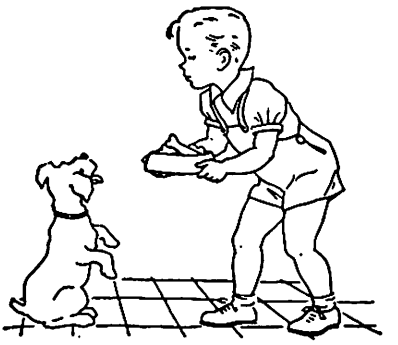
Gives simple account of own experiences and tells stories that can be understood. By action or speech makes known desire to go to toilet —seldom has daytime "accidents."

Avoids simple hazards. "Comes in out of rain." Is careful about falling when on stairs and high places, avoids sharp edges, broken glass, etc., and should keep out of streets.

Washes hands acceptably without help and dries them without soiling towel. Puts on and buttons coat or dress, but may need help otherwise in dressing.

Walks down stairs without help, one step at a time. Runs, skips, marches, and shows some sense of simple rhythm.

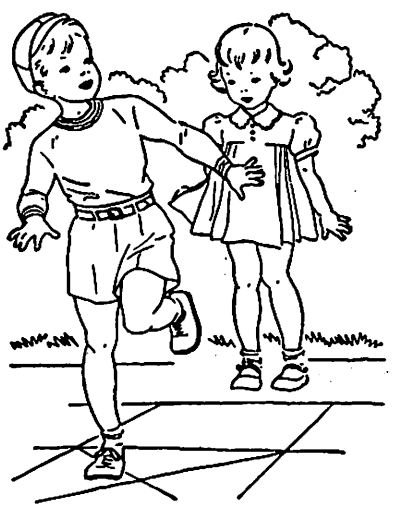
Takes part in such group activities as simple kindergarten games; joins in simple play tea parties, and activities requiring no skill. "Performs" for others, upon request.



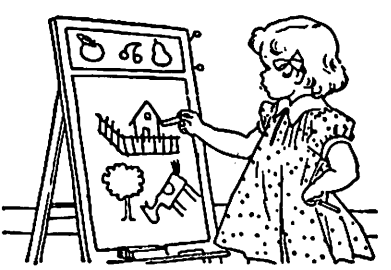
"Helps" in small ways about the house, such as running short errands, picking up things, feeding pets, dusting.

Dresses self except for tying laces, ribbons, or ties. Does all own buttoning, but clothing is laid out. May need help with muffler, rubbers, or overshoes, and with especially difficult or close-fitting clothes.

Washes face, except ears (!) acceptably and dries his face without help. Goes to toilet alone and without help; unfastens own clothes; no daytime "accidents."

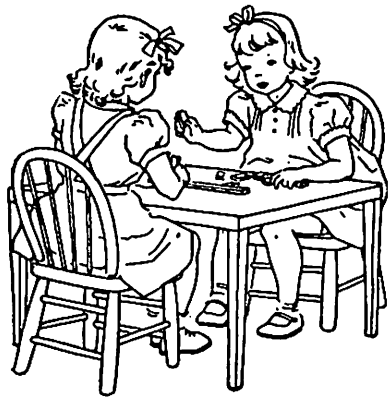


Goes about neighborhood unattended; may be restricted as to areas or "deadlines" so that his whereabouts are known, but is "on his own" within this limitation. Plays in small groups of children of same age such games as tag, hide-and-seek, jump-rope, hopscotch, marbles, etc.



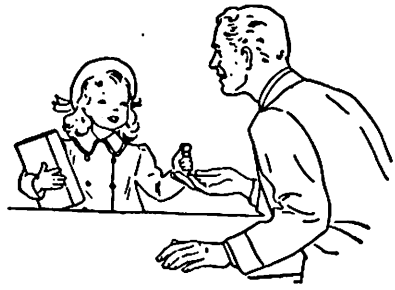
Draws with pencil and crayon simple but recognizable forms as man, house, animal, landscape.

Takes care of self unsupervised, outside own yard; manages roller skates, sled, wagon, velocipede, skooter, or other play vehicle.



Plays simple table games with others that require taking turns, observing rules, attaining goals, and does so without undue squabbling. (Games include tiddledywinks, parchesi, dominoes, etc.)

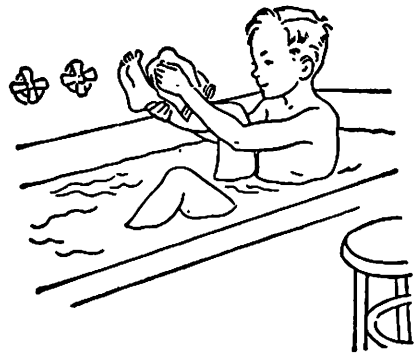
Goes to school unattended. He may go with friends, but no one is in charge of him. "On his own" outside his neighborhood. Learns to print simple words of three or four letters without copy—and his own first name. Does so without direction.



Is trusted with small sums of money to make clearly stated purchases. He carries out directions in returning purchases, but he may not be able to make change.

At table: uses knife to spread butter or jam on bread. At play: cuts, folds, pastes paper toys. Sews crudely if needle is threaded. Cannot tie knot. Enjoys making simple figures in clay.

Writes (not prints) legibly with pencil a dozen or more simple words, correctly spelled. Does so at own desire or from dictation, but does not need copy.



Takes bath without supervision, but may be assisted in preparing tub, washing ears, drying hair, and "touching up."

Performs bedtime operations without help: goes to bedroom alone, undresses, attends to toilet, turns out light according to routine. May be "tucked in" as a matter of sentiment, but requires no assistance.

Uses table knife for cutting meat. He may need help with tough or difficult pieces such as on bones or joints of poultry.

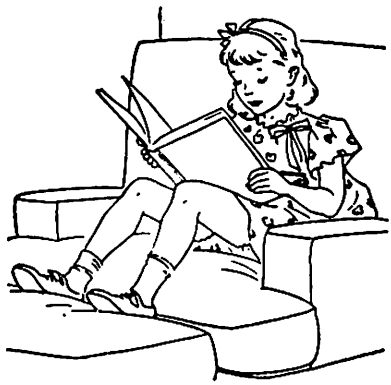
Reads ordinary clock or watch correctly to nearest quarter hour and actually uses clock for practical purposes.

Brushes and combs hair acceptably without help or "going over" when dressing, going out, or receiving company.

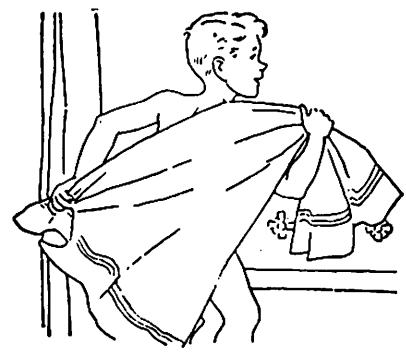
Takes part in group play; boys prefer games that do not require much skill such as unorganized baseball or basketball, follow-the-leader, fox and hounds, hiking and bicycle riding. Girls prefer playing house, school, nurse-doctor, and other imitations of home and social affairs.

Makes practical use of common tools such as hammer, saw, or screw driver; uses household and sewing utensils; handles simple garden implements successfully.

Helps with such routine household tasks as dusting, sweeping, setting table, washing dishes, making beds, attending furnace, raking lawn. Assumes responsibility for share of household chores.

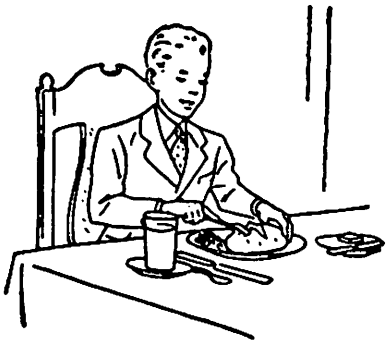


Reads independently comic strips, movie titles, simple stories, elementary news items for own entertainment or information.



Takes bath acceptably without any help; undresses, prepares tub or shower, washes and dries self (except the hair) without need of "touching up."

Before Tenth Birthday



Looks after all his own needs at table; helps himself, ordinarily prepares such items as baked potatoes, boiled eggs, difficult cuts of meat.

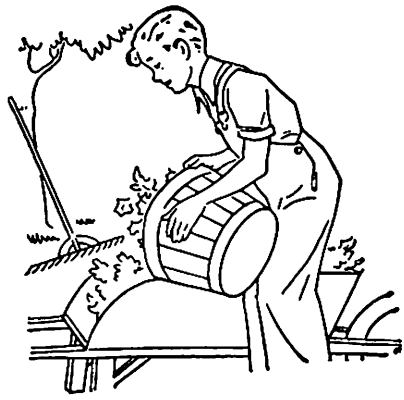
Buys useful articles and exercises some choice in making purchases. Is responsible for safety of articles, money, and correct change. Does this independently or can be relied upon to follow directions.

Goes about home community freely, alone or with friends. There may be forbidden areas, but the restrictions do not confine the child's activities to his nearby neighborhood.

Runs useful errands; is trusted as a messenger, or to carry out orders to or from not too distant points, and under clear instructions.

Writes occasional short letters to friends or relatives on own initiative, or following mild suggestions. Does so without help except perhaps in spelling unfamiliar words. Addresses envelope and makes ready for mailing.

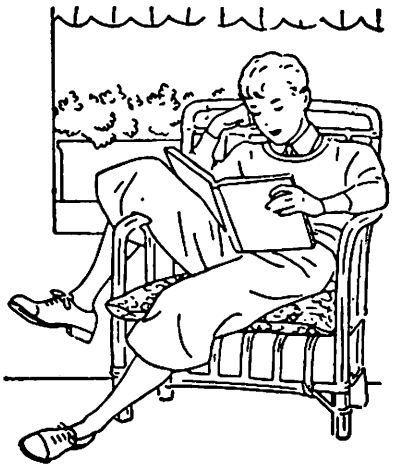
Uses telephone for practical purposes; looks up number, makes call, and carries on sensible, purposeful conversation. Does not attempt long distance calls, and automatic dialing may be difficult unless in long usage.



Does occasional or brief work on own initiative about the home or neighborhood, for which small sums are paid or merit payment, such as "odd jobs," housework, helping in care of children, selling magazines.

Responds to magazine, radio, or other advertising by mailing coupons, requesting samples, sending for literature, and ordering from catalogues.

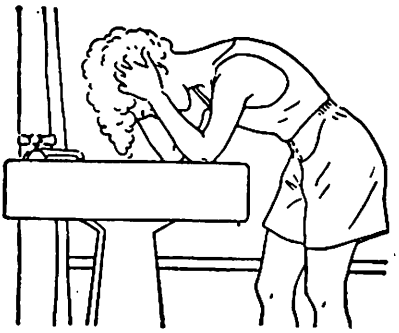
Is sometime left alone at home or at work for an hour or so, and is successful in looking after his own needs or those of other children left in his care.

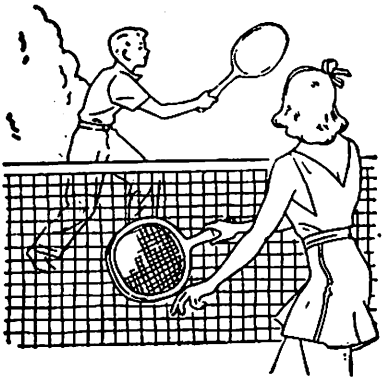


Washes and dries own hair; is responsible for a thorough job at cleaning hair, but may need reminding to do so.

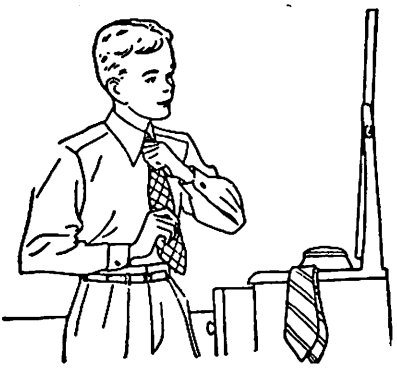
Makes useful articles or does easy repair work. Cooks or sews in small way; does a little gardening; raises pets; writes brief stories; produces simple paintings or drawings.

Reads for practical information or own enjoyment stories or news items in papers, magazine articles, library book stories of adventure and romance.

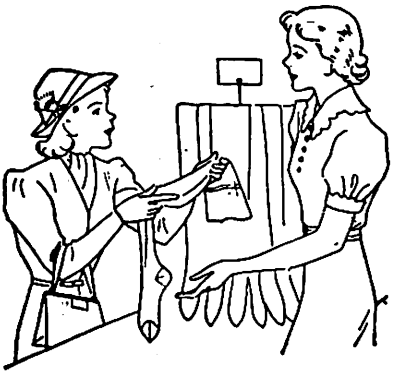




Takes part in games requiring skill such as card games, basketball, baseball, tennis, pool. Understands scoring and sticks to the rules. Is an active member of athletic team or literary organization. Attends parties, dances, and other activities with children of own age without adult direction.



Takes complete care of dress; seldom requires help in care of hair, nails, etc. Makes proper selection of clothing according to occasion and weather.



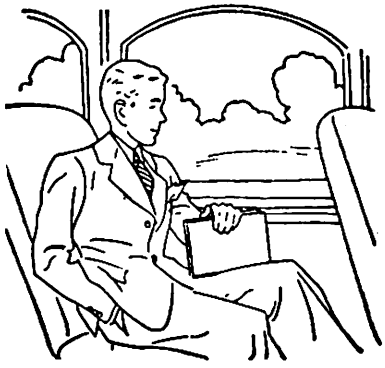
Selects and buys minor articles of clothing with regard to appropriateness, cost, and fit, such as ties, underwear, shoes, but not suits, dresses, coats. Authority may come from parents.

Performs responsible routine chores without prodding, doing his share of such recurring household work as waiting on table, house cleaning, caring for garden or furnace, washing windows, cleaning the family car.

Between Fifteenth and Eighteenth Birthdays

Writes business and social letters that are more than a matter of routine; gives serious information, significant news, and acknowledges instructions. Among friends discusses general news, sports, events, and follows these matters.

Goes outside limits of his home town, and makes his own arrangements. Is "on his own," and able to find his way about unfamiliar places. Is given responsibility for all daytime movements without accounting in advance for his plans.



Uses money with common sense. Plans for future needs rather than spending all for mere immediate enjoyment, so is ready for own spending money (either allowance or earned). Usually purchases clothes, including dresses, suits, overcoats, hats. May receive advice, but makes own sensible decisions.

Shows personal interest in the opposite sex; is interested in *a* boy or *a* girl, as well as in all boys or girls. Calls or receives callers; but "dates" may be restricted as to time, place, or circumstances.

If the child seems decidedly out of line, it should be your effort to discover what in his environment and training has brought this about. Intelligence, class, nationality, and neighborhood standards, the presence or absence of stimulating playmates—these and many others should be considered. But an important influence on the sort of social maturity represented by the items of the scale is the amount of protection shown by the mother. Oversolicitude leads the mother to wait on the child, keeps him from learning in normal ways to do things for himself. The effects on total personality development are often very great.

The Child's Status in His Group. No study of a child is even measurably complete that does not attempt an estimate of his relations with fellows. Is he popular or unpopular? Do they look to him for leadership? In what kinds of activities? What do they think of him? However wrong peer judgments may be—and they are often cruelly wrong—they are important factors in determining a child's development.

We have described in Chapter 2 two forms of "Reputation Ratings" which you may have a chance to use. Remember, however, that the sociometric rating, particularly, is very unreliable unless a considerable number of children fill it out.

And whether we have a formalized scale or just informal observations, let us be sure we respect the limitations of our facts. Let's suppose that in a class of thirty-two, three children reject Eleanor. That may be pretty serious. For Eleanor, at any rate. Or is it? Who are these children who reject her? Does she have other and satisfactory friends? Even if we find Eleanor apparently not accepted by anyone, we should not hasten to label her an "isolate" or a "fringer." Remember that we are dealing with very small numbers, and these can be very unreliable. "Disliked by three" seems unpopular. The addition of only two children to the class who like her will make an enormous difference in the ratio of like-dislike responses without necessarily reflecting any real change in Eleanor at all. The true value of the reputation ratings is that they pointedly raise questions about the child's acceptance by his peers and challenge the observer to answer them.

VIII The Individual Child

15 The Growth of Personality

The development of personality consists in a change from motives that work independently of each other to motives that are organized in complex patterns. The sentiment of a child for his mother is an example of such a complex pattern, in which other feelings and motives are subordinated to the controlling attitude of affection, pride, and gratitude. What we commonly call ambitions, ideals, values, and standards of conduct are really of the same nature; they are sentiments organized around an abstract idea. The proper guidance of such sentiments during their slow formation in childhood is of highest consequence. The total organization of these dynamic patterns is what we mean by personality.

► From Tissue Needs to Lifelong Ideals

The life of an infant is largely dominated by direct tissue needs; his motives are those of hunger, thirst, the escape from pain; and each of these operates more or less independently of the others. The small child, though his motives are less obviously organic, also lives only for the present moment; in joy and sorrow, in quick-changing affection and anger, his behavior is spasmodic and disconnected. Little by little, however, there emerge enduring consistencies of behavior. Out of sight is no longer out of mind. Motives persist longer, take in more territory. Even the infant hunts purposefully for the missing ball; an older child plans an elaborate project and doggedly carries it into execution over a period of many weeks. Emotional behavior is related not merely to the circumstances of the moment but to longer range purposes and goals.[1]

Purposes and goals, furthermore, reveal more and more organization or system, with lesser goals being subordinated to more-inclu-

[1] From this point of view, moreover, the distinction between motive and emotion becomes somewhat artificial. Motives are emotional, emotions are motivating.

sive ones. Consider your own present activity. Perhaps you have just left an unfinished rubber of bridge because you had determined to get down to work by eight o'clock. The game was exciting, the company pleasant. It is scarcely excessive modesty to recognize that you would have preferred the game to the reading of this book. You are resolute in your purpose, however, because it serves other and more inclusive ends: perhaps the goal of getting good marks, which in turn is a means to getting a job—or, more idealistically, of learning about children in order better to serve humanity. (Here, as is often the case, the "realistic" and the "idealistic" motives lead to the same end; they are by no means always in conflict.)

You have your counterpart in the small child who gives up the attractive dawdling over breakfast in order to accompany mother to the grocery for the day's shopping; or in the older child who gives up his recess periods to work on a stage setting for the class play. Very early in life, then, motives begin to be arranged in a sort of *hierarchy* of control—like the chain of command in a corporation or the military—with superior or inclusive motives regulating lesser ones.

Sooner or later in any discussion of personality we must face the distinction between what actually happens in behavior—the behavioral *event,* such activities as wanting an ice cream cone or biffing Joe because he called you a stinker—and the *disposition* which accounts for the event. The events are observable facts—even such an event as wanting an ice cream cone; the disposition is not observed but, like electricity, is inferred to account for the facts. A disposition is an enduring structure of a person which is inferred to account for the fact that behavior shows a consistency of direction. (As thus used *disposition* is a more general term than in the common usage of a "good" or a stormy disposition, but the basic idea is the same.)

Now most of the terms referring to motivation have such a double reference. Thus, "need for food" refers to a certain actual "event," to a certain commotion within a person which causes him to seek food. But it also refers to the fact that this person is so constituted or "disposed" that the need recurs ever so often.

I do not believe it is possible to avoid such double usage. One might work out a consistent terminology—using nouns such as wish, need, desire for the disposition, and gerunds like wishing, needing, and desiring for the actual behaving; but I fear that no one would actually abide by the distinctions. I shall, however, so use these terms in context that it will be clear whether I mean the observed behavior or the disposition inferred to account for it.

In this chapter we shall be concerned with the way in which relatively simple motive-dispositions become connected so that they func-

tion as larger units. Just as an automobile is a complex machine made up of smaller machines (carburetor, water pump, generator, etc), so the larger motive systems are made up of smaller ones.

The Nature of Motivational Hierarchy. The idealized or "logical" picture of the hierarchy of motives is that of a perfect pyramid with every motive having a fixed place subordinate to just the motive next above it in the system; at the peak is the master motive or life ideal. That is, however, altogether too neat a pattern for so complex a creature as man.[2] A given motive plays its part in many relationships and in inconsistent ones at that. Liking both lean meat and sweets, I choose to eat the former because of a desire to keep my weight down. At a dinner party, however, I may set aside my diet in order to be sociable. Yet if my weight has increased alarmingly of late, I may either refuse the dinner invitation, or, accepting, stick to a Spartan fare. A patriotic war-resister may truly say that he puts love of country above all personal and self-centered motives; yet in time of war he puts the demands of his own conscience (which forbids him to engage in war) above the call of his country. We do not mean that this is insincere or morally reprehensible; we do mean that in such cases motives are imperfectly harmonized.

It is such complexity of relations among our motives that provides the dramatist and novelist with their material. Perfect integration of motives, then, is never achieved, but there is no surer measure of maturity than the degree to which we achieve an enduring order and system in our emotions and motives. Without it, the child of high intelligence quotient remains but a precocious child, while many a duller person who has achieved a certain organization is judged mature.[3]

► The Role of Learning

How is this mature organization of motives achieved? The basic principle has been repeatedly stated: *Whenever a need or motive is satisfied, the child becomes more sensitive to the sort of stimuli that led to satisfactory behavior, and more apt to respond with the particular behavior that brought gratification.*

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[2] Cattell (53, p. 157 f.) pictures the relationships in the form of a complex latticework.

[3] Too great an intellectual deficiency, however, makes it impossible to develop a rich and complex life pattern. It is not without significance that in the institutions for the feebleminded the patients are almost invariably called "boys" and "girls," though they may be thirty or forty years old. An imbecile, as Thorndike (278) suggests, is only part of a person; a child is in the process of becoming one.

Thus in the course of experience, a large variety of life circumstances, originally neutral, become potential instigators of a particular motive, directors of behavior toward this or that satisfaction. The nursing bottle becomes associated with hunger satisfaction, so that its appearance stimulates the hunger motive and leads to agitated clamor. The odor of frying bacon "reminds" an older child of how hungry he is—that is, it really sets the hunger motive in action. The first flash of a Mickey Mouse "short" galvanizes all the small fry into agonized anticipation. The repetition of a certain phrase in the "Liebestod" music from *Tristan* sets up an almost intolerable "hunger" for its resolution. All these situations are able to stir or move us in specific ways because of earlier satisfactions.

The direct effect of experience, then, is to multiply the variety of life circumstances which arouse our interest or engage our strivings, and as well to increase the ease with which a need can be aroused by a familiar stimulus. The world of the child, as Stevenson says, may be "full of a number of things," but the life of an adult is even fuller. While unfortunately we soon lose the child's freshness of interest in the commonplace, we constantly acquire interest in much that the child cannot even conceive. *It is a sign of maturity to be interested in and motivated by an ever wider range of objects and situations.*[4]

Paralleling this expansion in the number and variety of objects leading to action, there is the somewhat opposed process of *specialization of response* which is well described by Murphy.

> Needs tend to become more specific in consequence of being satisfied in specific ways. Children all over the world are hungry; their hunger may be satisfied by bread, by ice cream, by peanuts, by raw eggs, by rice, or by whale blubber. Eventually they develop, when hungry, not a demand for food in general, but a demand for what they are used to; in one part of the world peanuts are good food, whale blubber disgusting, and vice versa. So, too, over the face of the earth, children enjoy rhythms; the need is satisfied by different kinds of rhythms, different games, different types of music. Soon they find the ones which they are "used to" natural and satisfying; others seem awkward, difficult, unsatisfying.
>
> If a person is hungry, oriented toward food in general, he may nevertheless be more hungry for bread than for corn, for beef than for mutton. Attitude toward food is general, the valuation of absent food is general;

[4] Although everyday experience confirms the theoretical expectation that no motive once acquired is ever "lost," so that a widening range of interests is inevitable, it is difficult to get quantitative evidence. Indeed Lehman and Witty (153), in their classic study of play interests, found the number steadily decreasing with age. Aside, however, from the fact that there are nonplay interests, this evidence is not crucial. For their purposes, Lehman and Witty quite properly count interest in teeter-totter at age 4, and interest in basketball at age 10 as each one interest. Obviously, however, these units are not comparable when we seek to measure the wealth and range of interests.

but specific attitudes are defined within the general, and within the specific there are some still more specific, so that one wants not only currant buns but the one with the darkest crust. Tastes have become specific.

The restlessness or muscular distress which in the infant freed of his blankets appears in active writhing soon becomes a regular roll-over or push-and-pull game. Activity has become specific. The muscles develop specifically as differentiated responses appear, and to some extent in relation to specific use; those which have been exercised need still more exercise. The eye, too, tends to turn to the familiar (204, p. 161. By permission of author and publisher).

Nothing, we may add, is so intensely satisfying as the twice-told—nay, the hundred-times-told—tale: of Peter Rabbit or of Winnie the Pooh. Children's preference for their familiar toys is also well known. Particularly significant is the attachment to the familiar doll, for here the personal element enters in and we may glimpse something of the mechanism whereby the familiar parent comes to be the favored source of satisfaction of the child's motives. In all these and countless other readily recognized examples, everyday experience and learning leads to a preferential selection of some stimuli and a fixation upon certain satisfactory responses. Need-satisfaction is channeled or *canalized* in specific directions.

► The Beginnings of Organization

A further stage of development is reached when several such specialized satisfaction patterns become grouped about a specific object—usually a person. Even in early childhood such organization is taking place. The infant watching the kitten chasing its tail gurgles with amused delight. When the kitten scratches him, the child is angry or afraid. Yet a few moments later, he will tenderly cuddle the kitten, and when his mother puts the kitten from the room the child will cry for its return. The kitten thus serves as a focal point for a whole series of motives and feelings.

But by far the most constant as well as most important object in the infant's experience is the mother. Her movements attract his attention, her visible appearance is associated with the satisfaction of food and other bodily wants. At a later time, playthings, songs and sounds, caresses, and innumerable delights—but also frustrating restraints—proceed from the same almost ever-present source. Nearly every motive capable of exciting the child is related in some fashion to the mother. Parallel, though less extensive, emotional relationships toward others soon make their appearance.

Dominance of the Commonest Attitude toward a Person

Despite the variety of motives that any familiar person thus comes to excite, there soon emerge *dominant* relations. With the mother, the commonest relationships are those of tenderness, security, physical and social satisfactions, and submission; and this complex regulates the functioning of other motives. To paraphrase G. B. Shaw, a child's sentiment of love for his mother causes him to exaggerate her differences from all other women. Thus a nursery-school child may howl and refuse if his teacher offers to remove a splinter but may permit his mother to perform the same service; fear is submerged in her case partly because the child is used to submitting to her ministrations and partly because, even in fearful circumstances, she is still a source of security.[5] Toward another adult, the controlling relation may be a blend of fear and anger and resistance. For the child each familiar person (or personalized object) comes to have a sort of fixed emotional value.

Further development of this relationship may be best understood from a concrete illustration. Tim, like many another five-year-old, had come to admire, even to idolize, his older brother. George was kind to "Bub" in an offhand way, played with him now and then, did little things for him. But over and above all this, George (at nine-and-a-half) was so big, could do so many things to which Tim could only aspire. So it was that when the little hoodlums down the street ganged up on Tim, the arrival of George brought a peculiar feeling of relief, as well as concrete safety. When, later, George was himself in trouble with a neighborhood gang, Tim shared his brother's anger, sorrow, hope, or shame according to the changing tide of battle, almost as if he himself were the contestant. When George finally emerged victorious, Tim shared his pride. When, as sometimes happened, George teased him, "Bub's" resentment and anger was not just anger but a peculiar blend in which the special emotional value of this older brother was incorporated. Indeed, when the teasing was not too severe, there was no anger at all but a sharing of the jest, *because it was the action of the admired and loved brother.*

Note how different the picture when the relation between brothers is dominated by jealousy and dislike. Teasing now evokes strong and unmitigated resentment—stronger than the teasing itself warrants. When the older brother arrives to "protect" the younger in some

[5] Inanimate objects and situations also become the basis for such sentiments. Compare the example cited on page 148 of the child who was not afraid of the slippers so long as she was in her own "safe" highchair.

neighborhood fracas, his help is accepted grudgingly if at all. If the older is beaten in a fight, the younger child, though restrained by a certain amount of family loyalty, is tempted to rejoice in the elder's deserved comeuppance.

Almost, we can say, the emotional tone or motivational "valence" is just reversed in these two cases. Identical situations arouse opposite emotions and motives in the two instances because the child has established certain dominating emotional relationships with the chief actor in each: a relationship of love and admiration in the one, of jealousy and hatred in the other. Such complex and enduring emotional relationships are commonly called *sentiments.*[6]

Sentiments as Complex Combinations of Motives

The complexity of the sentiment of love has long engaged the attention of the poets. Thus Shakespeare writes—

PHOEBE: "Good shepherd, tell this youth what 'tis to love."

SYLVIUS: "It is to be all made of sighs and tears:
All made of passion, and all made of wishes;
All adoration, duty and observance;
All humbleness, all patience and impatience;
All purity, all trial, all observance."

And Chaucer—

"The life of love is full contrarie,
For now the lover is joious,
Now can he plain, now making moan."

Swift—

"Love why do we one passion call,
When 'tis a compound of them all?
Where hot and cold, where sharp and sweet,
In all their equipages meet;
Where pleasures mixed with pains appear,
Sorrow with Joy, and Hope with Fear."

Coleridge—

"All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are but ministers of love,
And feed his sacred flame." [7]

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[6] Not to be confused with "sentimentality" which is a morbid form of sentiment in which the motive does not lead to concrete action but dissolves into empty emotionalism and mere verbalism.

[7] The quotations are suggested by Shand (245).

Swift's statement that love is a *compound* of all the emotions is perhaps less accurate than Coleridge's insight that all our motives are "but *ministers* of love." As the child begins to love his mother, all his emotional relations with her tend to become consistent with and to advance the goals which characterize *the dominant relation or attitude.* Even as an infant he takes pleasure in her presence, is frightened or saddened at her departure. A little later as the sentiment develops, the child rejoices in the mother's successes, is cast down by her failures, incensed at those who disparage her. Thus the sentiment of love brings within its scope even such apparently discordant emotions as anger and joy and grief. And these varied emotions no longer occur more or less at random or in response to the immediate situation alone, but when the immediate situation makes them appropriate to the dominant relationship.

Hatred, no less than love may organize our feelings. We not only seek to avoid the object of our hatred, we seek to put him down; and, it must be confessed, we feel delight when he comes to harm or social disfavor. (While religion enjoins us to love our enemies—that is, to cease hating them—it does not ask us the psychologically impossible feat of being glad at the success of those whom we have not ceased to hate.) Hate, like love, tends to bring order and consistency into our lives; it may be a dreadful consistency from an ethical standpoint, but it is nonetheless psychologically real.[8]

Nor is the sentiment merely a matter of feelings; *action is involved.* The child tends to model his behavior on that of the beloved mother, but he also seeks through his own behavior to give her pleasure or to lessen her displeasure or pain. Not always, of course! His sentiments are but poorly organized; their relations with other motivations are not yet thoroughly established. And it is possible to have partially contrary sentiments toward the same person. (Indeed we nearly always do!) Behavior *not* in accord with a particular sentiment is therefore to be expected and certainly occurs; but just as clearly, behavior occurs in even quite young children that can only be understood in terms of an *organized system* of motives.

The Varieties of Organized Motives

We must not limit our attention, however, just to the great and overarching sentiments of love and hate. In the

[8] The *total* integration of one's life is, however, possible only with love, not with hate. For if hate be total, it includes oneself and leads to self-destruction. Hate thus seems self-limiting as love is not.

most trifling details of everyday life essentially the same motivating mechanism is at work. Habits are not merely stimulus-response sequences but expressions of preference and directed feeling.[9] Attitudes, which have lately received so much attention, are also simple forms of sentiment—that is, an organization of feelings and motives about a certain object. Even our opinions, despite our pretense that they are intellectual and objective, are expressions of underlying motives and operate to organize feeling and action in harmony with those motives.

And our ordinary goals and purposes, how neatly they too fit into the same formula! Take into your consideration not just a rat running in a maze toward the goal of a food-box, or a child attracted by the relatively immediate goal of a piece of candy held out to him. Consider rather a child busily at work upon some goal of his own choosing. Let him be building a house of blocks, or let him be writing the constitution for the "Secret Four." Note how feelings and actions are integrated into an harmonious pattern directed toward the goal; interruptions annoy or anger him, dispraise of the marvel being created arouses scorn, and anything, material or social, which is seen as helping toward the goal is invested with urgency and value. The goals of childhood do not last long—that comes with age and maturity—but in the way they organize and systematize feeling and action, they are the prototypes of the purposes and ideals, even the life-long ambitions, which give direction and organization to adult life.

Again we meet the somewhat embarrassing wealth of names for motivating factors already spoken of in Chapter 8: sentiments, habits, attitudes, ambitions, complexes, goals, purposes, prejudices, tastes, values, ideals, and doubtless others. I propose to use *sentiment* or *value-system* as general terms to include them all. It is not that the terms mean exactly the same thing; clearly what we mean by a purpose differs in important ways from an attitude. But when we speak of a firm purpose to be honorable, or of a favorable attitude toward the United Nations, we are referring to something which might also be called a sentiment of honor or a favorable sentiment toward the U.N. The distinctions between the usages of the several terms are for the most part those of common speech; I shall observe but shall not

[9] It is tempting to think of inflexible and robotlike movement sequences (which we do sometimes find) as the type and, as it were, the goal of habit formation. It is not so. Habit is adaptive, preferential readiness to respond; when readiness passes over into rigidity, we have the degeneration of habit, not its perfection.

emphasize them.[10] What I do want to emphasize is that beneath the diversity referred to by all these terms there is a basic similarity. All of them refer to the fact that a person's behavior shows an *organized consistency*. It is this consistency that gives at once individuality and maturity to the developing self of the child.

► Sentiments and Values as Guide Lines of Conduct

To see how sentiments give direction and consistency to life and conduct, consider the matter of sex. If sex were not incorporated in an enduring sentiment of love, it would display all the vagaries of appetite, changing with the physical appearance of the object and with one's own glandular condition. In contrast, Shakespeare reminds us that

> "Love is not love
> Which alters when it alteration finds.
> . . . It is an ever-fixed mark
> That looks on tempests and is never shaken; . . .
> Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
> Within his bending sickle's compass come; . . .
> . . . If this be error and upon me proved,
> I never writ, nor no man ever loved." [11]

We need not limit ourselves to such high-flown examples. In our everyday life, there are many sentiments that give an inner consistency to our conduct. When I regard the noise of my own children as a mere sign of animal spirits but that of my neighbor's children as an infernal racket, I may *seem* inconsistent; yet in terms of my sentiments both judgments make sense. When a certain labor leader annoys most Americans by his arrogance, a unionist, though admitting the indictment, seeks to find extenuating circumstances.

In childhood, the sentiment for fairness may serve as an example. Children often become positively fanatical in their demand that fairness be adhered to—especially, of course, by others. But they do apply it also to themselves, voluntarily foregoing other satisfactions for

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[10] Only the term *complex* seems in need of special definition. It is a sort of "abnormal" sentiment, an arrangement of motives into a pattern which is internally consistent but inconsistent with the rest of the self and with reality.

The terminological problem for systematic psychology is dealt with by Cattell (51), and by Murray and Morgan (209) who also have a useful theoretical discussion of the nature of sentiment.

[11] Sonnet CXVI. Example and quotation suggested by Cattell (52).

Virginia Babcock

Figure 39. A Love for Animals May Begin with Love for One's Own Pet

its sake. A regulating principle is clearly at work; character begins to be formed.

A whole host of such regulating principles is assiduously inculcated in infancy and particularly in childhood: promptness, neatness and orderliness, cleanliness, nondestructiveness, and, at a little more inclusive level, obedience—all the virtues and required behaviors. Indeed a virtue may be defined as a simple sentiment organized in relation to an abstract idea as to what is "right."

The sentiments of a small child being only imperfectly organized, however, deviations from consistency are many: the boy who loves his puppy will occasionally lose his temper and kick him. But he will also clean up after him, will tolerate a considerable amount of discomfort while playing with him or while trying to train him, will even go without his own food, if necessary, in order to feed his dog. None of this is understandable except in terms of the child's sentiment for the beloved pet. When we know what a child admires or scorns, his behavior becomes more predictable. Moreover, the organization of children's motives into such larger patterns is the chief method whereby we adults obtain control over their behavior, and whereby, little by little, they come to control their own conduct.

The Danger of Verbalism in the Teaching of Values

Mankind has always recognized the very central role of language in any kind of teaching. We simply cannot do without it. Thus verbal instruction, at times almost purely rote verbal instruction, has been standard practice in the effort to modify conduct, not only in schools but in the home. It is an understatement, however, to say that the results are not entirely satisfactory. Why?

Well, let us see how we typically go about to inculcate a moral virtue—say, honesty. First of all, we begin with the *idea* of honesty. We explain to the child—"in very simple words, of course"—what honesty means. And then we praise the virtue and try to make the child see how "nice" it would be if he practiced it. Such an ideal, however, generally "fails to draw blood in action."

Contrast this with the *natural* growth of a sentiment which is also a virtue. Take the child's gradual acquisition of a love for animals. He begins with his own pet kitten or puppy. He plays with it, experiences varied delights with it, gradually learns that love means also that one must put up with dissatisfactions and disappointments. But through all this there is a concrete, vital relation to an actual be-

loved pet. Beginning with this the child may progress—and should be helped to progress—to love of other pets and finally to love of all innocent and helpless creatures. The older child, quite in the absence of any specific pet animal, may react to the *idea* of protecting the helpless, may build a complex pattern of motives and feelings about this idea.

But this sentiment, though it thus focuses upon an idea embodied in words, still rests upon a definite basis of concrete experience; about the *idea* of protecting the helpless there is "a pungent sense of effective reality" which naturally leads over into action. The sentiment for honesty which we set up by an almost purely verbal process, on the other hand, tends to remain empty, devoid of real implication for practice. Such sentiments easily degenerate into the sentimentality which James long ago described in his great *Principles of Psychology:*

> There is no more contemptible type of human character than that of the nerveless sentimentalist and dreamer, who spends his life in a weltering sea of sensibility and emotion, but who never does a manly concrete thing. . . . The weeping of a Russian lady [of the Czarist era] over the fictitious personages in the play, while her coachman is freezing to death on his seat outside, is the sort of thing that happens everywhere on a less glaring scale. . . . One becomes filled with emotions which habitually pass without prompting to any deed, and so the inertly sentimental condition is kept up. The remedy would be, never to suffer one's self to have an emotion . . . without expressing it . . . in *some* active way. Let the expression be the least thing in the world—speaking genially to one's aunt, or giving up one's seat in a horsecar—if nothing more heroic offers —but let it not fail to take place (125, Vol. II, p. 23).

It is not that words have no value in the teaching of virtues and required behaviors. They permit of generalization beyond the specific instance. But the specific instance is important. "First the deed and *then* the word." You can no more teach a child to be generous until you catch him at it than you can teach a dog to jump over a cane until you get him to make his first jump. Through language we can help the child expand and generalize, but we cannot initiate. Children often need help in clarifying the concepts which are the focus around which their motives are organized. But it is *their* concepts, based upon their own experiences, which thus need straightening out.

Most of our attempts to teach morality and other required behaviors make the mistake of skipping the first step—that of concrete behavior. If you want to insure that white children grow up with

prejudice against Negroes (such prejudice is a kind of sentiment, of course), you should insure that the white child is put into the position of discriminating against the Negro. If, on the contrary, you want the child to be free of prejudice, you should put him in position actually to deal with Negroes upon their merit as individuals. If you want a child to be generous, you should so arrange things that he will *act* generously—and experience satisfaction from doing so. The superiority for character education of the playground over the traditional "fixed-seat" classroom, with its primarily verbal program, lies precisely in this: the playground gives opportunity for the actual practice of many important virtues. And it is a chief strength of many progressive schools that they have so loosened up the program as to make possible guided motivated action instead of the more-or-less passive reception of precept.[12]

► Conflict of Motives in Childhood

Conflict of motives arises when a child is pushed or pulled in two directions at once.[13] Sometimes it is because he is attracted to two objects but can't have both. Who has not seen a small child visibly poised irresolute between a scooter and the jungle gym or alternately starting first toward one, then toward the other? [14] Play and even food must compete with Hopalong Cassidy—though here the conflict is usually resolved in favor of the latter as a momentarily more potent motive; food can wait. (But parental insistence when added to hunger may outweigh the radio or television.) The desire to please the teacher is often in flagrant opposition to the desire to stand in well with the gang.

Conflict arises also when a single object in the environment excites opposed tendencies to action. The bipolar relation of the child to authority which we discussed in Chapter 3 means that parents are often the focus of conflicting motives. To obey but also to resist are

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[12] Much the same point is made in our discussion of emotional maturing on p. 157.
[13] What we here call *conflict* is sometimes called "frustration" (e.g., French, 90, Lewin, 163). The difference is almost purely terminological.
[14] Later we learn to suppress these overt yearnings toward the rejected alternative, but they may persist as little symbolic movements, which can be perceived by sensitive observers. Thus we often give away our dislike of a person despite the effusive cordiality of our greeting. In childhood the suppression is much less complete, the signs of conflict more obvious.

almost equally a means to gaining satisfaction. Bill most certainly loves his mother and wants to make her happy; "but doggone it, a fellow doesn't want to be shoved around all the time, even by his mother." He also thinks his baby sister is "cute," but it is hard not to become pretty irritated when she messes up his chemistry set.

Internalization of External Obstacles

During early infancy, however, there are probably no true conflicts of motives. The hindrances to the satisfaction of needs are the infant's own incapacities and certain physical barriers; and, of course, throughout the lifespan, such external obstacles continue to play their part. As the child grows up, however, the more important stumbling blocks to full satisfaction come from within, from the clash of his own needs, motives, and purposes.

Ask yourself how often in the last few months some external force or barrier has quite literally made it impossible for you to do something you wanted. Lack of money? That is external, all right, and quite a hindrance to the satisfaction of desires. Yet it is not really lack of money which keeps you from ordering a fancy dinner you can't pay for; it is the fear of what will happen to you if you don't pay. Even fairly young children have to struggle with barriers which are thus only half external. The child hungrily eyeing the candy behind the store window is deterred as much by his fear of punishment as by the physical barrier. An external obstacle is important chiefly because it is a sign, a representation of some positive or negative motive. The external goal is internalized.

Socialization. Social barriers, also, become internalized. At first the conflict between the peremptory demands of hunger, thirst, excretion, or pain avoidance on the one hand and the social regulation of these functions on the other is a conflict between inner and outer demands. Soon, however, the child becomes sensitive to the motives of approval and disapproval and begins the long, long process of *socialization*—that is, the process of adopting as his own the motives imposed by society. Thus, sometime toward the end of the second year, toilet control becomes not merely something mother insists upon but one of the child's own goals. The inner need of excretion is now in conflict not with an external command but with another inner need.

A somewhat similar development often, but quite needlessly, invests the child's external sex organs with a conflict-full ambivalence. The child's curious and mildly pleasurable exploration of these parts

is apt to be rather severely punished. Thus they become, even more than before, the object of curiosity and of pleasure, but also now of dread. It should be realized by all concerned that pleasure from the sex zones is entirely natural in children, that a certain amount of handling of the sex organs does no harm and certainly cannot be prevented. Severe measures merely make it more attractive, and lead to furtiveness and a conflict of motives—in some instances to a very damaging conflict.

In both these illustrations, we have organic urges running into what is at first an external social restraint. But the social restraint is transformed into a positive or negative motive: into a desire to conform and to be approved by others; or into a fear of punishment, of disapproval, of loss of affection. Such internalized social motives are the primary controls over organic needs and urges.

The Unruliness of Organic and Safety Needs

The control, however, is imperfect; organic motives are at best unruly members of the hierarchy, ready to break through the bounds of propriety whenever aroused in strength. Conflict between organic needs and prudential restraints lies always close to the surface.

The "safety needs," as Maslow (186) calls them, are likewise too strong to be easily brought into firm subordination, and in younger children they are not. For the young and the inexperienced, "dangers" and "safety hazards" (including occasions for anger and disgust) are numerous and hard to deal with. Activity needs and—though they are less obviously of biological urgency—laughter, joy, and excitement may also be difficult to suppress to the degree required by the demands of elders or associates. And since these social demands come to be accepted, however grudgingly, as binding, the child finds himself in conflict with himself as well as with society. Thus the child who feels fear finds himself in conflict with his own sentiment for manliness or courage; the twelve-year-old girl who wants to seem sedate and grown-up in church must fight her own activity drive ("fidgetiness").

And, of course, in the child as in the adult, value systems and sentiments are often in conflict. The immigrant child's love for his parents may be in sharp conflict with his shame at their being "different." A boy's desire to be "good" conflicts with his motives to be one of the gang. Interest in a radio program conflicts with the desire to finish a baseball game.

Conflict Represents Imperfect Personality Organization

This prevalence of conflict reflects the low degree of organization of the child's needs and purposes. Were the hierarchical system of motives perfect, there would never be any inner conflict. Every desire would be related to some higher motive, and this in turn to one still higher in the system, until at length we came to the "master motive." Each subordinate motive would find expression only as its expression was consistent with those higher in the scale. How far from realization such perfect harmony of motives is among adults we may leave to discussion elsewhere; that it is far from the fact in childhood goes without saying. The organization of purposes begins in childhood, but only begins. Self-consistency is far from an achieved ideal.

Thus, Carleton, at age ten, had already developed a strong desire to be a "big shot," to dominate over others. Carleton also loved his dog. Yet in his imperious urge to surpass his fellows, he was inveigled into fighting his dog with a much bigger animal, to his pet's considerable suffering and to his own discomfiture and sorrow. Though the stronger motive prevailed, the lesser motive of love for his dog was not suppressed.

Moreover the relations between two motives may be actually reversed. On another occasion, Carleton was observed to give in to his younger brother George—actually to take orders from him!—in order to extract concessions from the brother for the benefit of the beloved pet. Here we see that his love for the puppy prevailed over his bossiness—not, we may be sure, without some inner conflict. The dominance relations between motives are complex and not entirely logical. Yet we repeat, as the child grows older, more and more order is introduced, more and more does the organization tend toward a hierarchy. Character in the last analysis depends upon the adequate organization of the various sentiments (or simpler motives) in relation to each other, with one inclusive master sentiment in more or less supreme control.

The Resolution of Conflict

Many and various are the ways children (and adults, too) find to rid themselves of the stress of conflicting motives. Sometimes they fling themselves into action, abandoning one course in favor of the other, though without any basis for choice; anything seems better than vacillation between alluring alternatives, both unrealized so long as nothing is done. Sometimes, on the contrary,

apathy seems to solve the problem; worn down by the strain of conflict they are no longer stirred by either motive.[15]

Often, moreover, external conditions change and the conflict just disappears. Or a change of mood or a change in the social atmosphere so alters the whole scale of values that conflict is automatically resolved. The sobering effect of grief in a household will hush childish quarrels and bring out sympathy and tenderness toward the bereaved. In the face of a crisis, even a child changes from a careless to a strenuous attitude; all "light fantastic" notions, as James puts it, lose their motive power, all solemn ones find theirs multiplied. Abandoned are the trivial projects which had seemed so attractive, accepted are the grim and earnest alternatives which until then one could not quite bring oneself to embrace.

Reinterpretation. A useful way of ridding oneself of conflict is to acquire a different outlook on the situation out of which it develops. Bruno was much the largest boy in a play group and was inclined to use his physical advantages to monopolize the play facilities. Being a properly reared boy, however, he knew this was "selfish." So he alternately "hogged" the show and felt guilty about it or reluctantly gave way to smaller children. It was no mere rationalization when the playground teacher got him to see that the play apparatus was really too "kiddish" for him; and there was a real gain when he was induced to adopt the role of helper for the younger children instead of their competitor.

Occasionally reinterpretation takes place as a result of a stubborn attempt to reason things out, but more often reasoning is aided by a direct change in the way one *perceives* the situation. The very strain of conflict sometimes forces us to see the situation in a new way. A regrouping of the stimuli, even just a renaming of the facts, enables the child or adult to perceive or think about the situation without being torn by opposing motives. The child who is alarmed by a gruff manner may be relieved if he is informed that the older child is "teasing." The pupil who is afraid of tests may be relieved if he can be got to regard them not as a threat to his security but as a means of finding out what he has learned and what remains to be learned.

Other examples are so numerous as to make choice difficult. The pain cheerfully endured by a boy playing football certainly still hurts; yet in a very real sense the pain is no longer pain—that is to

[15] During the long depression of the 1930's whole populations manifested such defeatism. For a carefully documented study of a village in Austria, see Lazarsfeld and Zeisl (151).

say, something to flinch away from if possible. The pain is now an occasion for showing manhood and courage and loyalty; it is no longer mere pain but an element in a larger pattern.

Though I may be very hungry, it simply does not occur to me—as a rule—to snatch a piece of candy from a child; time was when I might! Now, however, I do not *perceive* a child eating candy as an opportunity for satisfying my hunger. The situation has been permanently reappraised.

Or consider the illustration used in Chapter 6 of the differing reactions at different maturity levels to the stimulus of a pin prick. For the infant a few weeks old the pin prick is just that and no more; it elicits only a cry of pain and some rather ill-directed defensive movements. The young child reacts with rage; he is capable of perceiving the pin prick as due to a personal agency and as an affront to his self. But a still older child, anxious to prove his "courage" in the presence of his peers or of older children, may bite his lips and hold his tongue. A teacher, reacting to a pin prick administered as part of the traditional bent-pin-on-the-chair "joke," might display injured dignity, amusement, or self-controlled stoicism; she would not, one hopes, react with the rage we expect from a four-year-old.

It is apparent that as the individual moves up the scale of behavior maturity, an everwidening net of circumstances plays its part in determining what he does. It is not the pin prick that determines response but the pin prick as "interpreted" in the light of a complex set of circumstances. For the older child, the reactions of his peers become determinative, for the mature adult it may be the verdict of the Great Society as embodied in codes of morality and etiquette. A given stimulus becomes only the nucleus for a group of other stimuli which determine its meaning.

Note, however, that the growth in meaning that a simple stimulus takes on is in part a reflection of the organization of motives. It is because one has become sensitive to peer judgment that being stuck with a pin comes to have a different meaning. It is equally true, of course, that as objects take on new meanings, they appeal to different motives. The growth of intellect, the ability to take a wider perspective and to integrate many life circumstances into a single unified situation, develops hand-in-hand with the hierarchical organization of motives.

Helping the child to reappraise the situation is a very commonly used technique for changing motivation—and rightly so. Of course it doesn't always work. The child's perception of things may be too

firmly structured to yield to the usual exhortations and reassurances; subtlety as well as prestige and authority may be needed.

The reappraisal is more effective, moreover, if it takes place *before* the conflict actually gets the child stirred up emotionally. If the scoutmaster waits until the hot and dusty troop arrives at the bank of a river, it will inevitably look cool and inviting; to make them see it as polluted and filthy is then quite a chore. But had he told them about its filthy condition before they actually perceived it as cool and refreshing, their initial perception would have been quite different, and the conflict avoided or at least lessened. (See also the discussion of essentially the same point on pp. 152–155.)

A special form of reinterpretation is found in rationalization. The child who ignores an insult from a playmate, because, as he says, he "considers the source," is trying to view the insult in a different light. It sometimes works, too, at least temporarily. The conflict between the motives of prudence or good behavior really is reduced if you can laugh your opponent to scorn. After all, there's nothing—well, almost nothing—against which to retaliate if the insult emanates from such a person. The grapes which hang too high above our heads cause us less yearning if we can only perceive them as sour. While the habit of rationalizing is not to be encouraged, it would be cruel to deprive children—or adults—of all their defense mechanisms. As someone has said, rationalization is like an air pillow; there's nothing in it but it cushions the strains due to conflict.

Dominance. A persistent conflict, however, can only be resolved when for some reason or other one motive becomes strong enough to prevail over, and inhibit, the other. Take the child who sucks his thumb. Anyone who has dealt with him knows how strong is the need or motive which supports this habit. Parents nag him, restrain him with mittens, paint his thumb with bitter aloes or quinine, punish him, coax him—all to no avail. And, then one day, he just stops!

Not all at once or without lapses, to be sure; habits deeply rooted in some obscure but potent need don't disappear that easily. But there comes a time—generally at about age five or six—when the child pulls his thumb out because "big boys don't act that way." This is not a new idea, of course; probably there's not a living mother of a thumbsucking boy who has failed to try that line. It begins to work, however, when the child's motive to be a big boy becomes powerful enough to inhibit the dreamy satisfaction of sucking one's thumb.

The development of dominance relations among motives has received too little attention in psychological theory. We have, it is true, shown that one response may, by conditioning, take the place of another and thus suppress it—the case of Peter whose fear of the rabbit was thus cured is a good example. (See p. 146.) Murphy (204, p. 195 ff.) has brought together a considerable range of experimental evidence to show that the simpler sorts of dominance in everyday life can be explained in terms of principles found useful in the experimental study of conditioning—especially inhibition, substitution, summation. It is possible that these established principles may also account for the more complex manifestations wherein a dominant motive controls a whole system of submotives, determining in what circumstances and how these shall appear. Or we may find that we need supplemental principles. At any rate, the reality of dominance relations is evident whenever one says, "I'd like to but—"; and it is present in many other instances where it is not so apparent.

Integration. Solving one's conflicts by the mere dominance of one motive over another is not, however, exactly pleasant. As James says, to "resolve that of two mutually exclusive trains of future fact, both sweet and good, one shall forever become impossible" is "a desolate and acrid sort of act, an excursion into a lonesome moral wilderness" (125, Vol. II, p. 534). Indeed, we may question that a child has really resolved a conflict so long as he yearns for the "rich and mundane delights" dreamily resigned for the sake of the motive of "austere and naked duty." So long as there is resignation, there is at least potential conflict.

Fortunately, we need not depend on dominance alone. There is the relation, spoken of earlier, in which conflicting tendencies are swept up into some larger purpose. If we watch the intermediate phase when the child is breaking himself of thumbsucking, we may get a clue to the manner in which conflicts are ultimately cleared away. At first the thumb goes automatically into the mouth, only to be pulled out as the child "remembers." Later the movement of thumb toward mouth acts as a signal to arouse the more powerful motive; the thumb is arrested in mid-air. Finally the tendency is checked before it even gets under way.

Where the hierarchy of motives is firmly integrated, the incitements that formerly led to conflicting goals are tied in with some stronger and more inclusive motive. Stimuli that once touched off spasmodic and undisciplined emotion and thus led to conflict are

now organically related to larger patterns of behavior. Almost literally the stimulus that formerly touched off a subordinate motive is short-circuited by its relation to some more enduring life purpose.

Consider the shifts in the motives and value patterns when a high-school boy determines to become a great athlete. He gives up eating between meals and spends hours with chest weights and dull jogging around the track to get into condition. Old goals such as the building of model planes, though still "all right," now fail to have any pungent attractiveness. An invitation to a late-at-night "shindig" is no longer perceived as a chance to have a good time but as dissipation or a violation of training. There is thus little or no inner conflict; indeed there may be a triumphant feeling of dedication. What would formerly have aroused the subordinate motive (that of having a good time with the fellows) now directly stimulates instead the dominant goal; instead of regret there is a certain joy in "being strong enough" to sacrifice the lesser goal for the greater. While it lasts, the "great ambition" can almost completely reorganize an adolescent's behavior patterns.

> The larger patterns more than the small, of course. The adolescent doesn't change his "style of life" with every passing change of goal. His handwriting, his way of walking and talking and gesticulating remain little affected. Even the posture of the would-be athlete is likely to remain the same except during the relatively few times when he remembers how an athelete should bear himself. Despite the "great change" he feels he has made in himself, his associates seldom have trouble in recognizing him for the same person! But these smaller patterns are used within different larger patterns: the same basic speech patterns are now used to decline the invitation.

An example from the teaching situation illustrates how even a very powerful motive, that of self-enhancement and self-defense, may be subordinated as a part of a *system* of motives and purposes. When a pupil ventures to challenge some statement you have made, it is natural to feel some annoyance or even anger—your ego is wounded. But if you have genuinely accepted the goal of teaching pupils to think, you will take pleasure instead in the signs of independence. Even when the child's challenge is obviously motivated by the desire to flout your authority, you will accept the challange in good spirit and use it as an occasion to induce this pupil—and the others—to think critically about the issue. Thus instead of a somewhat unsatisfying enhancement of your ego by defensiveness, you have rewarding enhancement from properly performing your role as

a teacher. (And to this ego-satisfaction you add the pleasure of seeing the children make progress both in character and in ability to think.)

The organizing goals of young children are, of course, more fleeting; yet even so, in their self-sacrifice because of affection, in their acceptance of parental guidance in the face of their own direct impulses, even in such a simple case as their subordination of hunger in order to finish building a complex block structure, we see the beginnings of such integration of motives into a larger whole or system.

The Role of Selfhood

A major role in organizing and unifying motives is played by the devolping selfhood of the child. Goals and purposes are clarified by reference to the child's concept of himself. The boy who stoically endures pain in the dentist's chair does so because he thinks of himself as a big boy—or as a "man."

Now, of course, the self of a child is not very highly developed. Indeed, the infant does not at first have a self at all. His self begins with a special awareness of his own body. When he strikes his hand against the side of his crib, there is feeling just in the hand; when he strikes his hand against his own ribs, there is feeling in both hand and ribs. From many such experiences there gradually emerges a percept of his own body as a special kind of object—a percept, however, which is rich in feeling tone.

Horowitz (119) has some very interesting accounts of the different ways in which the young child localizes his self—in chest, in head, even in the lower right jaw.

That even the self of an adult is largely due to the perception of his own body is amusingly illustrated by the Mother Goose rime of the old woman who fell asleep after a long walk beside the King's Highway.

> Along came a peddlar whose name was Stout
> And cut off her petticoats all round about
> He cut off her petticoats up to the knees
> Whereat the old woman did shiver and freeze.
>
> When the old woman first did wake,
> She began to shiver and she began to shake;
> She began to wonder and she began to cry,
> "Lauk a mercy on me, this cannot be I!

"But if it be I as I hope it be
I've a little dog at home, and he'll know me
If it be I, he'll wag his leetle tail
And if it be not I, he'll loudly bark and wail."

Home went the old woman all in the dark;
Up got the little dog and he began to bark
He began to bark, so she began to cry,
"Lauk a mercy on me, this is none of I."

The old lady, you see, went to sleep warm and tired, she woke up cold and rested—"feeling like a different person." Note also that her appeal to the dog's recognition shows how social our sense of selfness is.

The infant's direct experience of resistance to the environment, particularly to personal agents, also sets him off as a peculiar "object," a different object from the rest of the world. By age three, success and failure are pointed up as particular experiences related to the self. The child's imperious demands for attention both reflect his sense of selfness and help to develop it further. Timidity in the presence of strange persons takes on reference to the child's own self and becomes shyness.

A crucial part in the development of the self is played by the mother. Her person is a more constant visual object than the child's own and provides the child with a sort of pattern of what a self or person is in contrast with inanimate objects.[16] The emergent self of the very young child is modeled on that of the mother by a sort of direct imitation or identification.

Moreover, from a very early stage parents and other adults begin deliberately to increase the child's sense of selfhood. His name is particularly important as a focus for self-perception. We play peek-a-boo; "Where's Bobby? There's Bobby!" We exclaim when Bobby correctly identifies Bobby's nose or ears or toes. Above all we tell him when he is a "good" boy or a "bad" one.

Against this praise or blame of his self, he is peculiarly defenseless. When you praise the spoonful of homogenized vegetables you want him to eat, the child may oppose to your praise the direct testimony of his own dislike and stubbornly persist in pushing it away. But when you tell him that *he* is good or bad, he has no standard of good-

[16] Indeed Zazzo (318) finds that definite *recognition* of others precedes recognition of one's own body. The more primitive awareness of the bodily self, however, evolves concommitantly with awareness of that of the mother.

ness to oppose to yours. Later, of course, he does acquire other standards, notably the standards of his playmates, and little by little he evolves standards which are his own.[17]

Nonetheless, it is all compounded of social judgments; the self of the child is chiefly a mirror of the responses which others make to him; and the self continues so throughout life. But social though it is, it is also a unique self, based upon all the individual reactions experienced in social living.[18]

It is a great mistake to underestimate the influence of this self even in children as young as three years. Ill defined it may be; subject to change it certainly is; yet it is the central reference point in resolving conflicts. Throughout childhood and throughout life, the sense of self is the final arbiter in most of our conflicts.

It would, indeed, be the top control of *all* our motives were it not that, as we noted earlier, our motives are not organized in perfectly orderly fashion. As it is, the control of conduct by the self-ideal is imperfect, vacillating, and inconsistent; and the conflict of the self divided against itself is the most poignant of all conflicts.

Yet even so, it is the self which, more than anything else, establishes the order of priority among our sentiments and ideals. It causes our values to be literally self-consistent. Motives and actions in accord with the self come to have the right of way. What we are, and particularly what we hope to be, comes as close as anything else to being the "master motive" of our lives.

► Summary

Not even very young children act from truly simple motives. Everywhere we find combination, system, and organization at work. The degree to which lesser motives are subordinated to more inclusive ones is a measure of maturity of character and personality. Each familiar and important person or object in the child's world takes on a dominant emotional value, and this value regulates

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[17] The process whereby the child forms ideals at variance with those of the beloved parent is complex. Stoke (261) has some interesting examples and comment. The Freudians speak more or less interchangeably of the ego-ideal and the super-ego in referring to this aspect of self.

[18] I am aware of the inadequacy of this sketch of how the self develops. A whole book would be needed; and no one has yet written it. Scattered but rich data, however, have been rapidly accumulating. A full-length study of the self in childhood is almost certain to appear soon.

other motives. Such a system of motives is called a sentiment or value system.

Each such system eliminates conflict among the motives subsidiary to it; but the various systems themselves are often in conflict. Conflict may be avoided or resolved by somehow managing to reappraise or reperceive the situation giving rise to it. Conflict may also be resolved by one motive growing stronger. But the best solution of conflict lies in the integration of conflicting motives in some more inclusive whole.

Most important of the "inclusive wholes" which integrate lesser motives is the child's self-ideal. Ill defined as this self ideal is, it is still the central reference point in resolving conflicts and the key to the understanding of personality.

Exercises

1. Take some commonplace action of your own. What is its immediate motivation? (For example, you eat to still your hunger.) Can you relate this motive to some more inclusive motive? And that to some still more inclusive? Now begin at the bottom again with a quite different act and motive. Do the motives of the two acts finally come together? What are some of the difficulties you run into in depicting a pyramid of motives?
2. List ten important and common sentiments among elementary-school children. Analyze one of these. What is its dominant motive? What is its effect upon other motives?
3. Describe a simple case of conflict of motives. How was it resolved?
4. Give an illustration of how a changed meaning may resolve a conflict.
5. Give an illustration of the way a child's self-concept regulates his motives.
6. Psychologically considered, what is sin?

16 Achievement, Friendship, and Love in the Development of Personality

The most important values in all one's life tend to be grouped around personal achievement and success, and around affection, love and friendship. It is in childhood that one learns to put these values in order. No part of a child's growth is more important than the friendly and affectionate relationships he forms with adults and with his peers.

In the development of personality, there are two main groups of human values: the values of personal achievement—of fame, honor, success, and skill—and the values of friendship and love. Nearly all our other values relate to one or both of these and come to be servants of these two.

But these two sets of values often seem to be in at least partial conflict. Choice between them brings us squarely up against the problem of what makes life good. Psychologists have shown a curious reluctance to deal with this problem; it is held to be a problem not of science but of religion and ethics. In its ultimate form, this may be true; but in the culture of the Western world there is more agreement about the important human values than might seem. If we can locate these agreements, then the psychologist has an obligation, as Woodruff (311) has recently pointed out, to bring to bear the resources of his science to assist children in the attainment of these values. Particularly should we help them to resolve as far as possible the conflict between the values of personal achievement and of love.

► The Values of Personal Achievement

There has been some tendency of late to disparage the importance of achievement as an ideal—although one notes that in practice it is still pursued and cherished. As it should be! Achievement is important not only from the standpoint of

human progress but of the individual's own personal self-realization. It is no coldly intellectual affair; it is a passionate search, a burning adventure into the unknown. There can be few greater joys than the sense of triumph that comes when we have reached a long-sought goal. We should cultivate this sense of triumph in our children from their earliest days.

Achievement and Affection Not Always at Cross-purposes

Let us keep in mind, however, that achievement need not be sought at the expense of affection. In truth, there is a sense in which the fullest achievement requires love. The first achievement of the infant is that which is greeted with the approbation of the mother, and throughout life achievement takes place in a context of social approval. The finest achievements are those that most contribute to a richer, fuller friendship and love. Indeed, the real meaning of selfhood is not to be found in the self alone. There is an expansion of selfhood when one lives in the lives of others with whom one identifies. The fullest life is that which somehow manages to be not one's own life alone.

Now this may sound like a very exalted ideal that cannot be taught to children. But what we do teach children can be *in accord* with this ideal. Unfortunately, usually it is not. We tend to evaluate achievement chiefly in competitive terms. We do not teach children to think of achievement as the handmaiden of affection; rather it is something to be gained only at the expense of someone else—thus as the enemy of love. Whittier's poem "In School Days" beautifully sets forth the dilemma: The spelling lesson, conducted as it always used to be as a "spelldown," was over. Now, after school, the ten-year-old maiden addresses the proud but crestfallen boy!

> "I'm sorry that I spelt the word
> I hate to go above you,
> Because"—the brown eyes lower fell—
> "Because, you see, I love you."

Yes, she hated to go above him—but she did! Our culture told her she must "do her best," and the only way to do her best was to "go above" someone.

The "spelldown" has practically disappeared as a technique for teaching spelling; its equivalent has by no means disappeared as a measure of achievement in school or elsewhere in life. Whatever our fine preachments, by our *practice* we still teach children that they

can achieve only by thwarting someone else. The result is that many a person of eminence at the end of his life finds it hollow and empty because, in achieving fame, he has robbed himself of the fullness of love and affection for his fellows.

Neither in practice nor in well-considered precept do we often show children that the conflicting goals of two or more persons may be reconciled, so that both may achieve satisfaction. What, for example, do we do when two children are in conflict—each, perhaps, desiring to ride the same tricycle? Too often, we just try to see which one can be got to yield with the least clamor. Or we side with the weaker contestant. Or, with somewhat more sensitivity, we try to determine who had it first and is justly entitled to it. In any case, we limit the physical conflict by edict and compulsion, thereby using adult authority to impose frustration upon one or other. The effect is to encourage the child to get rid of the conflict by victory over his comrade—or, if he is submissive, to seek peace by giving in.

Only occasionally do we have the patience to seek, or the imagination to find, a solution in which the differing motives of the two children may be not merely composed but integrated—that is, made one. Just as a child may learn to unify two of his own conflicting purposes (see p. 431 ff.), so he may learn to harmonize his purposes with those of another for the sake of some goal shared by both. In the ideal solution, the child by yielding his own purpose, stimulates a response in the other child out of which grows the greater satisfaction of both. If, for example, the two children can be got to use the tricycle in companionable play *together,* each will more fully satisfy his needs.[1]

Anderson (5) found extensive individual differences in the degree to which children show such integrative behavior, and there is reason to think that these differences are chiefly the result of learning. Thus, the children from business and professional homes were much more likely to display integration than those from orphanages. The

[1] The same basic point of view is expressed in considering the affectional relation between adults in the following quotation: "When someone for my sake renounces some cherished purpose of his own, it at once becomes my eager wish to keep him from a sense of loss or frustration. I therefore seek so to behave that the renunciation shall no longer be necessary; and I often find a line of conduct, based on his very act of renunciation, which will bring to him a new and finer satisfaction. Thus his self-surrender is transmuted into self-realization, becomes not loss but gain. Because he has met *my* needs, I am able more fully to bring *his* purposes to fruition. . . . It is not love's imperious demands but love's selflessness which thus leads to growth. At love's demand I can indeed yield up everything but my Self; my Self I yield only to love's self-surrender. It is when I am asked least that I can truly give most; and being asked nothing but to receive my beloved's renunciation I at last learn to give all that I have—my own Self" (12).

former, of course, were taught "sharing" and politeness (both of which conduce to integration), whereas the children in the orphanages were for the most part just pushed around by the authorities (which conduces instead to alternate submission and resistance).

There are many opportunities in school to teach children integration of interpersonal conflicts, especially in a school where the children are free to engage in a variety of activities. Even in a more conventional school, conflicts occur and the children can learn to harmonize them. In group discussion, for example, they may learn that their own "cause" can often be furthered not by batting down opposing arguments but by finding a common ground on which all or most of the group may stand. It is naïve, however, to expect the children to seize such opportunities automatically; they must be taught both the advisability and the methods of harmonizing differences.

► The Values of Love and Affection

The harmonies of love and friendship have often been likened to those of music. And like those of music, they have almost infinite variety. The simple trust of the child in the goodness and sympathy of his mother might be likened to the piping of the flageolet. The comradeship of children at play is like the slightly disharmonic chirping of birds. There are friendships of silken smoothness like the harmony of two violins; there are quartets, and the full-voiced symphony orchestra. Through all these forms of love run the quality of security and the intuitive understanding and affection which the child learns from his mother's—and his father's—love.

The Basis in Infancy

The foundations of all affection are laid in infancy, and there is reason to believe that if they are not well and firmly laid then, the child will be gravely handicapped in all his later efforts to manifest warmth and friendship. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance for personality development of a loving interaction between the infant and those about him. From our child-guidance clinics come tragic tales of stunted lives because children were starved for love. But love is not merely a passive acceptance; it is giving love as well as being loved, and this, too, children must learn.

Affection Must Be Learned

Moreover, it is only the basic attitudes that are thus formed in the earliest years; the arts of love and friendship have still to be learned. In the words of Breckenridge and Vincent:

> There is more to friendship and love than being [a warm and affectionate] person; one must know how to find and win other persons who will respond to one's real self, and, ideally, each person should become a richer, more useful and happy personality because of friendship and love experiences.
>
> Even elementary school children learn something of this art of revealing themselves to others, and of responding to others on a friendship basis. Kindergarten and preschool children learn less consciously, but deep layers of friendship and family-life relationship are being laid in the first years of life. How much one concedes to the people one loves, or demands of them; whether one "goes to war" in the open about differences of opinion and desire or buries one's resentments; loyalty or self-centeredness; generosity or selfishness; cheerful acceptance or glum resistance; these are all attitudes and practices in intimate living caught as patterns from the intimate living one knows best in childhood (35, pp. 441–442).

Stages in the Development of Affection

In our Western culture, the friendship and love relations of a child tend to follow a certain sequence. There is

> . . . a very early period in which there is no specific manifestation of affection; next, a period in which affection goes to the parents; next a period in which it is directed to persons of the same sex; next, a period in which affection is non-specific but directed toward the opposite sex; and finally a period in which affection is specifically centered on a person of the opposite sex (White House Conference, 303).

It should be clearly understood that this pattern of growth is determined more largely by society and cultural conditions than directly by sex hormones. Almost every conceivable variation from the sequence sketched above is found in some culture or other. (Campbell, 46, has assembled a number of cogent examples.)

In our society, however, this is the customary line of development, and deviations from it are apt to be somewhat uncomfortable. The ten-year-old boy who still likes to play with girls is likely to be unmercifully ribbed by his more "manly" fellows. None the less, deviations and variations from the customary pattern are very numerous and most of them are not inherently unwholesome. We should especially beware of characterizing them as perverse. We should, instead, think of these various stages in sex-social development as the appro-

priate periods during which, as our society is organized, the child can learn various necessary attitudes and behaviors.

The Unisexual Phase. During the preschool period, children should begin to understand something of the family and its responsibilities—here, of course, doll play and "playing house" are invaluable, and if properly guided can be made even more useful. In the early elementary grades, advantage should be taken of the fact that boys and girls play together without much distinction of sex to teach them to get along together as equals. In the home, at this time, they should be learning how mature men and women who love each other behave toward each other, what men concede to women and women to men, how they divide work and responsibilities. And at school, particularly through literature, these lessons are reinforced or corrected.

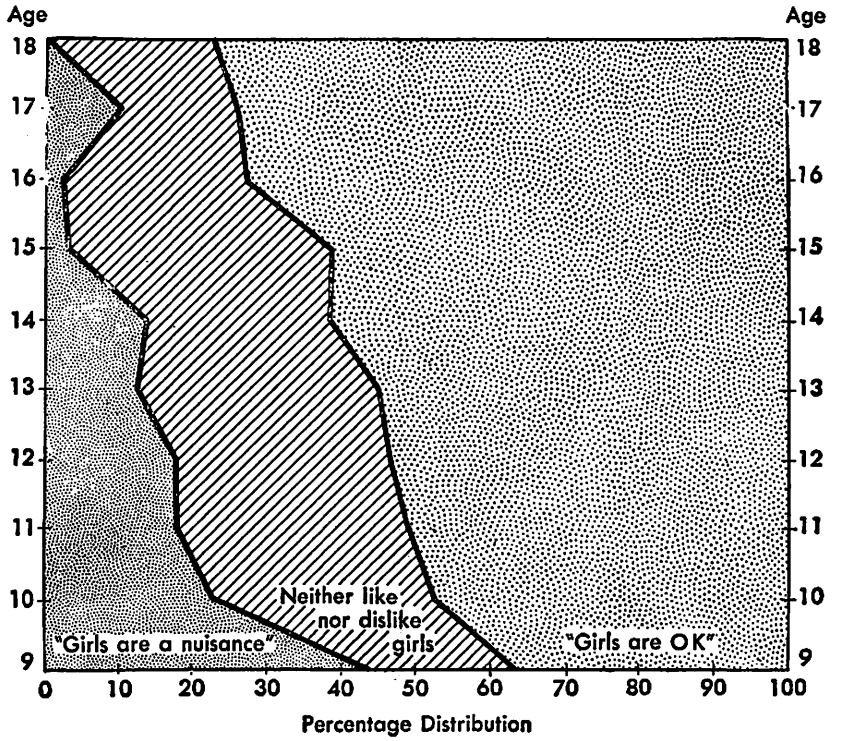
The Sex-antagonism Phase. During the prepubertal period (ages 9 to 11 or 12), there is apt to be quite a segregation of boys and girls. At first it seems to be mainly just a drawing apart because of differing play interests and activities. Many authorities believe that this is a favorable time to help them gain "a respectful, courteous attitude toward children of the opposite sex, free from undue sex-consciousness, and a definite appreciation of the values of wholesome comradeship and friends, and practice in securing them." (White House Conference, 303.)

But there presently develops a rather active antagonism, a scorning of the opposite sex. Apparently this antagonism is really genuine at first; girls really don't like boys and boys don't like girls. But little by little the real dislike begins to yield to interest, covert at first and concealed beneath a merely surface antagonism which takes the form of teasing, of razzing, of sometimes rather mean practical jokes, and of definitely scornful remarks. At this stage, too, most of the boys find it necessary to prove their manliness by intentionally rude behavior to women teachers or women generally. As this stage merges into the bisexual interests of adolescence, many a boy (it is usually a boy) finds himself so deeply committed to an antifeminine position that he just doesn't know how to extricate himself. He really desperately needs help, a tactful push over the line into bisexual companionship.

General and Specific Affection

An important aspect of the development of social behavior is what Miles (193) calls the "personalization of affection." Friendliness and hostility are at first chiefly products of the

Figure 40. Anonymous Reactions of 700 Boys, Age 9 to 18, to a Question Concerning Their Attitude toward Girls



At age 9 few boys will admit that they like girls—and most don't. (Based on unpublished data of R. T. Sollenberger. From F. K. Shuttleworth, The adolescent period, Monogr. of Soc. Res. Child Developm., 1938, 3, No. 3, by permission of the author.)

immediate situation: indeed, some authors would class the rudimentary friendly response as mere sympathy. Gradually, however, the child builds up more enduring sentiments toward the chief persons in his environment, as described in the preceding chapter. But before we turn to the consideration of close friendships, let us take a look at the less personalized affectional relations. It is an interesting fact that we do not have any term for the relationship of mild affection which stands between mere acquaintance and "true" friendship. Yet much of our need for giving and receiving affection is met in such friendly associations.

Social Acceptability. Most of our research in this area has been concerned with the personal qualities that make it possible for a

child to find some degree of affectionate acceptance by his peers. There seem to be from a quite-early period enormous individual differences between children in this respect. Undoubtedly whether or not a child easily finds acceptance is partly a matter of the particular group structure to which he seeks to relate himself, partly even a matter of the nature of the activity. But there are some children who seem permanently isolated, while others make friends quickly with almost anyone. As might be expected, cheerfulness, enthusiasm, a jolly manner, good looks, ability in games, energy, help to make a child acceptable. Not quite so obvious is the finding that positive traits are more important than merely negative virtues. To be highly accepted a child must make an impact on others, even if the impact is sometimes a little unpleasant (Bonney, 32). But he must be able and willing to fit into the ongoing situation and make himself visible therein (Lippitt, 176, Hardy, 112). Interestingly enough, in view of popular opinion about the socializing value of large families, children from small families are more frequently acceptable than those from large families.

Isolates and Fringers. It is now fashionable to be much concerned about the socially isolated child and those always on the fringe of group activity. No doubt the concern is fundamentally right, but let us not forget that a child can be too fully socialized, too dependent upon other children, not able to find satisfactions except in a whirl of peer activities. Moreover, among the less socially active we need to make distinctions (Northway, 214).

There is, first of all, the *socially uninterested* child. He may be quiet and retiring and perhaps even truly shy in personal relations, but he is not a maladjusted child at all. He has interests, but they are not social but objective interests: collecting, music, scientific experimentation, or crafts. In a popular article published under the title, "Lo, the Poor Introvert," Dorothy Canfield Fisher (who is a distinguished educator as well as author) pled that we let this sort of child alone, not try to force him into the usual socially extravert mold. Undoubtedly she has a point, and we should recognize the essential wholesomeness of this sort of adjustment and not try to make such a child over. On the other hand, by tactful management he can be induced to take a more active social role and profit thereby. From the standpoint of practical success a child needs to learn how to get on with others, and even the socially uninterested child, as he goes through life, is going to find himself needing affection. The time to learn to give and receive is while still young.

The second type of unpopular child is much the most serious. He is withdrawn, ingrown, and lives too much within himself. This is the true *introvert.* (Despite Fisher's title, the merely socially uninterested child is not truly introverted.) Every effort should be made to draw such a child out of himself and at the very earliest opportunity. If, as is only too likely to be the case, he does not respond to friendly treatment and social advances, professional treatment is indicated and should be instituted as early as possible.

The third type of unpopular child is the *socially ineffective.* In general, he is the opposite of the acceptable child; often his difficulties are merely those of poor social techniques which can be fairly readily overcome. More frequently, perhaps, he is a child whose insecurity causes him to overact: to be noisy, boisterous, boastful. This kind of child can usually be greatly helped to improve his social acceptability by an understanding adult.

Friendship

A very considerable amount of research has been devoted to the study of children's friendships. Before age five they are extremely short lived and volatile. During the first three grades, the friend or chum is nearly as likely to be a child of the other sex, but there follows a period of about five years during which friendships, and indeed most social relations, are restricted to one's own sex.

> Around the age of eight-and-one-half, nine-and-one-half to twelve, in this culture, there comes what I once called the quiet miracle of preadolescence. . . . Now for the first time . . . there is a movement from what we might, after traditional usage, call egocentricity, toward a fully social state. . . . When the satisfaction or the security of another person becomes as significant to one as is one's own satisfaction or security, then the state of love exists.
>
> This state of affectional rapport—generically love—ordinarily occurs under restricted circumstances. In the beginning many factors must be present. Some of these may be called obvious likeness, parallel impulse, parallel physical development. These make for situations in which boys feel at ease with boys rather than with girls. This feeling of species identity or identification influences the feeling involved in the preadolescent change. The appearance of the capacity to love ordinarily first involves a member of one's own sex. The boys find a chum who is a boy, the girls find a chum who is a girl. . . .
>
> As soon as one finds that . . . [one's feelings,] one's thoughts, one's personality, is really open to some comparing of notes, to some checking and counter-checking, one begins to feel human in a sense in which one

has not previously felt human. One becomes more fully human in that one begins to appreciate the common humanity of people—there comes a new sympathy for the other fellow, whether he be present to the senses or mediated by rumors in the geography, or the like. In other words, the feeling of humanity is one of the aspects of the expansion of personality which comes in preadolescence (Sullivan, 265. By permission of *Psychiatry*).

From about thirteen or fourteen on, intersex companionship, generally in groups, reappears. Sometime after the middle of adolescence, intersex friendships make their appearance to be followed, usually, by some sort of enduring love relation.

The Attraction of Friendship. What makes a friend? What is the nature of the attraction? Whatever it is, it is not inconsistent with a considerable amount of hostility. Friends quarrel more, not less, than ordinary nonfriends—this seems to be true at all ages—and the quarrels often are marked by real anger and animosity. No doubt the frequency of quarrels among friends is related to the fact that they are more together and have more occasions for disagreement. But for the distressed parent who sees the children engaged in seemingly endless bickering, and for the lover who doubts his love when he finds himself angry with his beloved, the fact that the warmest attraction can be reconciled with antagonism is significant and comforting.

Propinquity. A child can hardly form a friendship with another child unless he has many opportunities to be with him. But propinquity exerts a stronger influence than would follow from this purely logical consideration. The available child is often given higher status as a chum than others with more desirable personal traits. Evidently we come to be attracted to that which is familiar.

Similarity. Popular opinion vacillates between the view that like attracts like and that opposites attract. A good deal of evidence supports the former position (Richardson, 233). Certainly children when asked why they choose their friends usually speak of similarity of interests and of personality (14). Reader and English, however, found some reason to believe that this factor is emphasized too much. When actual measurements of likeness or unlikeness were made, friends were indeed slightly more similar than nonfriends but hardly enough to account for the attraction the friends felt for each other. Similarity, they suggest, is but one manifestation of a wider principle.

We believe that the secret of friendship is to be found not in similarity of more or less fixed traits, but in the kinds of responses each person

elicits from the other. Wertheimer and the Gestalt psychologists speak of the "we" character of a social relationship—the entity which is the interaction of two dynamic personalities as they meet and function together. Either person by himself is incapable of duplicating the "we" for it is a product of only these personalities in interaction under a given set of circumstances. Friendship is thus not a matter of duplication but is rather coattraction and especially of cooperation between two active-receptive dynamic persons. . . .

Friendship as Need Fulfillment. The needs which characterize the personality of one are not necessarily similar to those that characterize the other. The primary requirement is that *the two individuals mutually satisfy one another's personality needs* [italics are mine] in a kind of psychological symbiosis. A given relationship may be yielding very different satisfactions to each of its two participants at the very same time. The authoritarian person and his timid, submissive friend are examples of the symbiotic functioning of two personalities, each of which has for the other stimulus and consummatory value attuned to it. One needs to dominate and the other desires to be dominated. But another person, no less dominant but with another pattern of personal qualities, may need someone to stand up to him. One person needs a "clinging vine"; another equally dominant, a "sparring partner." It follows that no general rule can be made by which we could identify *the* satisfying element characteristic of all friendships. At best, we can state that every relationship does satisfy certain needs in the participants. . . .

We often find that certain people "bring out the best" in us. They stimulate us in such a way as to elicit from us behavior which makes us feel pleased with ourselves. Conversely, we may truly admire someone with whom we come into contact, but feel rather inadequate, insecure, and humble in his presence. It would seem then that the more satisfying friendships are those in which each of the participants appreciates and admires his own role as well as that of his friend (230, pp. 217–219).

The Social Environment. We have been speaking, however, as if friendships existed in a social vacuum. Of course that is not so. Most close friendships in childhood begin within the larger circle of "friends" or of the gang, and all friendship relations are mightily affected by all one's social relationships—including even those with adults. It is probable, say Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb that "the history of one's friendships and one's areas of interest and happiness cannot be written at all without a knowledge of one's successive roles as companion, bully, scapegoat, pet, and idol in varying group structures" (205, p. 518). Perhaps, however, this is but another way of saying that in friendship one seeks fulfillment of one's needs. For, of course, the child's needs grow out of his varying roles in social interactions.

The Distortions of Affection

Jealousy. One of the most perplexing and difficult aberrations of affection is that of jealousy. Jealousy is a direct limitation upon love. In the elementary school it is seldom manifested strongly save by those who have learned it at home. The Freudian notion that *all* children are jealous of the parent of the same sex is not confirmed by careful investigation; it is, however, somewhat more common than is generally realized. There can be little doubt, also, that most children have attacks of jealousy of brothers and sisters or that this jealousy often becomes a serious cause of maladjustment.

The basic cause of jealousy, of course, is the fear of loss of love. It is most likely to be found, therefore, in small families (235) and where the mother is oversolicitous (Sewall, 244, Levy, 157). Not unnaturally, the oldest child—the one who has been dethroned—is most likely to exhibit the trait. And it is most likely to be found where the age differences range from eighteen to forty-two months; children closer together are more apt to be companions, those further apart are less likely to be rivals (244).

Probably too much concern has been aroused over sibling jealousy. Certainly in its milder forms it can be regarded as normal. Nonetheless it is unpleasant at best, and it interferes with the proper growth of affection. It cannot be combated by punishment; that only convinces the child all the more that he is not loved as he wants to be. The cure lies in attacking the root cause—the child's fear that he is not loved. He should be assured that love is not less for being shared; rather that parents who love one another and who love their other children have on that account more love and understanding to give. The teacher who can display impartial affection for all her pupils can do much to teach children that love can be shared.

Hardness. Jealousy is a disease of loving too much and too possessively. In contrast is the tendency in our culture to teach children not to be too loving. Of course we disavow that intent. But, particularly here in America, we want our children to be self-reliant, we want them to learn how to "get on" in this world, and we believe that to get on you have to be a little hard. "Unselfishness" (which is a name for love in action) is encouraged within the family circle; yet even there besting the other fellow receives plaudits and admiration. And the child who too generously shares his possessions with children outside the family circle quickly learns how strictly limited, in fact, is the unselfishness theoretically approved. Can we blame the

Elizabeth Hibbs

Figure 41. An Expression of Sibling Jealousy

child if implicitly he concludes that this business of loving your neighbor is not to be taken too seriously.

Disbelief in One's Affection. Two other denials of affection help to warp personality development. There is first the child who is somehow given to believe that he is cold and unaffectionate, or even worse that he can neither give nor inspire affection. This happens very frequently, probably most often in homes where there are several children and where unintended but invidious comparisons are made. The warmth and demonstrativeness lavished on a sweet little cuddly sister may convince the older child that he is not loved and that his loving behavior is not valued. If he turns to attention-getting, as many do, he is apt to be reproved in ways which still further deepen his unbelief in his own lovability. If he is a boy, he is particularly likely to turn his back on affection and endeavor to gain parental approval, at least, by being manly—which being translated means by being a hard little go-getter. (Alternate behaviors for girls—for example, play with dolls—are a little more apt to remain within the boundaries of affection.)

Repression. From almost the opposite kind of circumstances, we may get parallel results. The child who "loves not wisely but too well" quickly finds himself in difficulties—again the problem is more acute in our culture with boys. If he is too affectionate, he is called a sissy. If he tries to kiss all the little girls, as many a four-year-old does, people talk behind their hands about depravity and his mother has to intervene. Little by little the child's naïve warmth and outgivingness is repressed. Indeed, after a child has passed the "doll" stage, direct manifestation of affection makes us a bit uncomfortable. Instead of encouraging loving behavior—actually loving behavior—we are apt to make the child feel that it is unnecessary, even a little queer—and in the case of a boy, a bit unmanly.

The Relation of Affection to Sex. In part, this is because the child must often express his affection directly in physical terms. And here sex "raises its ugly head." In no area are our values and ideals more confused than in the realm of sex. We have commonly allowed the intricate problems involved to be postponed to the period of adolescence. This, of course, is a mistake. To be sure sex motivations, though not nonexistent, are weak during childhood. But it is important that the child be prepared to meet sex problems before they descend upon him.

Most of us reject the Freudian notion that all physical affection is directly sexual; but we are uneasily aware that there is more relation

than we like to admit. Thus, in most families, the cuddling phase in child-rearing is followed by a period in which the child's affectionate behavior upon a direct physical plane is limited to a certain few prescribed forms: meanwhile he has not yet learned to express it upon other planes. In our fear of sex, we have tended to repress any manifiestation of love that seems to us in any degree "infected with sex"—which comes close to meaning all physical expressions and most verbal endearments related to them.

The result is the stifling, especially in boys, of the natural tendency to give as well as to receive affection. It isn't good form for a boy to be too fond of sisters, let alone of brothers, fathers, or persons outside the family. Only to mother may love be frankly shown, and then only in certain conventional circumstances. Now, it is impossible thus to restrain all outward manifestations of feeling without in the end weakening it; moreover it is not only physical demonstration of love which is restricted or repressed. Hence the growing child cannot fail to be influenced in his self-ideals by a social scene in which affection, save in such limited ways, is disparaged or scorned.

If it be thought that I exaggerate the cultural restriction upon affection, let the reader try out a simple experiment. Try describing some man as "a very loving, affectionate person in all his personal relations." Or think of the distorted picture called to mind when a man is described as "The Great Lover." What should be the description of one of mankind's finest ideals is debased by connotations of a cheap romanticism.

Clearly the teacher as well as the parent has a tremendous responsibility to prepare children for a normal sex adjustment. By this I do not mean primarily instruction in the anatomy and physiology of sex. Of course, that is necessary, and the question as to whether the instruction should come from an informed adult (whether parent or other teacher) or from a misinformed playmate surely answers itself. There are excellent books designed to help the adult in this task, which is neither so difficult nor so "delicate" as it is supposed to be.

Nor do I mean that there should be extensive discussion of the problems of sex ethics. This too easily degenerates into an attempt to frighten children away from something which they only vaguely understand. At its best, discussion of the ethics of chastity and of marital fidelity and all the complicated skein of problems which revolve about them is really over children's heads. What I do mean is that children should be encouraged in natural friendliness and love, that the necessary cautions be introduced quietly and as needed,

without destroying or limiting the central value. Marital love can thus be envisaged as but the highest expression of a universal value. The best form of "sex education" is education in normal, healthy, warmly affectionate, and assured personal relations.

► Summary

In the development of personality the values centering around success and personal achievement and those grouped about love and affection tend to be set in partial opposition. This is unnecessary and self-defeating. We can help children to harmonize these two sets of values.

In our culture the development of love and affection proceeds through fairly definite stages, during each of which the child is learning how to give and to receive affection. In each he must learn that the basis of love is to fulfill the other person's needs. Even the mild affectional relation called social acceptability depends less upon not annoying or offending people than upon making a contribution to the group. Deeper friendship even more is a secure relation in which we are free and take joy in meeting our friend's needs. Nor is the case different with adult heterosexual love.

The child's progress toward mature affection is beset with serious difficulties; the child thus needs help. At every stage of his development he needs experience in both giving and receiving love. If you wait to learn to love until you fall in love, you wait too long.

Exercises

1. In what sense is it true that other values are servants of the values of achievement or of love? Illustrate.
2. How is it *possible* to achieve without in fact surpassing others? If I "build a better mousetrap," people will buy mine, not the other fellow's. Doesn't one have to keep the ideals of achievement and of love in separate compartments?
3. Describe some of the difficulties of a ten-year-old boy who "likes girls." What can be done to help him?
4. How should one go about encouraging social activity? Suppose, as a teacher, you find a child is actively disliked. What steps could you take?

5. The text stresses particularly the difficulties of normal love-and-sex adjustment for boys. What are some of the special problems of girls?
6. Try to find out what the concept of "love" means to a child of your acquaintance—love in all its aspects. What does he understand by the "love of God"? What does he think it means that his parents love each other? How does it differ from his own love of his dog? Does he love himself? Record the child's exact words as nearly as you can remember them. How much confidence do you have that you really understand the child?

► Observing Personality in Children

Of course it is impossible to observe a child at all without observing his personality or some aspect thereof. Even when you give an intelligence test you are testing—that is, observing—a facet of the child's personality. In this section, however, we shall place our emphasis upon observing the child's progress in *organizing* the many facets of his personality. Personality is conceived as the process of integrating motives and values.

That sounds like something rather formidable to observe. Actually, while it is difficult, it is the sort of observation you are accustomed to make of people, including children, all the time. Have you never rendered such judgments as these? "You never saw a little child so fastidious; it just makes you creep a little." "She is friendly with everyone and expects everyone to be friendly; I don't think she would know a rebuff if she saw one." "He is critical of everything that comes along."

Well, these are judgments, not observations—let's be clear about that. But you can observe and report, can you not, the actual behaviors that lead to such judgments? They surely are reflections of the way the child's values are being organized.

We can also ask ourselves what the world looks like to this child, what he sees ahead in life, especially for himself. If we are both tactful and fortunate, we may learn what he daydreams about. We can watch the child manipulating objects. Is he inclined to accept the stimulus pattern, adapting himself easily to it, enjoying it? Or is he governed more often by an inner set which leads him to impose his purposes on the environment, to seek in the situation that which can be made over to suit his inner set? From such facts—and we must be careful that they are facts—we can draw significant conclusions about the child's personality and character.

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value stands before you."

It is, of course, impossible to understand a child's values without seeing them against the background of the values of the various groups to which he belongs. Unfortunately, it is not at all easy to describe clearly and succinctly the standards and rules which subgroups in our culture set up for their members to live by. Frequently there are decided conflicts in cultural ideology. Consider, for example, the conflicting attitudes that one should "love his neighbor as himself" but that "charity begins at home." Likewise, in certain areas a delinquent group of children may have very strict rules about hating and tricking the police. In school, however, the teachers and other children with whom they mingle may set up very strong values concerned with respecting, admiring, and helping the police whenever possible. These are some of the more apparent and obvious conflicts between values. There are countless more in the life of every child that are harder to detect and make the process of character assessment infinitely difficult.

Most teachers in discussing a pupil's character confine themselves to comfortable statements such as "Harry is an honest boy; I have never caught him stealing or cheating." Or, "Mabel is a good girl; she always does what I tell her to." In such reports the teacher is taking a moralizing attitude toward the child and using only the most conventional values as criteria for judgment. Furthermore, she is making blanket statements about a child's honesty or a child's goodness, when we know very well that there are very few children who are "honest" all the time, equally few children who are "dishonest" all the time, and no children who are "good" all the time.

We should not ignore, however, the significance of such judgments about a child, even though they are thus moralistic and inaccurate.

Morals and Values. The value systems of children are very loosely organized and shifting; hence not easy to pin down for a crisp and definitive report. Moreover, the children are not accustomed to much self-examination and cannot verbalize about their values very clearly. On the other hand, children often reveal their true motives more freely than adults. They have not so well learned to conceal or to rationalize. Much can be gained by a tactful questioning at the right time, especially as to the ideology which the child is incorporating. We can ask, for example, what is it that makes a child good? What is it that you do when you cheat? Why is it that you don't like a person who lies? How far is it *right* to disobey your parents? We must, of course, be on our guard against accepting a glib patter; for example, you may safely discount any statement a child under mental age eight makes about "reverence." Some rudimentary reverence he may actually display, but he is incapable of understanding so highly abstract a term. But he has "ideals" which he *does* understand, and even to a limited degree lives by.

In questioning the child about these values or virtues, it is peculiarly necessary to avoid putting him on the spot. You want to know what he really thinks about these issues, not what he thinks he should tell you. Questions of this sort must therefore be slipped in unobtrusively, one at a time, as there is occasion. With older children unless there is very good rapport it may be impossible to get frank replies by direct questioning.

Moreover, in evaluating this aspect of child behavior, you must be particular to lay aside your own standards. A tough little delinquent may actually have a very well-integrated character. And a child is quite normal who lies to his teacher but is loyal and truthful to comrades. That may not be the ethics book standard of truth but it is the child's. You must be very careful not to "moralize," especially to the child. You are not setting up as a judge but as a dispassionate observer. What you want is as full an account as you can get of morals *as the child sees them.*

In addition to morals, we must consider manners (lesser morals) and also the vaguer and more poorly defined standards which each group sets up for its members to live by, whether the group be a family, a neighborhood, a racial group or a total culture. A more general term that covers all of the above terms is *values.* A value is something which, if stated positively, is introduced by the phrase "he ought to . . ." or "one should . . ." Negatively the introductory phrase runs "you ought not to . . ." or "I should not . . ." or "they

ents may exert strong pressure upon him, and that Harry himself may form an opinion about himself which may color most of his activities, at least while in school or in the presence of people he suspects may know he is "dishonest." More than that, such labels tend to live on and receive attention long after they cease to be accurate. Thus one's known past behavior in regard to the values one is expected to live by plays a large part in determining what one will do in the future.

Religion and Character. I shall not be so foolish as to attempt a sketch of the place of religion in the life of the child. Yet it would be equally foolish to ignore entirely the fact that children live in a society where religion plays an important part. A number of studies seem to show that religious instruction and religious observances have surprisingly little effect upon the children's moral conduct. Yet how important it is for a particular child must be individually appraised.

Certainly one significant point to be considered is the influence of religion upon the values cherished by the child's home, for the same studies show that the home is the most important determiner of moral conduct. In some cases, moreover, the church strongly reinforces the sanctions of the home. Whether the result is to make the value more important or is to set the child in conflict with it, we should in either case be interested.

Attitudes toward the Larger World. Young children react only to their immediate surroundings and to persons with whom they are in direct contact. Their virtues and values concern the immediate world. The concept of society does not exist in young children; by adolescence it is fairly well defined. The development of this and similar concepts is a fascinating and little-explored chapter in child psychology. The beginnings of the concept of a larger society are

skill to get the child to verbalize his formative concepts toward the larger world. The effort is worth making, nonetheless. See if you can discover the child's attitude toward members of the opposite sex as a group, toward races and nations, religions, toward economic and social differences. And equally important, towards the whole scale of values involved in social thinking: loyalty to institutions, patriotism, humanity. So many foolish things are being done to force these concepts upon children prematurely that we are apt to turn away from the whole topic with disgust. We must remember, however, that these concepts do have early beginnings, even though the beginnings are simple and rudimentary. See if you can find some of them.

The Child's Developing Selfhood. By the time a child comes to school he has, there is no doubt of it, a fairly well-developed sense of self. That it is not complete and that it will suffer further development does not make it unimportant. You will find much evidence that the self-picture exists, but you may not find it easy to get the child to reveal it to you. As is the case with other ideals, most of the difficulty comes from the child's inability to communicate. But also very early we learn, all of us, to be defensive and a little furtive about ourselves; even with five-year-olds you have to reckon with evasion and downright dissimulation.

Yet many aspects of the child's self-image are very freely exposed. His concept of his own appearance and physical prowess is frequently shown by various comparisons. "You know Jim—Jim Billingslea, he lives next door—well he's nearly a year older'n me but I can wrastle him." Doesn't that give you insight into both the self-image and the self-ideal? Many an artless remark embedded in a rambling narrative of what one has done or likes to do is similarly enlightening.

The caution, however, is this: Don't believe all the child tells you, even what he thus tells you unintentionally. The child's self is fluid, changing. What is true now may not be true tomorrow, and children no less than adults have stored their minds with clichés and stereotypes, and are quite capable of describing events and aspirations in stale phrases which have become conventional and often meaningless. And finally dramatization and authorship call some children away; they just love to adorn and embellish the tale. Some of their stories reveal not their self-image or their self-ideal but their imagination and nascent literary craftsmanship. A delightful quality and one to be cherished! But not to be interpreted in the wrong way.

Achievement and Affection. The set of values clustering around personal achievement has begun to be separated from others and to be unified as a single embracing goal by age six or seven. Whether

he says it or not, the six-year-old is aware of "success" as one of the great goals of life, and he can often be led to reveal what success means to him.

Affection, on the other hand, is more likely to be taken more or less for granted. He wants affection, of course, and is happy or hurt when he is loved or neglected. He often gives love. But, as a rule, he is not likely to have made "love" or affection into an organizing principle or a conscious ideal. The emergence of such an ideal in childhood is probably the most important single factor in the child's whole development—and we know almost nothing about it. Any hints you may collect should be recorded.

Sex Attitudes. Certainly here is a rich vein for observation though interpretation is still difficult. You can fairly easily record the child's stage of sex-social development—whether the child is in the early stage where companions are chosen indifferently from either sex or solely from one's own sex or whether the phase of acute dislike has been reached. And indications of sex knowledge or overt sex practices may be recorded, but in a case study of this kind *no probing of this important aspect of development is permissible.*

This is one of the few injunctions in respect to your case study which must be accepted as well-nigh absolute. You may think, and I may agree, that a more objective attitude toward sex is wholesome. But you are making a case study of a child as a part of a *contract entered into by you* with the parents and the school which sponsors you. Part of that contract is that you will not violate the mores which forbid discussing sex with a child on the part of persons not explicitly authorized to do so. You may console yourself by the reflection that you are not Dr. Kinsey anyway and would probably not learn much.

I do not mean to imply that you should not attempt to assess the important things about the child's total sex development. These facts are not necessarily physical or directly sexual at all. They concern the attitudes which the child is acquiring toward persons of the other sex, toward love and family life. Whether a child thinks of marriage as a joyful and happy way for a man and woman to live is far more important than whether he occasionally masturbates (he or she fairly certainly will) or whether he or she has indulged in a certain amount of sex play (which is also extremely likely).

Friendships. It is not difficult to find out who a child's friends are; but the special quality of the friendship is less easy to discover. Questioning seldom brings out what Harriet sees in Hortense nor the sorts of feelings which go with this friendship. The duration of

friendship may be an index of personality, but also it may reflect merely the limited availability of alternatives. In any case, by all means be at some pains to observe "best friends" together; and getting the child to describe the activities in which he and his friend engage may prove enlightening.

How to Make a Character Analysis. The formula for making a character analysis is fairly simple. First of all, divest yourself of your own moral attitudes, of your own values so that you may be prepared to look objectively upon the values of others. Secondly, determine the most important values of the groups in which the child being studied has his existence. Thirdly, determine how, when, and to what extent the child has failed to live up to the values of his family, his neighborhood, and his school.

The formula is simple; the analysis is not. All three steps are very difficult and surrounded by obscurities, conflicts, and pitfalls. Our own values largely determine the values we expect to find in other people. Other people rarely are able to put into words even their most important values except for the conventional "honesty, obedience, frankness, sincerity," etc. Finally, when rules are broken or values not upheld, every effort is made to cover them up, not only by the child but also by his parents, his schoolmates, and even his teachers. The results of a character analysis are therefore usually very meager and apparently unrewarding. Nonetheless, an adequate case study must make an effort to determine how closely the subject's behavior conforms to what is expected of him. When it does not conform, as when a child is known to have stolen or known to have fallen far below the ordinary requirements for polite behavior in *his* society, our knowledge is immensely increased.

In lieu of more definite directions for making such a character analysis, I include such an analysis taken from a case study recently made by an undergraduate.

Character Analysis (of Virginia J.)

Since Virginia has lived next door to me for the last four years and I know both the family and the children with whom she plays, I have been able to include much more information than the teacher in school had any inkling of. In making this analysis, I have probably drawn freely upon facts and incidents which I have not included in the case study since they are now only fragments and vague impressions which I paid little attention to at the time of their occurrence. Some of my conclusions, if not all, are open to question; yet these, I believe, are the estimates which most people who know Virginia very well have arrived at. (I have talked

them over with both her mother and my mother during chance conversations.)

Family Values. Both Mr. and Mrs. J. are highly conventional in the ordinary sense and expect their children to live up to their own standards and conventions. (See F. N. 5 for my interview with Mrs. J.) They both speak severely about a child down the street who has been engaged in some minor stealing. They attribute his stealing to the fact that his parents do not attend church and have never sent him to Sunday School. The J. children are expected to attend church and be quite religious. Manners are emphasized in the home, and Virginia is frequently admonished by her mother for "not acting like a little lady." The children are expected to be very obedient and to show a great deal of love and affection for one another, and for their parents. The parents show much affection for each other and for their children.

Virginia's Conformity to Family Values. As far as I know, Virginia has never stolen anything either alone or in company with other children. She also has remarked disparagingly about "that little thief up the street," obviously in imitation of her father or mother. She refuses to play with any of the other children in the boy's family and adopts the same suspicious air toward them as do her mother and older brother. Virginia seems to have been thoroughly trained in manners and rarely omits a "thank you" or a deferential "please" when with adults. With her brother and sisters, however, she tends to forget most of her manners especially when the parents are not around. Then she is quite "bossy" with the young sisters and sometimes snatches toys from them which they obviously do not wish to let her play with. She was very "sassy" to a neighbor who scolded her for (unintentionally) knocking over a little boy on the street. When her mother heard of it, she explained why it was wrong and Virginia, the mother says, apologized very nicely. She attends Sunday School regularly and has even provoked some mild amusement among members of her family because of several very pious statements she makes around the house. (I suspect she uses these as attention-getting devices, although at first they may have been bids for approval from her mother and father.) Her mother says that Virginia is very affectionate with the father but less so toward herself. The mother suspects that Virginia feels that the other children are sometimes favored and shows her resentment by refusing to kiss her mother good night or to kiss the youngest sister good night. Mrs. J. has handled this by ignoring it, but sometimes "I feel that a good whipping would do her a lot of good." (F. N. 5.) As far as I know, Virginia has never openly disobeyed either parent, except for very minor things such as not kissing somebody good night. Her mother characterizes her as "A good little girl but sometimes she's got a mind of her own, just like her father." I know that Virginia has heard this said on several occasions.

Neighborhood Values and Virginia's Conformity. As the height-weight measurements (p. 13) show, Virginia is about 4 inches shorter than the average child her age, yet she is a grade advanced in school. Around the neighborhood she likes to play with the children in her grade in school,

even though they are all somewhat taller and older than she. Since all the children come from fairly well-to-do homes similar to Virginia's, they all have the usual conventional regard for conventional values. But Virginia, possibly because she is so much smaller and a year younger, has had difficulty in being accepted by the group and does some things which the girls criticize. Virginia frequently attempts to dominate the play and by now the girls are well aware of this tendency. Field Note 18 describes the incident in which Virginia became so angry when not allowed to be the leader in a game that she stamped her feet and began to cry. The girls were plainly disgusted but hesitant about what to do until the boys nearby began laughing at Virginia. Her subsequent retreat home to be pacified apparently met with no success since she returned to the group a few minutes later with a still tear-stained face and now quite humbly asked to be allowed to take part. I don't know what happened in the house and did not feel capable of asking her mother about it. In general, Virginia has a reputation among the children of the neighborhood as someone who is "fun to play with but sometimes she gets nasty." This, interestingly enough, is almost the same judgment as that passed on her by her mother when she said "A good little girl but sometimes she's got a mind of her own."

School Values and Virginia's Conformity. Miss X has nothing but words of praise for Virginia's behavior in school. From knowing Virginia at home, I suspect that if Miss X did not treat her as a very bright child who has "just lovely manners" (F. N. 3), Virginia might appear in a slightly different light. But in school where Miss X emphasizes almost exactly the same things that her mother does in the home, Virginia falls in only too readily with every suggestion and request. The other children admire her for her speed with figures and ability to draw, although some of the older boys occasionally tease her and call her teacher's pet. Virginia told me this one day, and seemed as much proud of it as she was puzzled by the boys' teasing her. She seems to be so obviously the brightest child in the room and is so admired by the teacher that she is apparently very anxious to retain her favored status and, as she unblushingly confessed to me, "I wouldn't ever do anything wrong in school because you should always be a good citizen in school and at home."

Summary of Virginia's Character. It seems fair to say that Virginia is a conventionally "moral child" who has a very good reputation at home, among other children and in school for honesty and obedience. In school she does everything that is expected of her and even tends to be almost self-righteously smug about her conformity. At home she is somewhat jealous, her mother suspects, of the younger sisters and sometimes asserts her independence by refusing to show the expected affection. In the neighborhood she frequently falls down miserably in meeting group standards where a certain democracy and lack of bossiness are expected, but she is not ostracized for this but rather tolerantly punished.

17 Summarizing What You Know about a Child

It is my hope that every reader of this text will have been checking it against his observations of a real, live child—preferably by making a case study as described in Chapter 2 and in the suggestions for observing behavior which close each part of the book. Whether or not you have been making a formal study, you will find it profitable now to stand off a bit from the child or children you have been observing and see what you have learned. So please read on.

For those who are making a case study, this sort of bird's-eye view takes the form of a Final Report. The mechanical features of that report will be dealt with in Appendix 1; they are intended to make the reading of many reports less time-consuming. But even for such an excellent end, I decline to prescribe a rigid form and order. You are on your own, here.

Somewhere you should sketch the child's family background and his surroundings, give a synopsis of his life history, and an account of your contacts with him. If you do not use certain of the methods of obtaining data which have been advised by your instructor, carefully justify the omission, showing why it was unnecessary or impossible. The major divisions of this text, though somewhat arbitrary, form a convenient classification for your facts. Ask yourself how your facts bear on each of these topics.

We have emphasized in Chapter 2 the necessity for holding fast to observed facts. Facts by themselves, however, are lifeless things. Here in your summation is the place to bring them together in a significant pattern. This, then, is the place for your judgment and appraisals, for trying to put the pieces together and thus to see the whole picture. Emphasis, of course, is upon psychological considerations rather than economic, physical, or even educational factors, but the influence of these upon the psychology of the child must be considered. Here, too, you should honestly set forth the limitations of your conclusions and the points at which no conclusions, even tentative ones, are justified.

The conclusions and appraisals reached *must be carefully supported by showing the evidence upon which they are based.* If you have been making systematic observations and keeping Field Notes, refer to these notes by page. (In fact, it is a good idea to underline in colored ink the passage in the Field Notes to which reference is thus made and if there is more than one passage to a page of the notes, mark the passage *a, b, c,* etc.) If you do not have such Field Notes, try to be as concrete in your statement as possible—but your memory of fact is a poor substitute for memoranda.

The Summary, however, should itself carry a statement of the facts in condensed form—for example, "There were thirteen separate instances of what I judged to be attempts to gain attention. (See F. N. 1, 4, 17 (*a* and *b*), 18, 22.) In each of these cases another child was receiving an adult's attention to Carol's exclusion. (See particularly, F. N. 17 (*a*).)"

Note that this statement in the Summary is accompanied by a citation to the place in the Field Notes where the facts can be verified or where further detail can be obtained. A critical reader will often want to "look at the record." On the other hand, the text is clear as it stands. It may be necessary to go back to the original data to see *why* you believe that you have the picture in focus; but what the picture is should appear in the text, whole and complete.

This should not be taken to mean that you must copy long passages from the field notes. It is not only unnecessary work, but destroys the sharpness of impression you should seek to convey. Summarize, and then refer to relevant portions of the evidence. The following examples may help to make clear what is wanted.

"Only once did I see John take the initiative on the playground. This was when he tried to get the others to play volley ball. (See F.N. 26, middle of p. 35.)"

Comment: Here you really briefly state the fact, but support the statement by reference to the field record.

"Henry's leadership in play was outstanding in every observation. (But see especially F.N. 24, 25, 27. Note particularly how cleverly he persuaded the boys to follow his lead as described in F.N. 29.)"

Comment: The description of the leadership is a little vague, and there is a little too much leaning on the appendix. Lifting the material referred to in F.N. 29 into the text, unless it is too long, would add vividness and concreteness. If it is too long, try to keep the freshness of the original note, yet abbreviate it somewhat. The above quotation fails to let us "see" Henry's leadership.

Avoid These Faults in Your Final Report. These are some of the characteristics of poorly written case-study reports.

1. Lack of Organization. Related ideas and facts should be treated together. Choose a major topic and be sure that everything treated under that topic really belongs. The use of center headings and underlined marginal subheadings helps the reader to keep track—and may help you to organize for the reader.

2. Sentimentality. Occasionally students are so imbued with an evangelical fervor to help children that they overlook the need for cool, impartial, and objective analysis and report. Warm friendliness while with the child is not at all inconsistent with detached, impersonal appraisal. The fact that you like or dislike the child you are studying should, of course, be reported as a fact; but it should otherwise influence your report as little as possible.

3. Wild Predictions. Biographies are seldom written in advance. The best case studies, moreover, seldom enable even the expert to predict the long future. It is, however, a curious fact that those whose emotional involvement prevents them from the best kind of observing are the ones who are quickest to make confident predictions. Students who are shocked by a child's dishonesty, lies, or sex behavior are ready to predict a criminal or delinquent career; less emotional observers consider the circumstances. It is true that knowledge does help us predict the future, but that is not its only use. Knowledge of a race horse's condition may afford gamblers some basis for prediction; but the horse's trainer uses the knowledge, not to predict the outcome, but to plan an effective training program.

4. Injection of Unsupported Personal Opinion. Vague "hunches" or intuitions are usually based on experiences one cannot quite "lay his hands on." Occasionally, then, such "hunches" are correct; but since their foundations cannot be examined, they are terribly unreliable. "Hunches" serve a useful purpose, therefore, only when they set us to looking for further evidence; they belong in the beginning and middle of a case study, not when you are summing up. Support your guesses about the child by the facts you have found; if you haven't facts at all, the guess has no place in the final report.

5. Lack of Specificity. Sweeping generalizations about other people may seem necessary in social conversations but are highly improper in written reports. A child lives a particular life with particular people doing particular things. The case study is an attempt to organize the major "particulars" so that carefully defined and limited conclusions can be drawn.

6. Source of Information Not Given. The source of all data in a case study should always be indicated. It is particularly important to distinguish, for the reader, between data you have obtained through actual observation and that which has been told you by someone else. The more significant and important the data, the more carefully it should be documented.

7. Inclusion of Irrelevant Material. It is admittedly difficult to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant material in a case study for anything *may* prove to be important. You must, however, use your best judgment and in the Summary give only what you believe to be important and relevant. Your Field Notes provide the reader with factual data if a different assessment as to importance seems necessary.

8. Ascription of Cause. It is common tendency to simplify present behavior by concluding that it was "caused" by one or two previous or contemporary events. Of course it is cause-and-effect in which we are interested, but one must tread softly on such thin ice.

9. Lifelessness. Overreacting to all the many cautions we have given, some students turn in a case history as bare as Mother Hubbard's cupboard. The facts are duly recorded—some of them—but they form no pattern other than that imposed by chronological order. Fact is unrelated to fact, trivial incident is given as much emphasis as significant actions, and it is impossible to believe that a living child is the subject of the report. One suspects that this results from too much effort to please the instructor by heeding his injunctions rather than an effort really to learn how to observe children. At any rate, all the injunctions in this book for observing and interpreting behavior are intended to help you really see the child.

Do not try to see how big a technical vocabulary you can display. Technical terms are excellent when properly used and understood; they are more economical and more precise. Psychological analysis, however, is older by thousands of years than current technical terms.

A good case study is to be judged by its *fidelity to fact* and by the clearness and vividness with which it portrays the child, not by its technicality. A concrete statement of fact in homely language is worth more than a tortured effort to say it in terms that sound impressive because someone used them in a scholarly book.

But when you *are* technical, be sure you are correct. There is very little excuse for speaking of a child's IQ when you mean the *level* of intelligence or ability. (And if you don't see why, turn back to p. 298 and see.) Still less should you employ such terms as Intelligent

Test instead of Intelligence Test or Inferior Complex instead of Inferiority Complex—for these phrases are the result of an illegitimate union of ignorance with insensitivity to the ordinary meanings of words. When you really require a technical term, it may not be a bad idea to consult a textbook or a dictionary of psychological terms. But it is a good rule never to use a technical term until you are sure you know just what it means, and then only if no other term so well serves your purpose.

And in your Final Report, you should aim to acquaint the reader with the child as you have come to know him. A vivid and lifelike delineation does not depend on "fine writing," sentimentality, or verbal pyrotechnics. It is a product of concrete fact, honestly and accurately recorded and intelligently appraised.

Appendixes

1 Mechanics of the Case Study Report

In order to conserve the reader's time, you are asked to follow a few simple directions as to the order and form of the report.

Report to the Instructor

The report to the instructor consists of three parts: 1. Table of Contents; 2. Body of the Report; 3. Appendix. Our description will be easier if we take up the last named first.

3. **The Appendix.** (a) The first page of the Appendix is simply a *Chronology* of your trips and visits. Its purpose is to give your reader a quick overview of what you did. This is one of the places therefore where you should follow a definite order. Each entry must give *in this order* the following items: the serial order of the visit, the date, the amount of time spent, the general nature of what you did, your specific purpose, and the serial numbers of the field notes in which you report more fully on this visit. Suppose, for example, your first visit was twenty minutes on March 1, 1951. You saw the child in class. You had no special purpose. Report of the visit is made in Field Notes No. 1. This would be entered in the *Chronology* as follows:

1. 3/1/51. 20 mins. Observation in Class. For general orientation. F.N. 1.

Or, suppose your third trip was March 27. You spent fifteen minutes interviewing the teacher. You came to get her general summary. The interview is recorded in Field Notes No. 6. She gave some samples of the child's work which form Field Notes 36. This would be recorded as follows:

3. 3/27/51. 15 mins. Interview with teacher. To get her general summary. F.N. 6, 36.

(b) Following the *Chronology* is a section for *Field Notes and Records.* These are to be arranged in the following order under the headings:

A. Diary observations and interviews
B. Time samples
C. Behavior check lists
D. Rating scales
E. Tests (The actual blanks if available, otherwise complete data.)
F. Other records, samples of the child's work, etc.

G. Your "First Impressions" and a comparison of these with your final conclusions.

Within each of the above headings, arrange the notes or records in chronological order. *When you have them all arranged,* go through with a red pencil and give each separate record a serial reference number. The purpose is to facilitate finding the data upon which your report is based. Thus in the *Chronology* just described, F.N. 1 would refer to a Diary Observation note—the very first you made. F.N. 6 would refer to a teacher interview note, and F.N. 36 to a copy of the subject's handwriting given you by the teacher.

The Appendix, in short, is the repository for *records*—the originals need not be copied unless they are very untidy. But the records must be arranged for convenient reference.

2. Body of the Report. The form and manner of this part of the report is not rigidly prescribed. Some prefer to follow a topical outline for a case history, others prefer a biographical narrative, most prefer a blend of both (that is, they give a brief biographical preface, then turn to a topical consideration). There is nothing sacred about the list of topics treated in the several chapters of this book; if you find another topical division convenient, it may be used.

The main body of your report should close with a one-page *Résumé.* Here you should give in briefest form the most important things for understanding the child you are studying.

1. Table of Contents. The first aim of a table of contents is to present an overview of the whole report, to show the relationship between its several parts. A second aim is to serve as a sort of index to facilitate finding material. The latter is of particular importance in this report, since we have left you free to organize your material, yet have stipulated that certain elements must be included. Your Table of Contents should, therefore, be so arranged as to enable us to check the presence of all required features.

A considerable amount of detail should thus be given. Yet too much defeats its purpose. The limit of a single page for the Table of Contents should not be exceeded.

One or two general points may be made. Attention to these details will facilitate the work of your reader.

(a) Typing is requested unless your handwriting is definitely legible. (You are advised to retain a carbon copy.) Scrutinize the script for errors in grammar, spelling, punctuation. This includes *typing errors* which are just as much errors as any other kind; they may be neatly corrected by hand. Leave a wide margin for binding. Appendix material need not be copied.

(b) The use of separate-line (and underlined) section headings (as in this book) facilitate cross reference.

(c) Necessary *reference* facts—the full name and address of the child and his parents, birth date, age, school, teacher, grade placement, and the like—should be set forth in an early and conveniently found section.

(d) Please bind your report securely—plain brads or staples will do. After all the work it represents, your report really deserves an inexpensive cover.

Report to the School

The type of report required to be made to the school must vary greatly according to circumstances. Teachers-in-service who are studying one of their own pupils may use their discretion as to what and how they report to their principal or superintendent but must include a copy of that report for the instructor.

Students not in active teaching must report to the schools *through the instructor of this course, never directly.* The schools have a right to have a report which has been *approved;* and your instructor has an obligation to safeguard all concerned from unwarranted statements. Let us emphasize, do *not* send your report direct to the school.

As a minimum, the report to the school should include a statement of all objective measures made by you. It should give a one-page summary such as might be useful to a busy teacher or principal. While avoiding dogmatism or cockiness, this summary may state certain tentative conclusions.

If the teacher or principal wishes a full report, you may make a carbon copy of the report made to the instructor. This copy, plainly labeled "For Principal *W. Y. Head* of West River School" or "For Miss *B. T. Marsh,* Teacher at West River School" is to be handed in to the instructor. We repeat, *your report must not be made direct to the school.*

It should hardly be necessary to caution you that critical comments about the school or its teachers are neither tactful nor becoming. Moreover, they are usually irrelevant to the understanding of the child. In order to appraise the child's conduct, you may need to *describe,* but you do not need to *appraise,* the school situation. Your comments on the school or the teacher, when any are needed, should be rigorously factual.

Reports to schools should be handed in to the instructor in unsealed, addressed envelopes and should carry a sufficient amount of postage. (N.B. Letter rate is necessary.)

Reports to the Parents

It is important that your report be made *through your instructors, not directly.* The work of the course will not be regarded as complete until the instructor has a letter *signed by you, stamped, and addressed to the child's parents.*

This letter should be first of all a cordial expression of appreciation for

the parents' cooperation and of your pleasure in having an opportunity to know the child. In some cases, this is all that is needed. Sometimes, however, there should be further information, yet it requires your best judgment and tact to give this in an acceptable fashion.

It should be obvious that you must not imply any criticism of the school, even more obvious that you must not imply criticism of the parent. And here you must bear in mind that criticism of the child is likely to be taken as criticism of the parent.

Your suggestions, if any, must also be most carefully phrased lest they also seem to imply criticism. In case of doubt, you would do well to omit direct suggestion. Yet, of course, if we can help parents or child, we have an obligation to do so.

Sample Letters. We include three sample letters. The third letter was drafted in close consultation with the teacher, Miss Hughes. It is a distinct violation of professional ethics to quote the teacher, directly or indirectly, without her consent.

Samples of Letters to Parents

Dear Mrs. Belknap:

I am sincerely grateful to you and Mr. Belknap for the opportunity you afforded me for observing your son, Louis. The study is completed, and I feel I have learned much about children which I could never have gotten out of books or from just watching children in the schoolroom.

It was interesting to note how Louis's behavior in school seemed to be a fairly direct product of the training you have given him at home. I do not mean by this that his conduct is always perfect, as you yourself told me that occasionally he does have difficulties with other children as well as with his studies.

But nothing that I have seen would indicate that Louis is likely to have serious difficulty in getting along with other children or in getting through school successfully. He evidently is not very enthusiastic about arithmetic, but his progress in that subject seems to be about equal to the average of his class. His reading seems to be well above average as attested to by his teacher, some of the tests he was given, and my own observation of his pleasure in reading aloud and to himself.

Again I wish to thank you for the insight you have given me into the personality of a normal child.

Sincerely yours,

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Brighton:

During the past three months I have been seeing your daughter Julie, I have been helped a great deal by your understanding cooperation. I have thoroughly enjoyed the time spent with Julie and through her have come to appreciate a little bit more what happy, normal children are like. I am sure that knowing your daughter will be of help to me if I ever have a class of my own to teach.

I should like to thank you very much for the time you spent in talking with me about Julie and also for letting me be with her in your home. Please say "Hello" to her for me.

Sincerely yours,

Dear Mrs. Faust:

My study is finished, and I now have time to relax and thank you for all you have done in helping me to understand Libbie. I grew quite fond of her during the past several months and hope that you will give her my best regards.

There is very little I can tell you about her that you don't know already. As you told me, she does seem to be having a little difficulty with her work in school. Her teacher, Miss Hughes, told me that Libbie is not quite up to her class in reading, but is doing better than average work in arithmetic. The teacher seems to think that Libbie will improve in reading once she gets over her fear of making mistakes in front of the class. Miss Hughes also said that she has seen some improvement since she has been giving her special attention. Her only suggestion was that no fuss should be made about school work at home, but Libbie might be helped if she were provided with interesting reading material which she can read or not as she wishes. If her reading doesn't improve enough during the coming year, I'm sure you and Miss Hughes will be able to work out a plan between you.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely yours,

We cannot do better for a final note in this section than to urge that your report to the parent combine a spirit of professional helpfulness with the highest degree of tact.

2 List of Tests

The following list of General Achievement, Reading, Arithmetic, and Intelligence tests represents only a few of the many good tests available for measuring these aspects of the child in school. Care was taken to select tests that require very little training or preparation to administer and interpret. This list of tests is suggestive only. If you have other tests which you wish to give in place of these, consult the instructor. If group tests are being administered to the whole class, you can secure some practical experience by helping to give or score them. If tests have already been given, by all means get the scores of your own subject and the norms of his group.

Any of the tests listed below can be used for either individual or group testing. If you administer one or more of the tests by yourself, be sure to read over the instruction booklets carefully, noting especially the directions for giving, scoring, and interpreting the results. The average schoolteacher should be able to administer any of the tests listed to an entire class of children, if she has additional assistants for those tests that require it, as indicated in the notations.

The prices given after each test in most cases indicate the cost of a specimen sample. Usually this cost does not include the cost of the book of instructions and directions for scoring. This will cost from ten to twenty-five cents more. Instruction booklets and scoring keys are included in the purchase of the larger number of copies.

General Achievement Tests

1. Metropolitan Achievement Test (1947 edition) Forms R, S:
   Purpose: To measure the child's ability in a number of school subjects. At the intermediate level there are tests of reading and of arithmetic which may be given separately.
   Range: Primary I—Grade 1; Primary II—Grade 2; Elementary—Grades 3–4; Intermediate—Grades 5–6.
   Scoring: Objective.
   Time: 60 minutes for lower levels to 200 minutes for Intermediate.
   Norms: Grade norms.
   Publisher: World Book Co., 313 Park Hill Ave., Yonkers 5, New York.

Cost: $.35 a sample any level; $1.60 for 25 Primary I; $1.75 for 25 Primary II; $2.30 for 25 Elementary; $2.70 for 25 Intermediate complete; $2.25 for 25 Intermediate partial.

2. Stanford Achievement Test:
   Purpose: To measure achievement in arithmetic, language arts, elementary science, literature, and social studies. Arithmetic and reading available as separate tests for Intermediate.
   Range: Primary—Grades 2–3; Intermediate—Grades 4–6.
   Scoring: Objective, rapid.
   Time: Primary 65 minutes, Intermediate—110 minutes.
   Norms: Grade and age norms.
   Publisher: World Book Co., 313 Park Hill Ave., Yonkers 5, New York.
   Cost: $.35 a sample; $1.40 for 25 Primary; $2.70 for 25 Intermediate—complete; $2.20 for 25 Intermediate—partial.

Reading Tests

1. Durrell-Sullivan Intermediate Achievement Test:
   Purpose: To measure word meaning, paragraph meaning, spelling and written recall (last two optional).
   Range: Grades 3–6.
   Time: 30 or 45 minutes.
   Scoring: Objective.
   Norms: Grade and age norms.
   Publisher: World Book Co., 313 Park Hill Ave., Yonkers 5, New York.
   Cost: $.25 a sample; $1.10 for 25 copies.
2. Gates Reading Survey, Form I or II:
   Purpose: To measure vocabulary, level of comprehension, speed and accuracy. Alternate forms for retest if desired.
   Range: Grades 3–10.
   Time: About 60 minutes.
   Scoring: Objective.
   Norms: Grade and age norms.
   Publisher: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.
   Cost: $.25 a sample; $6.85 for 100 copies of each form.
3. Metropolitan Readiness Test (1939 revised):
   Purpose: Readiness for arithmetic, reading and writing.
   Range: Kindergarten and first grade.
   Scoring: Needs care and practice; not all objective.
   Norms: Percentiles for age.
   Publisher: World Book Co., 313 Park Hill Ave., Yonkers 5, N. Y.

4. See Metropolitan Achievement Test above which includes a reading test that may be purchased and given separately. Ask for the *separate* reading test.
5. Pressey Diagnostic Reading Tests Forms A or B:
   Purpose: To test, by silent reading, vocabulary, speed, and paragraph meaning. Each test can be used independently; comparable alternative forms for retest if desired.
   Range: Grades 3–9.
   Time: Speed test 10 minutes; vocabulary 25 minutes or less; paragraph meaning 25 minutes or less.
   Scoring: Objective, easy, quick.
   Norms: For grades.
   Publisher: Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Illinois.
   Cost: $2.20 for 100 copies of each set.
6. See Stanford Achievement Test above which includes a reading test that may be purchased and given separately.

Arithmetic Tests

1. See Metropolitan Achievement Test above, which includes an arithmetic test that can be purchased and given separately.
2. See Stanford Achievement Test above, which includes an arithmetic test that can be purchased and given separately.

Intelligence Tests

1. California Test of Mental Maturity:
   Purpose: To test "general ability" and various special abilities that combine to make the general ability.
   Range: Five separate tests: Preprimary (Grades Kindergarten–Grade 1), Primary (Grades 1–3), Elementary (Grades 4–8), Intermediate (Grades 7–10), Advanced (Grades 9–adult).
   Time: 90 minutes.
   Scoring: Objective, easy.
   Norms: Mental age, percentile-rank. Separate scores are given for such functions as "memory" and "spatial relationships" but the fewness of items in each such group makes these scores very unreliable and undifferentiating. Separate scores for the language and nonlanguage factors have some value, but the chief value lies in the total score.
   Publisher: California Test Bureau, 5916 Hollywood Blvd., Los Angeles 28, California.
   Cost: $.35 for a sample for each test; $2.00 for 25.
2. Otis Quick Scoring Mental Ability Test, Alpha, Forms A, B:

Purpose: To test general mental ability requiring no reading or writing.
Range: Grades 1–4.
Time: 20 minutes.
Scoring: Objective, rapid and easy.
Norms: Mental age.
Publisher: World Book Co., 313 Park Hill Ave., Yonkers 5, New York.
Cost: $.25 a sample; $1.50 for 25 copies.

3. Pintner Non-Language Primary Mental Test:
Purpose: To measure mental ability of young children just beginning their school career. No knowledge of numbers, letters, words or writing is presupposed. Requires supervisor to about every 10 pupils.
Range: Kindergarten, 1 and 2 grades.
Time: About 30 minutes.
Scoring: Objective, rapid, easy.
Norms: Mental ages.
Publisher: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

The Snellen Test for Visual Acuity

In testing vision by means of the Snellen Charts, the child stands at a distance of twenty feet from a well-illuminated chart and reads the letters. The line number of the smallest letters he reads is the denominator, 20 is the numerator of the "Snellen Fraction." If the fraction is 20/20, vision is regarded as normal. Smaller fractions (20/30 or 20/40 or 20/200) indicate more or less serious lack of visual acuity.

The Snellen Test is not very reliable even when given by an expert. It may be used, however, for a quick way of finding *some* of the pupils who should be referred to a vision specialist. It must be emphasized, however, that many children who need attention *are not detected by this test.*

Tests for Hearing Loss

Whisper Test. This is only a rough check on a child's hearing. The child stands twenty feet from the examiner with the ear being tested toward the examiner. It is important that the child does not see the examiner's lips. The other ear is plugged with cotton or the tip of the finger. The examiner reads a prepared list of digits or words slowly and in a distinct whisper. Most of the air should be expelled from the lungs before the examiner begins to whisper. If the child is unable to hear the whispered sounds, he is moved closer until he repeats them aloud correctly. If there is some question about the interpretation of the results, it is well to have another child or adult who is known to have normal hearing act

as a control to determine whether the whisper was loud enough to be heard by the normal ear at a distance of twenty feet.

Watch Test. This is also a very rough test. Hold an ordinary cheap watch at a distance of about forty-five inches from the child's ear. This is approximately the distance at which the normal ear can hear the ticking of such a watch. If the tick cannot be heard at more than thirty-five inches, a more careful check by a specialist should be recommended.

Cautions. Before administering either of these tests make sure that the child does not have a cold. The ease with which a sound can be heard depends so much upon the kind of noise, the size of the room, the material and furnishings of a room and the other noises which are present, that one should try always to check the test itself on a person whose hearing is known to be normal before interpreting the results.

3 Reminder List of Physical Conditions

This list is to be used only as an outline reminder of the many physical aspects of a child which the teacher can readily observe. The list is not exhaustive and additional items such as a physician's report of heart condition, tests for tuberculosis, endocrine imbalance, past disease history, etc., can frequently be obtained from the school records. A sentence or short paragraph is usually sufficient to give a specific description of a child's posture, his teeth, etc.

General Appearance: This should be a summary of the outstanding physical traits which characterize the child.

Vision: Note possible evidence of poor vision in such things as crossed eyes, glasses, blood-shot eyes, tics about the eyes, squinting, frequent rubbing, position of head in reading or walking, holding book less than twelve inches from eyes, missing small words when reading, can't read board from back row, or fails to keep to lines when reading.

Hearing: The only good tests require expensive and cumbersome apparatus such as the Audiometer. The classroom teacher will probably find a careful whisper test or a watch-ticking test as useful as anything else.

Nose: Note any unusual conditions such as mouth breathing, evidence of colds, "adenoidal speech," etc.

Teeth: Note regularity, decay, buck teeth, whether stained or dirty, deciduous, or permanent teeth.

Breath: Note presence or absence of continuous bad breath.

Voice: Some noticeable qualities of the voice are: strength, pitch, nasality, thickness, harshness, and speed of speaking. Does the voice alter considerably from schoolroom to playground or home? Any stuttering, lisping or baby talk?

Skin: Note color as healthy or pale. The mucuous membranes along the gums and inner surface of the eyelids *may* indicate poor nutrition when they are particularly pale. Note presence or absence of discoloration or puffiness about the eyes.

Posture: Note whether listless or energetic, roundshouldered, or erect.

Gait: Adjectives frequently used to describe gait are: normal, springy, draggy, pigeon-toed, graceful, awkward, energetic, slow.

Handedness: If you suspect a child of being left-handed, note the use of a preferred hand in a number of tasks where both hands are used.

4 Child Behavior Rating Scales *

Directions. Each of the paragraphs below which are set off by Roman numerals deals with an important characteristic of school children. First the characteristic is outlined by certain questions. It is further pictured by certain phrases, preceded by capital letters, which give a rough measure of the *amount* of the characteristic the child displays. Look, for illustration, at Paragraph I. At one extreme of the characteristic we have "A—Cheerful, pleased, good-natured." At the other extreme we have "E—Usually glum, depressed." B, C, and D mark off intermediate amounts of the same characteristic.

Note that we do not give any single name to the characteristic; such names are sometimes useful "handles," but they are apt to mislead. The entire paragraph defines the characteristic to be rated. Ten such characteristics have been described here.

Now turn to the rating sheet which has a series of vertical lines or columns. Each such column is designed to be a sort of "thermometer" for recording how much the child displays of the characteristic indicated by the Roman numeral at the top (the numerals correspond with the paragraph descriptions). Interrupting the column are the letters marking off the degree or amount of the characteristic as indicated in the paragraph.

The first column is thus for rating the characteristic described in Paragraph I. Read carefully the description in that paragraph. Which of the five cue phrases *most nearly* describes the child? If he is "Characteristically cheerful, pleased, good-natured," you would want to mark him at about A, which is at the top of Column I. If his good-naturedness is "rather easily disturbed by adverse circumstances," then you would rate him about C, which falls a little below the middle of Column I.

The cue descriptions will not exactly fit, however; so move up or down in the appropriate column one or more dashes from the cue letter until you find the position where the child best fits. Draw a circle around the dash at that point.

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* The rating scales of child and of parent behavior were constructed by adaptation of some of the material appearing in the rating scales of the Fels Research Institute, Yellow Springs, Ohio. We are grateful to Dr. L. W. Sontag, Director, Dr. Horace Champney, and Dr. T. W. Richards of the Institute for permission to adapt this material.

Thus, the child may seem to you to "Become depressed in response to slight stimuli" (D), but this may be a little too much on the gloomy side; so you encircle the dash just *above* D. If you feel that D isn't quite gloomy enough, you should encircle the first or second dash below D. Should the child seem "Usually on the cheerful side," etc., you would wish to circle one of the dashes near B.

Always circle one of the dashes (and, of course, *one only* in each column). Do *not* mark directly on one of the letters; always on one of the adjacent dashes.

Do not rate the child unless you have had opportunity to observe the characteristic in question. Just leave that whole column blank. Be sure you understand the characteristic before you begin to rate. Read the paragraph several times. It is *undesirable* to rate the child on all the characteristics at one sitting; you are too likely to let your rating on one influence your rating on another characteristic. For this reason, also, cover up previous ratings when you come to make others.

The rating is to give a *generalized impression* in respect to each characteristic. Do not let yourself be too much influenced by any one incident. Rate the child's behavior, however, as it actually is, making no allowances for age. Do not let yourself be influenced in judging a particular characteristic by your general attitude toward the child.

PARAGRAPH I

Is the child cheerful, merry, happy, good-natured, laughing, pleased; or, on the contrary, morose, gloomy, depressed, discontented, unhappy, sad? Disregard the degree to which the child pleases *you,* and also the manifest enthusiasm he shows. Consider the degree to which the child probably enjoys himself.

A. Characteristically cheerful, pleased, good-natured.
B. Usually on the cheerful side, but may be depressed by strongly disappointing or frustrating occurrences.
C. Good-naturedness rather easily disturbed by adverse circumstances; more easily made sad when tired or ill.
D. Easily becomes depressed in response to slight stimuli; is frequently sad, displeased.
E. Usually glum, depressed.

PARAGRAPH II

Does the child indulge in frequent demonstrations by kissing, fondling, hugging, caressing others? Do not confuse bidding for attention or desire to ingratiate for a purpose. Enjoys the demonstration of affection itself.

A. Fond of affection, glad to be petted, etc. Frequently seen "loving" adults or other children, cuddling close, putting arm around neck.
B. Demonstrates and solicits affection frequently, but not out of proportion to circumstances, such as greeting a friend or mother after separation.
C. Infrequently solicits affection, but when he receives it, does not repulse.
D. On rare occasions, such as when unusually frustrated, solicits caress or reassurance, but is usually "cold."
E. Never pets others, avoids receiving such demonstrations. Cold, impersonal.

PARAGRAPH III

Is the child energetic and forceful? Some children even appear to waste motion and energy. The child who is lacking in vigor has a low energy output. Be sure to note that the vigorous child is not necessarily speedy or quick, nor is he necessarily efficient. The vigorous child performs powerfully and with a display of energy.

A. Is forceful, energetic, and vigorous. Has a high energy output, for example, saws wood energetically.
B. Prefers vigorous to passive play and has a high energy output; but in routine activities not particularly vigorous.
C. Shows no unusual vigor in movement, but can keep up readily when the group is engaged in routine vigorous activity.
D. Prefers quiet to vigorous play. Hesitates when things get strenuous.
E. His play and work is of a mild, placid type. Activity is carried out at a low energy level.

PARAGRAPH IV

Does he conform to the standards which are accepted and taught?

A. His reactions are always in the direction of strict conformity to what is expected of him.
B. The established standards usually regulate his behavior, but he may very occasionally ignore them as, for example, when a request for conformity is made by a disliked person.
C. His conformity is not unusual in any way. He may, for example, ignore expected standards if no penalty is likely to ensue.
D. Usually ignores accepted standards but may conform to them in certain situations in which he desires approval, bids for attention, etc.
E. He ignores established standards; reacts independently of them.

PARAGRAPH V

Does he react emotionally to many and frequent situations or is his behavior characterized by very infrequent responses of an emotional nature?

A. Is very easily affected emotionally. Is highly responsive in an emotional way. Slight, unexpected difficulties or successes, little accidents, casual reproach and relatively mildly stimulating situations readily produce emotion in the child.
B. He is rather excitable, but occasionally he is unresponsive.
C. Emotional responsiveness neither great nor slight. Would not characterize him as being either excitable or unresponsive.
D. He is rather insensitive, but occasionally he is responsive.
E. Is very difficult to affect emotionally. Unresponsive. Exceptionally strong situations are required to arouse his emotion.

PARAGRAPH VI

Does he continually seek out the company of other children and adults, and make friendly advances? His success in such contacts is a partial criterion of his friendliness. Friendliness also implies an adaptive response on his part to the advances of others.

A. Shows an open friendliness to everyone; quick to make friendly approaches; does more than meet the other child halfway.
B. Habitually friendly to others, but on some occasions reserved in this respect as when he meets strange children.
C. Individualistic. Not unfriendly, but prefers to remain at a distance.
D. Habitually unfriendly, but on some occasions makes friendly advances to certain children.
E. Stands off. Is either uninterested in others or is suspicious, antagonistic, bashful, sullen, etc.

PARAGRAPH VII

Does he attempt to dominate social situations, to take the initiative, to plan the activity of the group? He need not be successful as a leader; does he attempt leadership?

A. Habitually tries to direct and dominate others. Bossy.
B. Usually attempts to dominate but may play a submissive role if an older child or an adult is directing a game.
C. Is aggressive where he feels that he is an authority, as when playing a game which he alone knows well or in handling a younger child.
D. No aggression. Does not attempt to take leadership. Either follows or ignores others.

PARAGRAPH VIII

Does he attempt to excel other children when working or playing with them? The nature of the activity is not important here—only the way in which the child attacks the problem as a social response.

A. Is strongly stimulated by competition; increases his effort, tries harder, etc.; keen spirit of rivalry.
B. Usually stimulated by competition but quickly becomes discouraged if efforts of rival obviously and markedly excel or outstrip his.
C. In situations of real interest to the child or where he has had experience, he enjoys competition; but if not interested in task or not familiar with it, exhibits no rivalry.
D. In a few situations he acts competitively, but in most he is unaware of being excelled by the others.
E. Completely fails to be stimulated by competition to greater efforts. Either becomes discouraged or loses interest or simply watches or ignores the other children.

PARAGRAPH IX

Does he seem to be fearful of social situations? Is he apprehensive or shy and hesitant when confronted by changing social situations?

A. Shy and apprehensive in social situations. Afraid of social contacts with children and adults. Avoids them. Chronically shy.
B. Usually shy, but seems at ease when with a few familiars. (After long association as persons in the home, school after some months, etc.)
C. At ease after short association with strangers; gets to know them rather quickly, but shy on first contacts in many cases.
D. Usually at ease, but may show some shyness to an exceptionally strange child.
E. No shy or apprehensive behavior in response to other children or adults. Child is at ease.

PARAGRAPH X

Are the child's interests directed primarily toward others, the group, etc.? Or toward individual activities which do not necessarily involve the group?

A. Is absorbed in the group at all times or in what the others are doing. Interested in socially acceptable activities. Keen social responsibility and sensibility.
B. Prefers group play to individual play, but has certain individualistic preferences, such as consistent choice of bicycle riding, etc.

Child Behavior Rating Form

Name of Child_____ School_____ Rater_____

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
A	A	A	—	A	A	A	A	A	A
—	—	—	A	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	B	—	—	—	—
—	B	B	B	B	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	B	B	B	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	B
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	C
—	C	C	C	C	C	C	—	—	—
C	—	—	—	—	—	—	C	C	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	D	—	D
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	D	D	D	—	D	—	—	D	—
—	—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
E	—	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	E	—	—	—	E
—	E	—	E	E	—	D	E	E	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

In your *Final Report* cite evidence from Field Notes to justify each of the above ratings. Do not rate unless you have observations upon which the rating rests.

Parent Behavior Rating Scale

Name of Child_____ School_____ Rater_____

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
—	—	—	—	—	—	A	—	—	—
A	A	A	A	A	A	—	A	A	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	B
—	B	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B	—	B	—	B	B	B	—	—	—
—	—	—	B	—	—	—	B	B	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	C
C	—	C	—	—	—	C	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	C	C	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	D	C	C	—
—	D	—	C	—	—	—	—	—	D
—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	D	D	E	—	—	—
—	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	D	—	—	—	D	D	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	E
E	F	E	—	E	—	F	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	E	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
F	—	—	E	—	—	—	E	E	—
—	G	F	—	—	—	G	—	—	F
—	—	—	—	F	F	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X

N.B. Indicate whether the rating applies to the father, the mother, or both. In your *Final Report* cite evidence to justify each of the above ratings and discuss their significance.

C. Responds promptly to reasonable demands of group, but is capable of happiness when by himself. Enters group play if it does not make him the goat.
D. Rarely volunteers to join the group or other individuals. Prefers to be alone, but is not unhappy when routine group play is in order.
E. Insensitive to demands of group; individualistic. No responsibility for group. Happier alone.

Do not go through the motions of making a rating without putting them to use. An interpretation of your ratings should appear in the Main Body of your *Final Report*. The rating sheet should be in your Field Notes under D.

5 Parent Behavior Rating Scales *

Directions. Before filling out any of the following rating scales on the home or the behavior of the parents, read the directions for rating school children on p. 484. Those directions serve also for these rating scales.

It may be that you will be unable to fill out as many rating scales for the home or the parent as you did for the child, since in many cases you will have had fewer chances to observe the parents.

Since it is likely that you will have observed one parent more than the other, you will find it necessary to indicate on the margin of the rating form which parent is being rated, for example, if you have observed the mother most, write "mother" either at the top of the page if the ratings all apply to her, or if you are splitting your ratings, write "mother" or "father" above the respective scales to which the ratings apply.

PARAGRAPH I

Taking the home as a whole, is the atmosphere active, quick, and alert; or is it inactive, slow, and inert?

This is a broad and general variable which includes the amount and quickness of activity, alertness, decisiveness, and tension in so far as they are part of the child's environment.

A. Home extremely bustling, busy, excited, tense.
B. People move quickly, talk rapidly, with dispatch. Wide-awake, moving decisive.
C. Move, walk, talk, and work without haste, but with some dispatch. People are alert but not hypertense.
D. People move, talk, and walk with leisurely deliberateness. Home is relaxed but not lackadaisical.
E. People move slowly, talk slowly, work slowly. Home is passive, relaxed, easy-going, indecisive.
F. Home poky, lackadaisical, lazy, slow-moving, procrastinating.

PARAGRAPH II

How much affection do the parents lavish on the child personally? (Indicate mother, father, or both.) Does the parent show a warm, personal af-

* Adapted by permission from the Fels Research Institute Scales.

fection; or a matter-of-fact, unemotional attitude; or definite antagonism?

Be sure to rate the attitude shown to the child, and not the indirect care, solicitude, or devotion to the child's welfare.

A. Passionate, consuming, intense, and uncontrolled.
B. Affectionate, warm, fondling, loving, expressive.
C. Temperate, fond, attached, forgiving, kind.
D. Objective, inhibited, neutral, matter-of-fact.
E. Cool, aloof, distant, forbidding.
F. Avoiding, annoyed, irritated, bothered.
G. Hostile, rejecting, disliking, blaming, icy.

PARAGRAPH III

How well does the parent understand the child's abilities, needs, point of view, etc.? Does the parent's behavior indicate a thorough and intelligent understanding of the child; or does it indicate a failure to appreciate the child's capacities and limitations?

A. Parent always sees subtleties of child's motivation; shows accurate appreciation of the child's interests and degree of maturity.
B. Usually shows thorough understanding of child. Occasionally fails to see the point.
C. Good grasp of everyday situations, but often misses the subtle angles.
D. Usually shows common sense where the point is obvious, but incapable of keen analysis.
E. Entirely lacking in subtlety; often misses the obvious.
F. Completely fails to see child's viewpoint. Expects entirely too much or too little.

PARAGRAPH IV

How emotional is the parent's behavior where the child is concerned? Is the parent highly emotional; or is he/she consistently cool and objective?

A. Constantly gives vent to unbridled emotion in reaction to child's behavior.
B. Controlled largely by emotion rather than by reason in dealing with child.
C. Emotion freely expressed, but actual policy seldom much disorganized.
D. Usually maintains calm, objective behavior toward child, even in face of strong stimuli.
E. Never shows any sign of emotional disorganization toward child, either directly or in policy.

PARAGRAPH V

Does the family as a whole direct its energies outward from the home toward society? Is the family constantly initiating contacts and participation with neighbors, friends, relatives, church, lodge, P.T.A., etc.? Or is it reclusive and inwardly oriented, taking little interest in and avoiding contacts with the community?

A. Constantly active socially; always seeking new contact; eager and uninhibited mixers.
B. Actively interested in what is going on outside the household; mixes readily without being overaggressive.
C. Accepts contacts with enthusiasm, but hesitates to intrude into the lives of others.
D. Neither avoids nor initiates social activities; accepts contacts passively.
E. Tends to avoid direct social intercourse; seldom goes out; rarely entertains.
F. Family resents social advances from outside the household; never mixes socially.

PARAGRAPH VI

How restrictive are the regulations which the parent sets up as standards to which the child is expected to conform? Are the requirements numerous and severe; or few and mild?

A. Standards are minutely restrictive beyond all reasonable interpretation of either the child's welfare or family convenience.
B. Requirements are unnecessarily abundant and exacting, but usually aimed at practical ends rather than "pure discipline."
C. Restrictions are moderate and practical, but parent shows little concern for child's freedom as an end, slapping on requirements whenever they seem expedient.
D. Standards and regulations are somewhat liberal. Freedom is allowed in a few matters commonly subject to regimentation.
E. Child is expected to conform to a few basic standards, but parent will endure considerable annoyance rather than unduly restrict child's freedom.
F. Standards are both scarce and mild, limiting child's freedom barely enough to avoid the police and the hospital.

PARAGRAPH VII

Does the parent share with the child the formulation of regulations for the child's conduct? Does the parent give the child a voice in determining

what the policy shall be? Or does the parent hand down the established policy from above?

A. Endures much inconvenience and some risk to child's welfare in giving child large share in policy-forming. Consults with child in formulating policies whenever possible.
B. Attempts to adjust policies to child's wishes wherever practicable. Often consults child.
C. Deliberately democratic in certain safe or trivial matters, but dictates when there is a sharp conflict between child's wishes and other essential requirements.
D. Neither democratic nor dictatorial, deliberately. Follows most practical or easiest course in most cases.
E. Tends to be rather dictatorial, but usually gives benevolent consideration to child's desires. Seldom consults child.
F. Dictatorial in most matters, but accedes to child's wishes occasionally when they do not conflict with own convenience or standards.
G. Dictates policies without regard to child's wishes. Never consults child when setting up regulations.

PARAGRAPH VIII

Is the parent constantly offering requests, commands, hints, or other attempts to direct the child's immediate behavior? Or does the parent withhold suggestions, giving the child's initiative full sway?

A. Continually attempts to direct the minute details of the child's routine functioning and "free" play.
B. Occasionally withholds suggestions, but more often indicates what to do next or how to do it.
C. Tends to allow child's initiative full scope about as much as interferes by making suggestions.
D. Makes general suggestions now and then, but allows child large measure of freedom to do things own way.
E. Parent consistently avoids volunteering suggestions, and tends to withhold them when they are requested, or when they are the obvious reaction to the immediate situation.

PARAGRAPH IX

Does the parent insist on helping in situations where the child is quite capable; or does the parent withhold aid even in major difficulties? (Disregard deliberate drill and training.)

A. Continually helping child, even when child is fully capable and willing.

B. Usually helps more than is needed. Seldom lets child struggle unsuccessfully.
C. Helps when needed, but not when child can get by alone.
D. Tends to withhold aid, letting child solve own minor problems. Offers help after prolonged failure or in emergency.
E. Leaves child alone to solve even major problems, often refusing aid when requested.

PARAGRAPH X

Does the parent easily become anxious and worried out of all proportion to the situation? Or is the parent markedly calm, cool, and nonchalant, even in the face of critical danger to the child?

A. Given to severe, irrational anxiety on largely imaginary grounds. Readily panicked.
B. Chronic anxious tension over child, but more "jittery" than panicky. Given to "hunting for trouble."
C. Shows considerable anxiety when child is in any danger, but seldom loses rational control.
D. Somewhat solicitous, but minimizes hazards. Frequently shows concern, but without losing perspective.
E. Rarely worried or solicitous beyond needs of situation and responsibility as parent. Attitude more like that of teacher or nurse.
F. Nonchalant and seemingly unconcerned, even in major matters. So unsolicitous as to appear neglectful or irresponsible.

6 Reminder List for Case Study: Things To Do and Cautions

PAGE

I. Methods and Procedures

1. Making Contacts: Principal and Teacher....16
2. Making Contacts: The Home....17
3. Making Contacts: The Child....19
4. Second-hand Information....26, 31, 49
5. Diary Observations....32
6. Interviewing....42
7. Time Samples....36
8. Behavior Check Lists....38, 397
9. Rating Scales....39, 45, 119, 484, 492
10. Reputation Ratings: Who's Who and Sociometric Scales....41, 412
11. Projective Procedures....51–52
12. Tests....53, 478–482
13. Height and Weight Measures....282–287
14. Visual Tests....481
15. Hearing Tests....481–482
16. Physical Excellence Profile....287–292
17. Home Ratings....45, 387–391
18. Social Maturity Check List....397

II. Cautions

1. Limiting the Field of Observation....21
2. Hypotheses vs. Open Mind....22, 23, 24
3. Fact vs. Interpretation....28, 29, 30

III. Places to Go, Behaviors to Report

1. Class Work: Recitation, Study Period, Activity Period....391–393
2. Home....17, 43–46, 387–391
3. Playground: School or Neighborhood....393–395

4. Movies, Show, Television
5. Restaurant, Soda Fountain
6. Museum, etc.
7. Visiting in Someone's Home

(No special directions)

8. Neighborhood Relationships....393–395
9. Minority Groups....394
10. Sex Attitudes....445–448

IV. Records and Reports

1. First Impressions....22
2. Note Taking and Record Keeping....26–28
3. Reports of Others....27, 31
4. Final Report to Instructor....473–474
5. Report to School....475
6. Report to Parents....475–477

7 Sample Case Study *

	Page
I. Description of the Case	500
II. Home Background	500
III. Intellectual Development	502
A. Preschool History	502
B. Standardized Tests	
1. Intelligence	503
2. Reading	503
3. Arithmetic	504
4. Spelling	504
C. School Grades	504
1. Teacher's Estimates	504
2. Comparison of estimates with scores made on standardized tests	505
IV. Physical and Medical Development	505
A. Early Development	505
B. Disease History	506
C. Present Conditions	506
D. Height and Weight	507
1. Measurements	507
2. Psycho-Social Effects	507
E. General Observations	507
V. Social Behavior	508
A. Reactions toward other children	508
B. Reactions toward adults	508
C. Attitudes toward the larger world	509
VI. Character and Personality	509
VII. Changes Observed from Nov. 14 to Feb. 23	510
VIII. Summary	511
IX. Chronology of Field Visits	511
X. Field Notes	512

* This case study was prepared by Miss Lenore Utley, an undergraduate at The Ohio State University. It is printed from Miss Utley's copy without editing except for the omission of some of the Field Notes and the alteration of identifying names. Material in italics was underscored in Miss Utley's manuscript.

I. Description of the Case

David Bates, son of Hubert and Audry Bates, is a red-haired, freckled-faced, blue-eyed boy who is nine years of age. When this observation was started on November 12, 1940, David was in the 4B grade at Birch School in Miss Smith's room. At the beginning of the new semester, February 1, 1941, he was promoted to the 4A grade, but remained in Miss Smith's room.

David lives at 546 Hispano St., "Middletown." He has lived in "Middletown" since his birth on July 11, 1931. Birch School has been the only school attended by him, with the exception of a private kindergarten which he attended the year prior to his school entrance. David was enrolled in school on September 7, 1937.

The observations made of David have extended over a period of time from November 12, 1940 to March 1, 1941. Within that time twenty-three direct observations and interviews have been made which consumed twenty-seven hours. All facts brought out in the following child study have been gained in that time.

Although one observes the child as a whole, rather than as a little organism divided into separate compartments of mental, physical, and social qualities, it is rather confusing to describe the child as a whole. For the sake of clarity, the facts learned about David have been organized into divisions labeled—

1. Home Background.
2. Intellectual Development.
3. Physical and Medical Development.
4. Social Behavior.
5. Character and Personality.
6. Changes Observed from Nov. 12, 1940 to March 1, 1941.

II. Home Background

The family is made up of Mr. and Mrs. Bates, William, a freshman at State University, and David. David comes from a home which has an average Sigma Score of 1.5 on the Minnesota Home Status Index which rates David's home as superior to 93 percent of urban homes.

The Minnesota Scale is made up of six home status indexes. Each one will be taken up in relation to the Bates home. The first index is called the Children's Facilities Index. David's home made a Sigma Score of .7 making it slightly above 69 percent of urban homes.

Although this is a high score it is the lowest made on the scale by David's home, not because Mr. and Mrs. Bates have neglected this phase of the home, but because they probably feel that David has not yet reached a stage of development or interest to warrant giving him music or dancing lessons. Neither do many children nine years of age belong to

paid clubs. David did not go to a camp this summer, nor does he have an account in a bank.

Mrs. Bates has said that David is beginning to show an interest in musical instruments, since an orchestra is being organized in Birch School. Mr. and Mrs. Bates are now considering which will be the best instrument for David to learn to play.

When David is old enough he will join the local Boy Scout Troop. He seems eager to belong. William, David's brother, has been active in Scout work for many years and became an Eagle Scout. Mr. Bates is also interested in the work and is still connected with it, even though William is not so active in the troop at the present time. These Scout activities of Mr. Bates and William probably account for David's eagerness to join.

This home made a Sigma Score of 1.1 on the Economic Status Index, placing it slightly above 84 percent of urban homes. This section is made up chiefly of questions pertaining to the provision of certain facilities, such as a telephone, two bathrooms, vacuum cleaner, automobile, electric refrigerator, etc. The only questions on which the Bateses got the lowest score were those pertaining to ownership of a mangle and a boat, and paid assistance in the home.

The highest score was made on the Cultural Status Index with a Sigma Score of 2.3. The highest percentage equivalent given is 93 percent superiority for 1.5 Sigma Score. Roughly speaking, a Sigma Score of 2.3 places a home above almost all others in that special index, in this case the Cultural Index.

David's home made the highest score on every question. Questions pertain to the ownership of a camera, typewriter, fireplace, piano, encyclopedia, parents playing a musical instrument, father's membership in professional society, and to reading material in the home. Three newspapers and thirteen magazines are taken by the family. There are between 50 and 250 adults' books in the home.

Mrs. Bates says that David is keenly interested in the magazines, more so than in books. She says that he seems to be much more interested at school in reading books than at home where he usually keeps busy at something more active than reading. Perhaps the shorter stories and the additional pictures found in magazines cause the preference for magazines at home.

The Bateses also rate high in the Sociality Status with a Sigma Score of 1.9 which again is above the highest percentage score of 93 percent for 1.5. A very small percentage of homes rank above this score. Both Mr. and Mrs. Bates are quite active in several organizations. Mr. Bates is president of the local Kiwanis Club and Mrs. Bates was president of the North High P.T.A. last year. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Bates seems to be a passive member in any group. Both have also worked together in various civic and social clubs. They are leaders in the Birch District.

The Occupational Status Index rating is a Sigma Score of 1.4 and is

superior to slightly less than 93 percent of other urban families. Since this is the highest score for this index, the Bateses can be considered in the highest group in the occupational status. Mr. Bates is a Civil Engineer, and Mrs. Bates is a homemaker.

The college educations of both Mr. and Mrs. Bates give them a Sigma Score of 1.6 on the Educational Status Index. This makes the home superior to more than 93 percent of urban homes. William is maintaining the high educational status of the home by attending college.

Summary. One school of psychologists believes that children are entirely shaped by their environment. Another group declares that environment does not supply the only developmental factors in a child's growth, but that it is very important. The home is one large part of the child's environment. The home with higher standards is expected to provide the most wholesome home environment for the child.

As pointed out previously, the Bateses have supplied a superior home for David. According to the Minnesota Home Status Index it is superior to 93 percent of urban homes. It has been measured on children's facilities, economic, cultural, sociality, occupational, and educational indexes. The home measured highest in cultural status and in sociality status.

This seems to show a well-balanced home life, without overemphasis on any special phase. Well-rounded interests apparently characterize the home. If the home presents no psychological problems (this phase has not been measured) it should provide a very beneficial home environment for David (Minnesota Scale is included—No. 26).

III. Intellectual Development

A. Preschool History. As a little boy, Mrs. Bates said, David spent much time with his mother, playing in the house and in the yard, and going places with her. Because David was coming to depend more and more upon her and because he was inclined toward timidity, Mr. and Mrs. Bates decided that it would be better for David to go to a private kindergarten when he was five years old. After a day or so of crying he became used to his mother's absence and began to take an interest in activities at the kindergarten. When David started to school there was no adjustment problem.

Mrs. Bates said that David had never been interested in "playing school" or in any related activity. He has always been interested in games and active play. David was fairly interested in having stories read to him in his preschool years, but again the active play interest dominated. However, David has always been interested in looking at and trying to understand pictures. He has studied picture editorial sections of the papers for years, asking to have pictures explained when he could not understand them.

B. Standardized Test Results. *1. Intelligence Test.* Pressey Intermediate Classification Test. The purpose of the Pressey Intermediate Classification Test is to measure general ability. David made a score of 74 on the test. According to the grade norms given on this test a score of 74 would place David, a 4.3 grade pupil, in the 6A ranking. The 6A median for September is 71, and that for May is 74. On Dec. 8, 1940 (the date the test was given) the Sept. median was used because it was three months closer than the May median. In this case, however, the difference of three points is of little importance. The 4B September median score is 32, a difference of 42 points from David's score. By this criterion only, David should be 2½ grades ahead of his present placement.

Mental age norms are also given on the Pressey Test. David's chronological age at the time this test was given was 9–5, the median score for which is 33. David made a score of 74, an additional 41 points over the median. This score places David in the 12–5 age division which has a median score of 73, one point below David's score. According to the results of this test, David is capable of doing the work of children exactly three years older than himself, showing that he is far above average in intelligence. Comparison with class scores cannot be made because the test was given only to David. (The test blank is included for reference. No. 30.)

2. Reading Test. New Stanford Reading Test—Primary Examination Form W. This test, given by Miss Smith, the 4B teacher, measures paragraph meaning and vocabulary. David made a score of 80 on the first test, Paragraph Meaning which gave him a reading age of 12–6. His chronological age at the time of the test was 9–3. The average score on this test for children of this age is 40, just one half the score made by David. David's reading age is 3–3 years in advance of his chronological age, showing superior ability.

On the second part of the test, Word Meaning, David rated even higher with a score of 81 which gave him a reading age of 12–7. This is 3–4 years advanced. The average of these two tests, as listed by Miss Smith, is a score of 81 giving a reading age of 12–7.

David's score of 80 on Paragraph Meaning placed him on a 6–7 grade level, 2.5 grades in advance of David's present placement of 4.2 grade. The average score for 4.2 grade is 52 with a reading age of 10–1.

David's score on Word Meaning was 81 which gave him a ranking of 6.8 grade, 2.6 grades in advance of David's 4.2 grade. The average of the two scores was reported to be 81 by Miss Smith. This would give David an average reading age of 12–7 and an average reading ability equal to 6.8 grade pupils. On the basis of the Pressey Classification Test and the New Stanford Reading Test, David, a 4.2 grade pupil, has the ability to do the work of the 6.8 grade. Using these two criteria, David is an unusually bright pupil. (Information regarding test. No. 27.)

3. Arithmetic Test. Metropolitan Achievement Test—Intermediate Form A. This test is divided into two parts, the first being called Arithmetic Fundamentals. David's score on this part was 27, giving him a grade equivalent of 4.7 which puts him in a grade placement three months advanced over his present placement. On the second part, Arithmetic Problems, the score of 24 gives David a grade equivalent of 4.4, his present placement. The average grade equivalent of the two parts is 4.55 which puts David 1½ months ahead of his present placement. This may be considered normal.

Age equivalents are also given on this test. David's chronological age at the time this test was given was 9–5.5. On Part I of the test, Arithmetic Fundamentals, he rated an age equivalent of 10–1; with a score of 27; while on Part II, Arithmetic Problems, the score of 24 gave David an age equivalent of 9–9. An average of the two gives David an age equivalent of 9–11 in average arithmetic which is 5½ months in advance of his chronological age. Using this test as a measurement of arithmetic ability, David may be considered an average 4B pupil as far as arithmetic is concerned. (The test blank is included for reference. No. 31.)

4. Spelling Scale. Morrison-McCall Spelling Scale. Both Miss Smith, David's teacher, and Mrs. Bates told me that spelling was David's weakest subject. For this reason I gave him a spelling test. I used List I of the Morrison-McCall Spelling Test.

David got 17 words correct which gave him a score of 36. The score placed David in the 3.4 grade group which is 9 months below David's grouping of 4.3 grade.

The score of 36 is the normal score for children of 9–4 age. At the time David took this test (No. 28) he was 9–5 age.

According to the grade standard David is a little below the average, and according to the chronological age standard he is exactly normal.

I gave a second test (List II—Morrison-McCall Scale. No. 29) to David on Feb. 23, 1941 to note any improvement during the 2½ months' interval between the two tests. David got 19 words of the 50, giving him a score of 38. This is equal to a grade standard of 3.7, 9 months below David's placement of 4.6. If the age standard is used, however, David ranks one month above the average. A score of 38 is the average score for children of nine years and eight months. David is nine years and seven months old.

C. School Grades. *1. Teacher's Estimates.* Teachers have graded David quite consistently since he started to school. His study habits have always been marked B. His general rating in 1B and 1A was A−; it was raised to A in the 2B, it dropped to B+ in the 2A, then dropped to B in the 3B. He was marked B+ in the 3A.

In the 4B Miss Smith judged David to be doing A work in Reading, Geography, and History. She gave him B+ in Arithmetic, English, and Music. Estimates of B were given in Art, Spelling, Writing, Science,

Health, and Study Habits. David raised his Geography and History from B to A.

2. *Comparison of Teacher's Estimates with Scores Made on Standardized Tests.* (1) Study Habits. It is interesting to note that although David rates on a sixth grade level both on the Pressey Intermediate Classification Test and on the Stanford Reading Test his study habits have always been marked B. Miss Smith feels that David does not work any harder than he needs and that he can perform tasks without utilizing all of his ability. Observations show that David is capable of great concentration (Nos. 6, 7, 18—See section X, Field Notes) and also that he can successfully divide his attention. He can apparently be paying attention to something else, but when questioned on the topic in hand he can answer or carry out directions correctly (Nos. 8, 17). Perhaps the apparent lack of effort and the partly divided attention have caused teachers to rate Study Habits as B.

(2) Reading. David rated on the 6A level for the Stanford Reading Test. Teachers have felt that he was outstanding in reading and have marked him accordingly with A's.

(3) Arithmetic. The Metropolitan Achievement Arithmetic Test was given to David. He ranked as a normal 4B pupil on this test, a little above the average. He has been marked B+ in arithmetic. Probably a study of the whole class would show the reasons for David's higher grade (no class test was given). According to Miss Smith, the sample arithmetic papers (Nos. 36, 37) are typical of David's arithmetic. He usually misses one problem, as he has on both of the papers included.

(4) Spelling. David tests as average on the age standard of the Morrison-McCall Spelling Scale, and 9 months below average on the grade standard of the same scale. Perhaps part of the apparent discrepancy is due to the fact that David started to school shortly after his sixth birthday (6 weeks). Although he has progressed normally through the grades he is younger than many children in the 4A grade.

The sample spelling papers included show grades of 84, 100, 100, along with lists showing several errors (practice lessons). David spends more time studying spelling than any other subject and has never made more than a B in it.

IV. Physical and Medical Development

A. Early Development. According to Mrs. Bates, David's early development was normal. She had kept data on this which can be compared with various studies made on development of infants.

A baby's first tooth, the lower central incisor, is usually cut between the seventh and ninth months; with four front teeth, upper and lower, coming two or three months later.[1] David's first tooth was cut at six months.

[1] Strang, Ruth, *Introduction to Child Study*, p. 52.

His second followed in eight days, while the first upper tooth appeared at the age of seven and one half months.

Babies usually sit alone for the first time sometime between the seventh and ninth months.[2] David first sat alone at seven months, crept at eight months, stood up at eight and one half months, and walked at ten months. As in every phase of growth the walking process varies with the child. A few walk at the end of the first year, others at fourteen months, and usually the process is perfected at two years.[3]

David's parents said that his first word, "bite," was spoken at fifteen months and that his vocabulary grew very rapidly. They had no way of reporting the exact rate of growth, so no comparison can be made to vocabulary development at different stages.[4] It has been found that the babbling of infants is gradually converted into a vocabulary, beginning between twelve and fifteen months. At eighteen months, approximately 30 words are spoken, at two years about 375 words, at three years about 875 words, while at four years the child can use 1500 words.

A child's development varies with many conditions, such as general health, weight, rate of maturing, intelligence, and freedom of movement. David seems to have started his life under desirable conditions, for he matured normally and in some cases earlier than many infants.

B. Disease History. Mrs. Bates said that David has had the measles and the chicken pox. When he was five years old he was ill much of the time. Much medical attention was needed to correct one form of anemia. David also had much bronchial trouble while he was in the first grade. His school record shows that he missed 19 days during his first year of school.

C. Present Condition. *1. Resistance to Disease.* Since David was five and six years old he has had no serious illness. He does not take cold easily, Mrs. Bates says. David's school attendance bears out this account, for he was absent seven days during the second grade, and only eight days during the third year, which makes an average of about four days absence each semester.

In the 4B semester, David was absent 2½ days. Just before Christmas, David contracted trench mouth and ringworm. During the Christmas vacation he reported to me, grinning, that "the germs are nearly conquered now."

2. Diet. Mrs. Bates says that David has pronounced food dislikes. He does not eat enough vegetables, but he does eat plenty of fruit and drinks much milk. David's mother does not force him to eat vegetables, however, because it would mean fussing and mental upset at meals. She feels that he is getting enough essential food and that his general condition and ap-

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[4] Smith, Madora E., "An Investigation of the Extent of Vocabulary in Young Children," Univ. of Iowa Stud. in Child Welfare, Vol. III—No. 5, 1926.

parent good health does not warrant too much worry over the problem, although she wishes that David had no food problems. Mrs. Bates is gradually trying to guide David's tastes toward a more balanced diet. In the meantime she is not nagging or coaxing David to eat vegetables.

D. Height and Weight. *1. Measurements.* David is 9.7 years old and weighs 105 lbs. This places him somewhat above the 94th percentile in height which is 57.7 in., about 1 in. below David's height. Approximately 5 percent of 9-year-old boys are taller than David, while about 95 percent of them are shorter. David is 20 percent heavier than the average 9-year-old boy. This places him 4.35 lbs. above the upper tolerance limit of weight which is 15 percent above the average.

David has been gradually growing and gaining weight since September, when he was 57 in. tall and weighed 95 lbs. He has grown 1½ in. taller and gained 10 lbs. The average annual gain for a tall 9-year-old boy is 7 lbs.

2. Psycho-Social Effects. Mrs. Bates said that David feels he is fat, but she does not think so. He is tall and solidly built. David has shown on a few occasions that he thinks he is too large. When he went to be weighed the nurse made a laughing remark about his weight. David said that he thought he did not weigh as much as he had. He seemed disappointed when the scales showed a 5½ lb. gain. He has often remarked about his neighborhood friends being the same size as himself, but older.

Miss Smith, the teacher, reported that she had never heard the children tease David or make any remarks showing that they might think him too large.

3. Summary. No doubt, one's personal opinion enters into a statement regarding David's heaviness. The measurements show that he is far above the average, both in height and weight. Yet his general appearance seems to give people the impression of huskiness and of a well-developed big boy, rather than the idea of a fat little boy.

If David continues to gain too much weight, in proportion to his height, in the future it might be well to get the opinion of a physician concerning the extra weight. David sometimes gets out of breath. Other boys seem able to run faster and longer on the playground than David (No. 11). David grew out of breath while we were climbing the stairs in the museum (No. 18). This may have been due to any of several factors, rather than to too much weight.

E. General Observations. David's general carriage and erect posture give the impression of an energetic, happy boy. His broad chest and uniformly developed musculature carry out the idea of a healthy physique. I have never seen blemishes on David's skin. The ringworm infection of two months ago was quickly cleared up. His skin has a healthy color and texture. I have never noticed any presence of bad breath. David showed no difficulty in seeing in the show, at the museum while reading description

cards, or at school while reading work on the board or from a book. Neither has David ever shown any signs of being hard of hearing. David's general appearance is one of good health.

V. Social Behavior

A. Reactions toward Other Children. From the observation made, David seems to be a child who seeks the companionship of other children, rather than preferring solitary play. Each time he has been observed on the playground David has played ball and been with a group of children during the entire recess periods. There is also a neighborhood group of boys with whom he spends much of his time.

The large percentage of the time observed has been spent in playing ball. When David assumed the role of leadership, it has been through making plans for the group, rather than through athletic superiority (Nos. 11, 14).

Although David sometimes acts as leader in a group by suggesting plans or change of activity, he cooperates with the group if the activity is not in accordance with his planning. He had been taking active part in a baseball game when the group suddenly changed to a football game (No. 11) where David did not appear to be enjoying himself. Yet he stayed with the group.

On the days when I observed, the group of boys played ball without the need of a referee to settle disputes. The boys who were struck out did not argue the fact. On one occasion (No. 11) David could have argued about tabbing first base before the batter reached it, for it was quite close. It was generally accepted that the boy was safe. Strictly following the rules of the game seemed to be the thing to do.

During my observation, David took part in the game whenever possible with the exception of one day when he stood on third base with his hands in his pockets. The ball game did not last as long as usual on that cold windy day (No. 14). The cause of David's inactivity could have been due to any of several things—cold weather, undercurrent of unfriendliness, etc.

Only once during my observation has David paid the slightest attention to girls. I have seen him ignore them (No. 7) and confine his play to boys (Nos. 11, 13, 14). At one time, however (No. 17), the whole observation consisted of friendly, playful, and "showing off" gestures to two girls who sit across from him. At another time (No. 18) David spoke quite naturally of his girl friend. Mrs. Bates said that David has always ignored the girls and that I had observed the first friendliness shown.

B. Reactions toward Adults. Quite often David has shown the characteristic of timidity toward adults. At times he has been talking constantly to me until a strange adult appeared. Then he talked only in monosyllables to them and slightly more to me (Nos. 9, 18). I have noticed that

he showed this tendency of quietness towards me in new situations. He had been very friendly toward me at my home, yet when I went with him to the nurse's office at school he said hardly a word as we walked to the room. When I first saw David in his home, he talked no more than was necessary.

C. Attitudes toward the Larger World. *1. Catholics.* The Bateses are Protestants who live in a Catholic neighborhood. David has always known Catholic children, so he has been free from the narrow-minded intolerance of which so many people are victims. His conversations with me have shown a friendliness with his Catholic playmates.

2. Other Cultures. David is interested in other countries and in different things in the world. This is shown in his interest for Geography and during his visit to the museum. He did not laugh at other cultures, but was curious enough about them to read the cards describing them quite thoroughly.

3. Identity with Customs of the Various Groups of Which He Is a Member. David has shown in some instances that he does not tend to deviate from the customs of his groups.

(1) David wanted very much to see the dinosaur skeleton, but because of the hours of the museum we could not arrange it. Yet David did not mention cutting school to see it (No. 18).

(2) During the times David was observed at play, he followed the rules closely (Nos. 11, 14). He followed the rules of the table games which I played with him without question.

(3) A "George Washington" contest is being conducted at school. David is interested in it and works every spare night at school. Mrs. Bates said that she suggested that he work on it at home when he had nothing to do, but he said that school was the only place where he was allowed to work on it.

VI. Character and Personality

There are times when David possesses much confidence in himself. He feels and says in a matter of fact way, without any boastful manner, that he can read well, that he is good in arithmetic, and that he did well in the play. Yet before the play was given, Mrs. Bates said that he worried about making himself "the laughing stock of the whole school." He did not worry over the second and third performances, however. When David is uncertain of something he can be quite nervous (No. 20). It seems that when David has proved his ability he can carry a task out with assurance.

David has shown a healthy curiosity on several occasions in various fields. He was interested in the electric phonograph, in the museum, and in the telephone dial (No. 21). Anything different seems to take his eye and he wants to understand it. David has varied interests. He seems to be interested in reading at school; he has an average interest in

ball for a boy of his age; he is interested in working with his hands; he enjoys complex games; he is interested in current topics. This curiosity and varied interests are symptoms of a mentally alert, well rounded child.

David has the ability to concentrate when he desires or when it is necessary. He can also divide his attention and follow both activities (Nos. 10, 19). He can understand directions easily (Nos. 10, 12) and follows them correctly.

While David was playing the table games he showed persistence, in that he was not willing to give up until he had won. He added some scores which caused him some difficulty while playing the game (No. 9). This, too, showed persistence. At no time during observation has David shown a tendency to cheat at games or in school activities. Another characteristic displayed during the games was good humor. He took any bad luck good naturedly.

David seems independent in several respects. On the playground, after a boy had hit him a few times, David finally gave him a real punch (No. 14). When I gave tests to David he began to help arrange the chairs, etc., on his second visit (No. 12). After watching me put a film in the Tru-View machine he filled it himself. Apparently, David can look after himself in most cases.

VII. Changes Observed from November 14, 1940, to February 23, 1941

A. Intellectual Development. Two spelling tests were given to David, one on Dec. 8, the other on Feb. 23. During this two months' interval, David's grade standard rating rose from 3.4 grade to 3.7 grade and his chronological age standard rating rose from 9–4 years to 9–7 years. This shows a growth of three months in two months.

David is taking much greater part in class work this semester. Observations have shown this and Miss Smith has commented on it. David volunteers quite often now, but last semester he very rarely raised his hand. Checking with Miss Smith showed that this change persists all through the week, not just during the observations (Nos. 19, 20).

B. Physical Development. David has been growing steadily since Sept. The following table shows the measurements—

	Sept.	Dec. 10	Feb. 21
Age	9.2	9.5	9.7
Height	57″	57.75″	58.5″
"Normal" Weight	79 lbs.	83 lbs.	87 lbs.
Actual Weight	95 lbs.	100½ lbs.	105 lbs.

C. Social Behavior. During the first few observations David almost ignored other children during school (No. 7), but now he speaks to others occasionally (No. 20). Perhaps the earlier hesitancy was due to the fact that he was being observed.

David paid no attention to girls at the beginning of the observation during the time he was observed (No. 7), but now he sometimes shows interest in them (No. 17) at school and outside of school. David was seen playing tag with two girls on his way home from school.

D. Character and Personality. The one big noticeable change in David's personality is his growth in confidence. This has already been mentioned under Intellectual Development. David has shown his confidence in telling of the work which he can do well, taking his part in the play well, and having confidence to volunteer in class.

VIII. Summary

David is a fine specimen of a typical child. He comes from an excellent home and he possesses wise parents, who have provided a well balanced life for David. David is in good health and is intelligent. David is inclined to mingle with others, instead of being off by himself. He also has many varied interests. All of these factors will help David develop into a well balanced person.

IX. Chronology of Field Visits

11/12/40—Compository of interviews with teacher. 1 hour. Her general impressions.
11/14/40—General information, grades, height-weight record and attendance. 15 minutes.
11/14/40—Class observation. 50 minutes. For general orientation.
11/28/40—Interview with parents. 35 minutes. For securing subject's history and present condition.
12/ 1/40—Entertaining subject at my home. 1 hour 25 min. For getting acquainted with subject.
12/ 8/40—Giving standardized tests. 1 hour 10 min. For determining general ability and spelling ability.
12/10/40—Play observation. 20 minutes. For observing sociability and physical activity.
12/10/40—Class observation. 45 minutes. For observing class participation.
12/30/40—Giving standardized tests. 2 hours. For determining arithmetic ability.
1/ 4/41—Play observation. 30 minutes. For observing signs of leadership.
1/ 6/41—Class observation. 1 hour 15 min. For observing any increase in class participation.
1/ 6/41—Play observation. 20 minutes. For observing motor coördination and friendliness.
1/17/41—Class observation. 1 hour. For observing attentiveness.

1/18/41—Going to a show. 5 hours. For observing reaction in unusual social situations.
1/24/41—Class observation. 1 hour. For observing apparent interest.
2/ 7/41—Class observation. 1 hour. For observing social relationships.
2/ 9/41—Trip to the museum. 4 hours. For observing lines of interest.
2/14/41—Class observation. 1 hour. For observing whether interest in girls is continuing to show.
2/21/41—Class observation. 1 hour. For observing to see if increased participation is continuing.
2/21/41—Participation in school program. 30 minutes. For observing poise before large groups.
2/21/41—Interview with mother. 1 hour. For learning what reading material is in the home and getting more pre-school history.
2/23/41—Giving second standardized spelling test. 1 hour. For noting any improvement in spelling.

X. Field Notes and Records

A. Diary observations and interviews. Nos. 1–21.
B. Time samples. Nos. 22–24.
C. Behavior check list. No. 25.
D. Rating Scale. No. 26.*
E. Tests. Nos. 27–31.*
F. Other records. Nos. 32–37.*

Diary Observations and Interviews

INTERVIEWS WITH MISS SMITH, 4B TEACHER

1. *November 12, 1940.*

Explanation—Since most of my interviews with Miss Smith will probably need to be made during school time, my interview notes will be made up of small bits of information gained at various times.

David comes from a good home. His mother has been an active P.T.A. worker for several years, has always coöperated in every way, and will surely coöperate in this child study. David tested higher than any other child in the room on the reading achievement test.

2. *November 14, 1940.*

David throws himself wholeheartedly into everything he does, concentrating on his current activity. Spelling is David's weakest subject. Miss Smith feels that he could raise his spelling (B) if he tried. He doesn't care to spend the time on it. Other subjects come easy for David, and he spends no more time on his spelling than any other subject.

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* Nos. 26 and 28–37 incl. are not reproduced here.

3. *January 6, 1941.*

Miss Smith mentioned David's concentration again. She said that David gets along well with other children. He doesn't care much for a crowd of children, but is friendly to one or two at a time. Yet he usually plays ball with a large number. She has noticed that once in a while when he does not care to play ball he stands on the sidelines thoroughly enjoying the game, following every play.

Miss Smith said that David does not seem to feel awkward or self conscious because of his heaviness. [I do not think that he looks too big, but he considers himself "big and fat." He seemed to be sorry when he had gained the last time I weighed him.] Miss Smith said that she had never heard the children tease him or make any remarks showing that they might think him too large. She said again that David is an outstanding pupil and that he is very thorough in his work.

4. *January 24, 1941.*

Miss Smith said that David does not volunteer to take part in class often, but that he can always recite when called on even though he is apparently not paying attention.

5. *February 7, 1941.*

Miss Smith says that David has changed. He used to be so very quiet, almost never responding, but now he responds quite often. The observation on this day showed the first interest in girls, Miss Smith said. He has always ignored them completely at school.

6. *February 14, 1941.*

Miss Smith says that David was willing to take a part in a play for P.T.A. He learned his part in one evening and said it without using his paper. He speaks out loudly and clearly and walks across the stage with no trace of self-consciousness. David's father is in a play. David knows all of his part and advises him to speak with more expression in parts of the play.

Observation Report

7. *November 14, 1940—9:25–10:15 A.M.*

Record made at the time of school. Purpose—general orientation.

Class was working arithmetic problems. David was working multiplication problems. Did not look up from work. When observer passed, the work slowed down. Moved pencil back and forth twice between 2 numbers to be multiplied. [Conscious of observation.] Finished work—about ½ class still working. Took paper to front of room. Did not look right or left. Got materials for writing story which was later pasted on paper under picture. (*Pays no attention to neighbors—wastes no time.*) Finishes stories

about Christmas cookies in 5 min. Starts to take it to front of room. Miss Smith makes correction in spelling. David corrects and takes up again. Looks straight ahead. Child asks D. question while he is at the front. D. abruptly nods head. Says nothing. [Unsocial? On good behavior? Has decided to do nothing irregular?] Teacher helps D. with more corrections.

Story of Christmas cookies [imagination shown] "These are some cookies that were baked in Santa Claus's bakery. Of course they are very good cookies because they were baked in Santa Claus's bakery." Writing not very neat. Erasures—13.

Gets paper for cutting letters for poster. Puts scraps in waste basket twice in 3 min.—basket 6 ft. from D. Knocked crayons and pencil off desk twice within 15 min. with arm. [Not nervous, but many things on desk.] Pays no attention when children stop at desk. Did not reply to question. [Observe sociability later. May be showing how "good" he can be.] Caught observer's eye twice—looked quickly away. [Conscious of observation, yet I am not staring—has been told before my arrival.] Showed finished poster to boy in front—regarded it [with satisfaction]—boy picked it up—D. did not present it to him. Spoke monosyllabic word in reply to boy's question. *Ignored remark of girl passing D's seat.*

David sticks with a task until it is finished. Appears to shut out outside things and think only of the present activity.

Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Bates

8. *November 28, 1940—1:40–2:15 P.M.*

Purpose—Secure D's history and present condition. Record made 25 minutes after interview. There was not time to cover all my plans because of changed plans of Mrs. Bates, but I did discover many facts about David. Mr. Bates came in while we were talking and joined in the conversation.

A. Preschool History

2½ mos.—studied mother's hands
5 mos.—rolled off bed
—reached for toys
5½ mos.—held out hands
6 mos.—cut tooth—Jan. 5, 1932
—cut tooth—Jan. 13, 1932
7 mos.—sat alone
7½ mos.—cut upper tooth
8 mos.—crept
—played
8½ mos.—stood up on bed and pen
10 mos.—walked

15 mos.—said first word—"bite"
rapid speech development—parents could rememember no more about it

B. Physical History
1. Diseases—measles—chicken pox—ill much of time at 5 yrs. with secondary anaemia—also had much bronchial trouble—many colds up through 1st grade (record—missed 19 days school)—has not been ill since.
2. Present condition—fine health [strong, husky, sturdy appearance] no longer ill (record—absent 7 days in gr. 2 and 8½ days in gr. 3) does not take cold easily.
3. Weight—David feels that he is fat. Mrs. Bates does not consider him so—he is tall and is muscularly well formed.
4. Diet—has pronounced food dislikes—does not eat enough vegetables—eats plenty of fruit and drinks much milk. Mrs. Bates does not urge or nag David to eat because it would mean fussing and mental upset at meals.

C. Social Behavior
1. Relation to adults—easily embarrassed and quiet with strangers. After becoming acquainted he is quite talkative. Worries about unfamiliar situations. (Ex.—new Sunday Sch. class—promotion to another dept. on a day when David was absent—worried about where to go.)
2. Quiet with adults, but can hold his own with children.
3. Does not care about reading books—cannot get enough magazines —reads short articles, but not long books—interested in Nat'l. Geog., Popular Mechanics (check on others—have forgotten).
4. Interested in manual work—tools are too big for D. to use alone—often works with father.
5. Interested in football for first time this fall. [Too young before.] William, older brother organized team in neighborhood.

D. Character and Personality
1. Persistent; determined ideas which he often wants in preference to other's ideas.
2. Works hard at anything and concentrates well after he decides to do something.

VISIT WITH DAVID

9. *December 1, 1940—10:20–11:45 A.M.*
For getting acquainted with David and observing his reactions toward adults—Record made at 12:30 P.M. same day.

I live second door from the church which David attends. He stopped at my home after Sunday School this morning. *David smiled as he entered and made fairly long responses to my comments until my grown brother and my mother returned home. Then David replied in monosyllables, rolled the bottom of his coat, sat stiffly on the davenport.* [*Timid among several strangers.*] *When we were left alone again David again made long replies and his hands were quiet.*

While we were talking of school David expressed a strong liking for his teacher. He said, "I like Miss Smith so much better than Miss ———. Miss ——— has a little frown all the time. That was the only room where I got C's." He told about two cases of his misbehavior. He had been shaken once for going back to another boy's desk to get something the boy had of his. He had been sent from the room for hitting the boy who sat behind him when he teased David once too often. The last instance happened in the room of the teacher David disliked.

David told of looking through the toy departments yesterday. He said that he wanted a jig-saw for Christmas. When I went into the dining room to get the hammered tin candle holder I had made, David quite naturally followed me. At the present time David is making a boat which will be propelled through the water by a rubber band attached to the rudder. This conversation led to games. When I suggested that we look at some of my games upstairs he was willing to do so.

I got out one game in which rings are thrown on a hook in a clown's nose, another where balls are thrown into a man's mouth, another which shot marbles into little receptacles each counting so much, and a game of "Uncle Wiggly" which is a board game where the players take turns moving according to directions given on cards that are drawn. David, apparently pleased to see the "Uncle Wiggly" game said, "Oh here is 'Uncle Wiggly.' A long time ago I got to play part of a game, then had to go home. Let's play this." David won the first game and immediately said, "Let's play another game of this." As he drew "lucky cards" [he showed much enthusiasm and eagerness] his eyes sparkled, he smiled as he read the cards aloud, and he moved his little wooden disc quickly over the board.

While reading the directions, David skipped long names he did not know. "Jerusha Ann" was skipped, "persimmon tree" was called "parson tree," and "least" was called "last." When he had to lose 2 turns he waited [calmly and patiently] with his hands in his lap, smiling over the bad cards I drew.

David was ready to give up "Uncle Wiggly" after 2 games, but was playing with the marble game when I returned from putting the game away. After shooting several marbles he asked if I wanted to play with him.

Difficulties in adding scores—3 balls were in the "600 pen." David pondered over it for some time and finally asked, "How much is 6 × 3?"

In adding 500 to 1800 he counted on his fingers. Despite these difficulties [*Why did he like this game when it was difficult to add scores?*] *it was at my suggestion that the game be stopped.* [*David still seemed interested.*] *He wanted me to add the total scores.*

David chose games involving the reading and arithmetic processes, rather than the throwing games. [Poor at throwing? Likes more complex games? Used to playing with older brother?]

When we came downstairs my little dog was there. He jumped up on David who cringed. [Does not like dogs? Startled by jumping? Afraid dog would soil his clothing?] David [gingerly] patted the dog.

Giving Tests to David

10. *December 8, 1940—10:20–11:30 A.M.*

For giving David the Pressey Intermediate Classification Test and the Morrison-McCall Spelling Scale. Record made on the evening of the same day.

I had David come to my home for the tests in preference to my giving them at school or at his home because of the imposition and inconvenience it would place on the teacher and because of my being better able to control conditions in my own home. The situation was not strange to David since he had visited my home before today.

[David seemed perfectly at ease when he arrived.] He took off his coat and hat laying them down in the living room. He caught sight of the canary in the dining room and went out to look at it. He smiled, saying that the bird was pretty. *When we went upstairs, David, knowing he would write, arranged the chair and table for work while I raised the window.*

I gave David the Pressey Intermediate Classification Test first.—14 minutes long. He [was calm] showed no tenseness of expression nor any nervous movements. He followed directions closely, *stopping only once* to tell me that he did not understand a question—nothing in the directions explains to the child not to do this. I told him to skip it. After the test was over David wanted me to explain that question.

Then we got up for five minutes or so. When David found that we would work with a spelling test (Morrison-McCall Spelling Scale) he said, "Oh—spelling!", then grinned. [Instead of being nervous or depressed] when he missed or omitted words David looked at me and grinned.

When we came downstairs David was interested in the combination radio and phonograph—especially the phonograph. [*Mechanical interest, healthy curiosity at something different, or mental comparison with his brother's radio attachment?*] *He marvelled at the automatic beginning and repeating of a record and at the release of other records.*

While a record was being played the canary began to sing. David then

divided his interest. After looking from one to the other for a while David came out to the bird cage, then returned to watch the automatic operations of the phonograph.

As David was leaving he saw a squirrel in the yard. David approached it on tiptoe. When the squirrel scampered up a tree David stood at the foot of the tree looking up and walking around the tree as the squirrel encircled the trunk.

Observation of David's Play

11. *Tuesday, December 10, 1940—10:15–10:35 A.M.*

Object—Observe sociability and physical activity. Skeleton outline made at observation; complete record written same afternoon.

The 4th grade boys arrived at the ball diamond before David. They began calling for him. Finally, he ran out to join them, carrying the ball. He tossed the ball to the pitcher, and *suggested moving to the big diamond.* All the boys ran to the other diamond. *David did not run as fast as most (in lowest 10%) of the boys.* [*Is he too fat?*]

The game played was one form of baseball—once called "monkey move up." *All boys were in group*—it broke up, each boy going to a different position. David played the position of second baseman. *He watched the game closely,* calling for the ball to be thrown to him twice when a boy on first base was ready to come to second base. David jumped up and down and ran five or six feet along the base line watching the game. The ball was thrown to him once. *David tabbed the boy too late—ball was thrown too late.* David threw the ball back to the pitcher—threw it too far. David had been ready—arms up, feet apart, to catch ball 5 times during the game. When David had moved to first base he chased a batted ball and threw it to the pitcher.

Just after this the crowd of boys suddenly ran in one mass to the football field. David ran hard, but not as fast as those behind him. As a result he was knocked over, but he got up immediately, gave one or two quick brushes to his coat, and ran on at the rear of the crowd. *By the time he got to the first goal the crowd was chasing the boy carrying the football to the other end of the field. David followed at the rear again, running, then slowed gradually to a walk* [*out of breath—discouraged—dislike of game*].

Activities of David during Recess

Ran	||||| |
Called for ball to be thrown to him	||
Threw ball	||
Caught ball	|
Tabbed boy	|
Stood ready to catch ball	|||||

GIVING ARITHMETIC TEST TO DAVID

12. *December 30, 1940—3:00–5:00 P.M.*

Record made at 9:30 P.M. of same day. Purpose—give Metropolitan Intermediate Arithmetic Test—Form A.

David entered my home and began unbuttoning his jacket immediately. It took only a remark about Christmas and an occasional comment to start him talking. [Contrast between his aloofness and timidity at school and his friendliness outside of school. Due to self-consciousness before other children—fear of too much attention, perhaps of being "sissy"?] In talking of his neighborhood playmates he said that they were all his size, but were older by three years.

When we were upstairs in our customary room David smiled and asked, "Do you have some more questions for me to answer?" Without any suggestion from me he helped get things ready—adjust chairs, lights, etc. [independence and self reliance shown].

[As in the previous tests David seemed to be perfectly natural and not excited or nervous.] He was relaxed, had pleasant expression on his face, leisurely chose a pencil, wrote his name, and inquired, "Now, what is the date today?" *I wondered if he would understand the directions because part of the time he was studying the border of the wall paper. But he was all attention when I read the directions at the beginning of the test and he understood what to do—with one exception. He asked, "What does pk. mean?"*

The first part of the test lasted from 3:10–3:45. David made occasional lip movements [over harder problems?]; he made one erasure while taking the test, 2 more while going over the work. In adding he seemed to be counting by 1's—nodded head in little jerks. After the test I asked David why he did not work the division problems. He replied, "I don't know how to divide." "But you have had that in school." "Just a little last year. I wouldn't know the first way to begin."

After a relaxation, part II of the test lasted from 4:05–4:35. At times David picked up the paper to read the thought problems, would spend time in thinking, then write the answer. (While adding, he tapped the paper with his pencil in finding the answer. Ex.—2 + 1 + 1 + 1 = 5 instead of 2 + 3 = 5.) At the end of the test David looked at the clock and said, "About half an hour timing, isn't it?"

Several times during the observation David said, "ain't." During the period between the two parts of the test and for a while afterwards David enjoyed looking through a stereoscope. He chose the animal films in preference to the scenery. After watching me load the machine once David proceeded to do it himself and chose what he wanted to see. [Shows self-reliance and independence.]

David has been ill during part of the vacation and had to miss the last

day or so of school, but now "the germs are nearly conquered." He has had trench mouth and ringworm.

Observation of David's Play in His Neighborhood

13. *Saturday, January 4, 1941—2:10 P.M.–2:40 P.M.*

Purpose—Observe signs whether David exhibits signs of leadership or of following in his natural play situation. Report written same afternoon —3:30 P.M.

David did not know that I was watching the play in the street outside his home. David owned the ball and bat which were being used to play the game of monkey rotation. *Four other neighbor boys were playing.* David was pitching when I began to watch. The first batter struck 3 balls out of 5—2 were not thrown far enough. David failed to catch the ball which would put him out. The next two batters made outs on 3 strikes. David's balls were not thrown far enough. *David was refereeing the game.*

After a short time David was batting. He struck a foul ball and finally after 2 balls struck one which the 3rd baseman missed. He made a home run in 4 flies. The game moved very slowly. The boys could not catch the balls very well and there were such long waits between the plays. David was struck out by the first baseman once.

A neighbor girl came out to watch. At David's suggestion the boys went to another boy's home about five minutes after she came. [*Tired of playing—dislike of girl's watching?*]

Observation on the Playground

14. *Monday, January 6, 1941—10:15–10:35*

Purpose—Observe motor coördination and friendliness with others. Report was made at 11:30 the same day.

David had the ball before the boys left the room for recess. He did not get on the playground as soon as the other boys. They were anxious to begin playing ball and called, "Where's David?" "Where's Bates?" David came before long playing catch with three different boys as he came. David caught the ball three times, missed it none.

David's position in the game was first fielder. David stood in one spot with his hands in his pockets. (It is a cold day.) He let others chase the ball when it came near him four times. David became pitcher after a short while. He pitched the ball five times. The batter did not strike once. Another boy became pitcher and David resumed first fielder position. (I could hear no conversation.)

The game broke up suddenly. Some of the boys began throwing snow.

They struck David on the back with snow, followed by thumps with fists three times. At last David gathered up some snow and threw it, but it hit no one. One boy ran after David, and running out of snow, hit David with his fists. David backed away while the boy hit him three times, with little jabs from the elbow. Then David stepped forward and struck the boy a blow straight from the shoulder and started chasing him. They disappeared behind a parked car and in a group of children for a brief period. When I caught sight of them again David was running from three boys. The bell rang, and they entered the school.

Taking David to the Show

15. *Saturday, January 18, 1941—1:00 P.M.–6:00 P.M.*

Purpose—Observe reaction in unusual social situations and see the adjustment made to them. Notice the response made to motion pictures. Report made at 9:00 P.M. same day.

When I called for David he opened the door, but did not invite me inside. While he was putting on his wraps he barely answered my remarks with monosyllables. I had to open the door for us to leave. He did not begin to talk freely to me until we had gone about a block.

On the bus he made lengthy comments on my remarks. We talked practically all the way to the show. He started conversations only three times—first, new buildings at Ft. Hayes and his visit on the grounds, second, the Food Mt. Show he had seen at the Palace, third, the new parking meters. David had very willingly put our car tickets in the box, but he did not want to buy the show tickets. He said he had never bought them down town. He remarked when I gave him the car tickets, "You don't have to waste a car ticket on me if you don't want to."

At the show he watched the picture closely, sitting quietly. He laughed occasionally. There were two exciting shows—"Arizona" and "Ellery Queen, Master Detective." David did not move during the most exciting parts. Sometimes he gave a low laugh when the solution was found to a difficult situation or when a surprising thing happened. David watched and listened to the news pictures with as much interest as he watched the feature. He commented on the London fire. He did not talk during the show. When Roger Garrett played the organ for the audience to sing David sang lustily [probably because I did]. When the show was over he began clapping, then looked about him as he discovered that others weren't clapping. [Neighborhood show influence—David sees many shows at the Linden show, but very few down town.]

On our way home David did scarcely any talking. He looked out the window, yawned very often, and leaned his head against the side of the bus. He said he was "a little" sleepy.

OBSERVATION AT SCHOOL

16. *Friday, January 24, 1941—11:00 A.M.–12:00 M.*

Purpose—Observe apparent interest in work. Report was made at time of observation.

The 4B's were having an English lesson—writing diaries. They were writing a class diary telling about an "avalanche of snow" on the roof of a second school building just opposite the schoolroom windows. David was sitting on top of the back of his seat watching the "avalanche." As a new paragraph was written he wrote still sitting there. He stood when some of the snow fell from the roof. As I looked at the children's work I spoke to D. He did not reply.

During the geography class David showed more interest than any time I have observed him. Due to interest in geography?

Observations made during geography—

Volunteered to read	||||
Joined in pronouncing names of cities with class	|||| (100%)
Volunteered to recite in geography	|||| ||||
Was called on and gave correct answers	||||

OBSERVATION AT SCHOOL

17. *Friday, February 7, 1941—11:00 A.M.–12:00 M.*

Purpose originally—Note if the increased participation in class is continuing.—Opportunity arose showing social relationships with other children. Report was made at the time.

When I entered the room David was standing and looking at something on the desk of the girl across from him. *About three minutes later he grabbed something from her desk.* [*I believe it was a note.*]

The class formulated rules for Good Citizens. David did not suggest any, but copied all on his paper. He apparently ignored the two girls across from him and put all of his attention on the writing. He volunteered to give sentences twice. He stood up to copy some class sentences. *While standing, his attention was attracted to the two girls across from him and he began whispering to them frequently.*

David collected books in the row very leisurely up and back. He handled things on others' desk twice. David did not try to take the exercises properly. Children stretched arms to side, then back. *David stretched arms partly to the side, then thumped his chest. After this he grinned at the girls. He walked slowly around the room with the class.*

After the relaxation David talked to the girls and it carried over into the time Miss Smith read to the class. He tried to see what was on the desk of the girl across from him many times. *The girl in front kept writing notes and holding them up for David and the other girl to see and she*

sometimes passed them to the girl behind her. David began playing with a ruler apparently not hearing the reading. Miss Smith asked him a question on what she had read which required thought and [surprisingly] David answered correctly. David tried to see the note one girl wrote to the other. He apparently listened attentively for five minutes. Then he tried to read the notes. He kept grinning at the girls.

David volunteered to give sentences for class story....	||
David answered question about the story being read..	|
David whispered to the 2 girls.....	|||| |||
David handled things on others' desks.....	||
David tried to see what was on the desk of the girl across from him.....	|||| ||||

A Trip to the Ohio State Museum

18. *Sunday, February 9, 1941—2:00 P.M.–6:00 P.M.*

Object—Observe the lines of David's interest which were shown at the museum. Record made at 6:30 the same evening.

David arrived at my home to go to the museum at 2:00 P.M. He bounded upon the porch. When I opened the door a wide smile was on his face and he greeted me cheerfully. Without removing his hat he entered and sat down. My mother, who was sitting in the living room asked him several questions about the snow and how he liked playing in it. David answered them with, "I don't know" or "Oh, all right." At last he told of some boys making a snow fort at school.

David talked almost constantly to me from the time we left the house, walked to the corner, and waited on the bus. Some of the things we talked about—David did not go to Sunday School this morning. He had no special excuse. [His mother must not force him to go.] His grandmother was visiting his home. She lives 150 miles away. The farthest from home David has been is 200 miles. He went to Pittsburgh, Pa. once. He regretted that he had been asleep when the state line was crossed. The family which had been visited in Pittsburgh has moved to Washington, D. C. Perhaps next summer David's family will go to Washington. *David's "girl friend lives in Washington."*

On our way to the museum we rode two buses and a street car. David marveled at the number of transfers needed and studied the fine points of the transfers we held. David wanted to know if there were any dinosaurs' skeletons in the museum. He wanted to see them. He had seen some in Pittsburgh. *David kept talking all the way over except when I met a friend. He said nothing at all then, even when I tried to bring him into the conversation, except to answer direct questions with monosyllables.*

As we entered the museum I expected to go straight through the lobby

to the basement. David stopped at the first case we saw in the lobby to read the signs under various beetles displayed. He tried to find one he had seen and described it to me. He scrutinized the various ores exhibited as closely. [He wasn't as interested in the exhibit of children's work.] He looked at only half of that. Then he went to the case of books. He read one or two of the titles, then left for the room to the right of the lobby.

David was [interested] in the clock showing how to trace Ohio's development from prehistoric times to the present by following the exhibits in order. He figured out the directions, then looked for exhibit 1. Before entering that exhibit group David read what that part was about. He looked closely at the various ores [seems interested in ores and beetles. He does not look because it is the beginning of the trip, for he passed two cases in the lobby more quickly.] We entered the next exhibit without reading the title. David began to look at it, then left the booth to read the name of the exhibit. He made it a point to read the name of each exhibit. He also read the title of nearly every card under each article. He read quite thoroughly and looked quite long at the exhibits of pioneer utensils and the firearms, etc. at the time of 1812 and 1860. He also looked closely at the telegraph. He told me how Edison had got the idea for it. David had recently seen the picture show of "Edison, the Man."

We then went to the basement. David did not look as long at the log cabin as I expected. He looked longer at the pioneer exhibit in the cases outside the cabin. David did not look at the birds as long as he had at the previous exhibits. [Perhaps he was growing tired or was not as interested.]

Next we walked to the second floor to see the wild animals. David got out of breath as we climbed the stairs. [Because of his weight?] I was surprised to see that David merely walked by the animal exhibits without stopping to read about them. He looked closely at the neighboring exhibits on mound builders and Indians. He kept a sharp lookout for mummies, skulls, and skeletons. He read the cards on these quite thoroughly. Yet when we saw a skeleton lying in a stone vault he moved quickly away, saying that he did not like that. He walked quickly away from cremation pits, too.

David snapped his fingers and said, "Boy! the firearms exhibit!" when we came to that part. He looked closely at all items, especially guns and cannons.

We decided to walk down to Orton Hall Museum to see if it was open. David wanted to see the dinosaur skeleton. When David tried to open the door of Orton Hall he said, "Oh, it's locked" [with great disappointment]. He tried to arrange a time when we could come over when the museum was open, but could not. He did not suggest staying out of school.

When we reached High St. David did not want to cross until he had read the sign which two students were erecting. As we passed Long's

windows he showed no interest in the valentines, but the various kinds of paints did take his eye.

We stopped at Hennick's. David was very confused by the menu. He did not know what part to begin reading. I asked him whether he wanted a sundae or a soda and showed him where they were listed on the menu. He apparently read that group and chose a marshmallow sundae.

David took rather large spoonfuls of the sundae and poked them in his mouth. I suggested that he use his napkin since that kind of sundae was so easily spilled. Instead of putting the napkin on his lap he put it on the table under the sundae dish. David ate steadily, saying little. He finished before I did, wiped his mouth with the napkin, took a drink. After a while he picked up his spoon again and scraped the sides of the dish. When he finished he said "Thanks" quickly.

We walked to Chittenden to take the bus. He talked some, but not as much as he had. David yawned many times, all the way home. Again he had been interested in the transfers. He knew when to get off the Cleveland Ave. bus. After he stood to get off David paused by the seat a moment and said quickly, "Thanks," turned, and got off the bus. I stayed on the bus to reach my home. David is in the habit of doing things independently, so I do not feel that it is necessary to walk the 3 blocks west with him.

OBSERVATION AT SCHOOL

19.

Purpose—Observe whether or not the interest in girls is continuing and whether valentines might be stimulating the interest. Report made at the time of observation.

The class was reading the Geography lesson orally. David was sitting quietly watching the place. Between readers David smiled at me for the first time since I have been visiting. He never seems to want to recognize me. [Due to better acquaintance with me, increased confidence, or both?] He watched and listened closely to explanation of the harrow—followed place again. He played with pencil and watched during explanation—dropped pencil—picked nose—played with fingers and listened, watched front of room—played with ruler and listened, softly smiling. *As educational picture show was being reviewed he listened and smiled widely at one part. Teacher called on him and he told the amusing part. He watched the place, knocked pencil off desk—picked it up, still watching place.*

Between readers he glanced at the girl sitting diagonally from him. She was addressing valentines. He twisted his hair and listened, following the place. He glanced at girl across from him between next two readers, watched place while next person read. David studied pictures at end of

stories with rest of class. He volunteered to tell about one. For the remaining three pictures he replied with the class. He used pencil like a cigarette while listening to children recite, caught my eye and stopped. *David volunteered to tell about surf board. With the teacher's questions he worked out what surf is. He watched the place, yawned, looked away from the book, dropped a pencil. He volunteered to tell one main crop of Ohio. He recited correctly, looked at pictures through the book, seemed to be looking for special picture. Volunteered to tell another noted crop —"buckeyes." Also gave that Ohio was noted as a dairy state and that coal came from the ground with Miss Smith's questions to help him.* Volunteered—||||.

David leafed through the book during next reading which was poor. He took paper from the book, wrote on it, read, and wrote quite soberly, then put it away. Watched place for awhile, then got paper. He kept the place in the book by looking back and forth between the two. I found out later that the paper was a "contest to find how many words can be found in 'George Washington.'"

Class stood and stretched. David did not stand, but stretched arms while sitting. He gathered the books after he made another notation on the paper. He did not argue with a boy who would not give a book to him. He borrowed a sheet of paper from the boy in front of him, did not thank him for it. David worked busily at his paper until after the bell rang.

Observation at School

20. *Friday, February 21, 1941—11:00 A.M.–12:00 M.*

Purpose—Observe to see if the increased participation is continuing. Notes taken during observation—written up the same afternoon.

When I entered the room David was sitting quietly in his seat. For some time he sat, apparently watching the place, but the book was turned the wrong way. I found later that he was studying a produce map of the United States ahead of the class. Miss Smith called on him—he did not know the place—found it quickly after the boy in front showed him where it was. Read smoothly and well.

The class studied the produce map, considering each state and what it raised. David was actively interested all of the time. He volunteered 19 times during this map study.

1. Miss Smith called on him—could not answer.
2. Miss Smith called on him—answered incorrectly (wrong states given).
3. Miss Smith called on him—answered correctly 4 times.

In giving the chief product of Utah David could also tell about Salt Lake—had remembered from a movie seen last semester. Before volunteering once he consulted the boy in front of him, then volunteered. He

and the boy talked over another state. The other boy was called on. David whispered the correct answer when he did not know. David showed him the location of another state.

David's positions while studying the map and volunteering. Sat erectly in seat—Stood on one leg with other foot on raised seat—Sat on back of seat, listening intently.

David gathered the books in his row. He did not smile at me or speak to me as he took my book, but brought an envelope to me when he returned.

I took him down to weigh him immediately afterward. On the way he took out the contents from the envelope. (Braille typing made at the program the previous evening.) He explained the whole process to me, then read what was written. This led to talk of the play in which David had a part. He informed me that he had done well. [First remark of this nature he has ever made to me.] By this time we were at the nurse's office. David asked, "Are you going to weigh me?" After weighing he asked, "Have I lost or gained?" When I told him he had gained 5 lbs. and now weighed 105 lbs. he said, "Well, that isn't so much." Then he proceeded to measure himself. He wanted to know how much he had grown (58½" tall). He resumed talking and kept it up until we reached the room.

The class was reviewing the weekly spelling lesson. David was called on. The teacher pronounced all the words to him. He missed three words completely, and needed help or second starts on three others. He was more ill at ease than I have ever seen him. He did not stand quietly as he usually does, but shifted his weight. His voice did not sound natural and was inclined to tremble at times. [*Spelling is David's weakest subject.—Ill ease due to lack of confidence?*]

Giving a Second Spelling Test to David

21. *February 23, 1941—10:10 A.M.–11:15 A.M.*

Purpose—Give a second spelling test (Morrison-McCall) to note any improvement made since Dec. 8 when the first was given. Report was written immediately afterward.

David came to my home grinning broadly, as usual. He took off his coat and hat, acting perfectly at home. After discussing his Sunday School paper we came upstairs for the spelling test which he was expecting.

He did not appear to be nervous during the test, but made several remarks before and after saying that he could not spell. David quite often began writing the word before I used it in a sentence or repeated the word. He did this both for words he got correct and for those he missed. After the test he wanted to know which ones he missed, and followed through the entire list (50), checking the words.

When we went downstairs David did not seem ready to go home. He

spied a telephone dialer which we have attached to the telephone. He asked what it was for, then proceeded to use it. I showed him how to make one's own phone ring. This "trick" fascinated him. Then he looked at the canary and a mechanics magazine. Since it was after 11:00 o'clock I suggested that his mother might be expecting him. He agreed, saying that he had better go.

Behavior Time Samples

22. *December 10, 1940*

Play activities for 20 minutes

Ran	||||| |
Called for ball to be thrown to him	||
Threw ball	||
Caught ball	|
Tabbed boy	|
Stood ready to catch ball	|||||

23. *January 24, 1941*

Participation activities in 1 hour

Volunteered to read	||||
Joined in pronouncing names of cities with class	|||| (100%)
Volunteered to recite in geog	||||| |||||
Was called on and gave correct answers	|||||

24. *February 7, 1941*

Social activities in 1 hour

Volunteered to give sentences for class story	||
Answered question about story being read	|
Whispered to 2 girls	||||| |||
Handled things on other boys' desks	||
Tried to see what was on desk of girl across from him	||||| |||||

Check List for Social Behavior

25.

1. Aggressive or retiring
   - (a) Domineering manner
   - (b) Antagonistic to members of group
   - (c) Picks quarrels with members of group
   - (d) Stays on fringe of group
   - (e) Stays out of group
2. Makes friendly overtures
   - (a) *Accepted by other children* (\|\|\|—Dec. 10) (\|—Jan. 6)
   - (b) Rejected by other children by
     - (1) ridicule
     - (2) ignoring

3. Leadership
   (a) *Making plans for the group* (|—Dec. 10) (||||| |||||—Jan. 4)
   (b) Physical and athletic superiority
4. Acceptance of subordination to leadership
   (a) *Cooperates with group in spite of own plans not being accepted* (|—Dec. 10) (|—Jan. 6)
   (b) Argues and quarrels over rejection of plans
   (c) Leaves group when plans are not accepted
   (d) Makes no suggestions either way
   (e) Blind following of the group
5. Gaining respect of group
   (a) *Through planning* (|—Dec. 10)
   (b) Through physical superiority
   (c) *Through personality* (|—Dec. 10)
6. *Obedient to rules of group* (|—Dec. 10) (|||—Jan. 4)
7. Independence
   Dependence on himself to solve playground difficulties (|—Dec. 10)
   Game participation (|—Jan. 6)
8. *Takes part in game whenever possible* (||||| |||||—Dec. 10) (||||| ||||| ||||| ||||—Jan. 4)
   Avoids any possible activity in the game (||||—Jan. 6)

27. Data Regarding Reading Achievement Test

Test given by Miss Smith to 4B class. David was highest in room.

New Stanford Reading Test—Primary Exam.—Form W

	Score	Read. Age	School Grade
Paragraph Meaning.....	80	12–6	6.7
Word Meaning.....	81	12–7	6.8
Total (Av.) Reading.....	81	12–7	6.8

Test 1—Paragraph Meaning

43 right out of 49 giving score of 80

Example—1

Fanny has a little red hen. Every day the hen goes to her nest and lays an egg for Fanny to eat. Then she makes a funny noise to tell Fanny to come and get the ..... (fill in "egg")

Test 2—Word Meaning

45 right—did not skip any—got all right—score of 81

Directions—

Draw line under word making sentence true.

Example—

Ice is made of

baskets bread plants water wood

8 Administering a Case Study Program

Securing Parental Cooperation. We are frequently asked how we manage to find two hundred children a year for study. We have experienced no difficulty. We work through the schools, first securing the permission of the superintendent's office, then cooperation of the principal and certain of his teachers. It is, of course, necessary to insure at least a minimum understanding of one's purposes and procedures.

A variety of devices is used to interest parents. In one school, the principal selected the twenty children to be studied and personally telephoned the parents to obtain their cooperation. In other schools parents have been asked to a meeting at the school where the plan might be discussed. But on the whole we have been best pleased with a letter sent home with the child. The following letter has been used:

Broadhurst Elementary School
Interborough, North Indiana

November 25, 1950

To parents of pupils in the second grade:

Following a policy of previous years, we hope to continue our friendly relations with the teacher-training program of the University, in accordance with the policy of the Superintendent's office. Again this year we hope through the parents' cooperation to extend an opportunity to a number of students in elementary education to observe and study children at first-hand and to confer with parents and teachers. In this way it is possible for them to get a broader perspective of child nature than they can get by seeing the children only in the class.

The parents' cooperation involves willingness to have the student see the child at home—as well as at school—and to confer briefly with the student about the child. Last year several students worked along these lines in our district as well as elsewhere, and both parents and teacher felt that they were helpful.

We are sending this letter, then, to all parents of children in the second grade. We hope that parents will find it possible to join with the school in this forward step in the preparation of teachers and will indicate that fact by signing below and returning this letter to the school with the child. In case there are not enough prospective teachers to work with every child whose parents are willing to cooperate a list of those children will be kept for future reference.

(Signed)

W. Y. Brown
Principal

Parents please underline one of the following statements:

I am willing to participate.

I do not believe it is possible for us to participate.

Signed .....

Please return the letter whether you can or cannot take part in the program.

Most parents cooperate very well; a few, for excellent reasons, cannot participate. Once or twice a year it has been found necessary for a student to drop a case because parental uncooperativeness develops. However, so far as we have ever been able to discover by fairly diligent inquiry, none of these cases reflects antagonism due to the action of the students.

Supervision. The amount of supervision needed depends more on the purpose of the case study than it does on the training and experience of the worker. Where a child's whole future depends on the case study, the most experienced worker craves the counsel of his associates. The case studies outlined in this text, however, are not designed to affect the child's future in any material way. No decisions affecting the child are to be based on these studies; they are almost solely for the education of the student and any practical conclusion about the child is taken merely as suggestive. Supervision, then, has as its function, first the avoidance of trouble, and second the furtherance of the student's education.

So far we have had just no "trouble" at all. A part of our group is composed of in-service teachers who study a child in their own classes. Apparently, in such cases, parents find a more intensive study of a child not out of the way. But we have had several hundred preservice students—mostly juniors—working in several dozen schools so far without an untoward incident. Is it not possible that the responsibility and professional good sense of prospective teachers tends to be underestimated?

We hold a number of conferences with preservice students while the case study is progressing, sometimes individually, more often in small groups. The value of these conferences varies considerably. Sometimes, we think, they serve chiefly to give the students confidence. Practical issues like what to do when a child gets the measles (one of our biggest problems!) are dealt with. Suggestions for further observation are occasionally made. A conference with the student should follow the reading of the *Final Report.*

Now all of this is clearly grossly inadequate. Of course! If we could discuss each observation with each student, we could undoubtedly direct the case study so that it would be better done, at least in most cases. Would the student learn more? That is not so sure. The effort to solve one's own problems is an essential part of the educative process. We are convinced that these students often make errors in observation—errors we cannot detect. But we believe the effort to observe, the actual practice of observing, is better, despite some error, than no observing. We know

they make errors of interpretation. These we can more often detect and correct but again not always. But the effort to correlate a considerable number of facts, to stand off from them and see them in perspective, to put them in order, is an exercise of great value. Many of these students achieve an artistic synthesis of real professional quality. And making a case study, in contrast with reading predigested ones, gives the student a sense of the complexities of the child's life and behavior not readily got otherwise.

The issue in any case was for us—and is for many others—the practical one: to secure for the students first-hand experience with children with only minimal supervision, or to let them proceed without this experience. It does not appear that the children studied are injured, our public relations have not suffered, and it is the almost unanimous verdict of students and faculty that the experience is worth while. Such an evaluation is obviously inadequate. We would emphasize here that having students make a case study under the conditions outlined is at any rate definitely practicable. We have no magic; we are sure any good teacher of child psychology can do it.

Observation is, of course, not enough. Teachers must also learn to do. It is desirable, therefore, that the case-study approach be supplemented by some sort of direct application with children. No attempt is made in this text to direct such practice. For relatively inexperienced students to attempt practical remedial programs with only nominal supervision is to risk serious damage to the children and even more damage to one's public relations. Active participation is the *next* step; it should not be mingled with the stage with which we are concerned in making a case study.

Duration of the Study. An intensive study over a week or ten days is no substitute, in our opinion, for a longer period. We want the student to get at least some chance to observe developmental change. And the child studied needs time to get used to the student observer being around. We therefore insist on the observations being strung out over as long a period as possible. The greater insight gained by the longer period seems worth the effort it entails.

We resolutely refuse, however, to draw up a fixed schedule of observations. The number and frequency and direction of observations and field trips is left to the student's judgment. He will often be wrong, but so is any rigid schedule. (We do schedule the first school observations in order to protect the teacher and class against a sudden concentration of observers at the very start.)

Reports. The three forms of report and the directions given for each seem to us of first-rate importance in the maintenance of good public relations. We believe that supervisors of the case study should be at some pains to underscore and emphasize the sort of cautions embodied in Chapter 17 and Appendix 1.

A duplicate of the Log Sheet is kept in the office.

Case Study Log Sheet

Student's Name_____

Address_____Phone_____

This sheet must accompany the Field Notes when handed in and forms the "title page" of the Final Report. *Do Not Lose It.*

Child's Name_____

Age_____School_____Principal_____

Grade_____Teacher_____

Parents' Name_____

Address_____Phone_____

Students fill in "Nature of Observation" and "Date." Each "visit" is a separate item. If no field work has been done, a report of "No field work" is required to be made. Keep your reports in a binder in chronological order except that the ungraded material is on top; thus: Week 4, Week 1, Week 2, Week 3. When 4 is graded it goes to the end and 5 goes on top.

		Grades—See Key Below						
Nature of Observation	*Date*	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*Total*	*Grader*	*Date Rec'd*
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								
11.								
12.								
13.								

Grading Key: In Columns I–IV, grades are G = Good, S = Satisfactory, U = Unsatisfactory. *Col. I:* Organization of Notes, Use of Proper Headings, etc. (Clarity, not style, required); *Col. II:* Making good use of time spent; *Col. III:* Concreteness of observation; objectivity; *Col. IV:* Proper evaluation of obtained facts, neither too much nor too little. The *total* grade column is not a mechanical average of I–IV. Scale is from 5–10.

Log Sheet (Continued)

Check List of Field Work

The following are some common types of field work. *Not all are required*, and others may be substituted. You may need more than one "contact" for each type of field work—e.g., you should certainly visit the home more than once.

As a check on the variety of contacts you make, put tally marks before each type *as you write it up for your field notes.*

A. Observation

____ 1. Class Work—recitation
____ 2. Class Work—study periods
____ 3. Class Work—activity periods
____ 4. Home
____ 5. Playground—school or neighborhood
____ 6. Movies, Shows
____ 7. Restaurant, Soda Fountain
____ 8. Museum, etc.
____ 9. Visiting in someone's home
____10. Others

B. Interview

____1. Parents
____2. Other relatives, friends
____3. Teacher or principal
____4. Other

C. Tests, etc.

____1. Administering, scoring
____2. Obtaining test results from others
____3. School marks
____4. Physical measurements
____5. Rating Scales
____6. Other

Students: Do Not Write in This Space

Final Report Rec'd.,_____. Report deferred by Reason of_____ _____, by authority of_____. Prog. or Inc., Date_____. Grade Reported:_____in_____Q, 194__.

Final Report

		E	*D*	*C*	*B*	*A*
I	Variety and balance of situations in which child is studied.	1	2	3	4	5
II	Participation in case conf. or equivalent.	1	2	3	4	5
III	Effective use of information gained from others.	1	2	3	4	5
IV	Completeness of treatment (areas of adjustment discussed; inclusion and use of objective measurement; letter to parents and school.)	2	4	6	8	10
V	Concreteness; use of data from F.N. or citation to F.N. pages.	3	6	9	12	15
VI	Conclusions; evaluation of data.	5	10	15	20	25
VII	General evidence of insight of a child's behavior.	5	10	15	20	25
VIII	Organization and Format.	2	4	6	8	10

Total Score_____
F. N. Aver._____
Final Grade_____

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Monroe, Ruth. See **162.**
Morgan, Christina D. See **209.**
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Oden, M. H. See 272.
Offerman, E. M. See 256.
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Rayner, R See 295.
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Schonfeld, M. See 256.
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Sears, Pauline S. See 167.
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Solomon, R. L. See **121.**
Souther, Susan P. See **128.**
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Stevens, S. S. See **246.**
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Wellman, Beth. See **44**.
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White, Ralph K. See **168**.
Whiting, J. W. M. See **60**.
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Wright, B. A. See **22**.
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Zeisl, H. See **151**.

Index of Subjects

abstractions, *see* concepts
acceleration, *see* educational acceleration
achievement
  and affection, 442–444
  as a value, 441–442
  see also intellectual achievement
achievement tests, 327–328
adaptation, *see* external adaption, internal adaptation
adjustment
  and acceleration and retardation, 335–339
  and home background, 91–93
  requirements of social, 361–363
adolescents
  and adult authority, 89
  and authoritative leadership, 90
  importance of physical excellence to, 258, 260
adults
  and concept classifications, 324–325
  and direction of children, 65, 99
  and physical excellence, 256
  and self, 437–438
  see also mothers, parents, teachers
affection
  appearance of, in infants, 69
  basis of, 444
  distortions of, 452–456
  and friendship, 449–451
  general and specific, 446–449
  importance of, for teacher, 82–83, 84–85
  learning of, 445
  in relation to sex, 454–456
  stages in development of, 445–446
affiliation, need for, 361
age
  abilities at different, 396–411
  correlation of, with height and weight, 282–287
  of graduation from high school, and adjustment, 338
aggression
  and frustration, 192, 195, 196–197
  and hidden motives, 234
  and leadership, 373–374
  need for, 225
aggression (*Continued*)
  reduction of, 371–373
  and sympathetic behavior, 379
altruism, 384
ambition, 220
American children
  and authoritarian direction, 98
  competition in, 222, 228
  and hardness, 452
  physical handicaps of, 262–263
  vision in, 268, 271
anatomy, and classification of emotional behavior, 129–130
anecdotal records, 32 *n.*
anger
  external adjustment to, 140
  and home atmosphere, 148
  modern description of, 136
  as a response, 143
  study of, 142
animals
  acquisition of love for, 426–427
  and concepts, 321
  conditioning to, 146–147, 149
  see also pets
anxiety, *see* neurosis
approval
  desire for, 229–230
  need for, 225
arithmetic, teaching of, 216
arithmetic tests
  administering of, in sample case study, 519–520
  list of, 480
  report of, in sample case study, 504, 505
ascendancy
  definition of, 371
  modification of, 371–373
  raising of, 374–375
aspiration, level of, 221–222
associations, 145–147
associative play, 366–367
astigmatism, 268
atmosphere, *see* emotional climate, home atmosphere, psychological climate
attention-getting, 454

attitudes
democratic, 88–93
as form of sentiment, 423
socialization of, 82
transference of, 78–79
authoritarian home, effects of, 92
authoritarian leadership, study of, 98
authoritarianism
in family, 91–92
in fascist countries, 90
and rebellion, 98–99
authoritativeness
alternatives to, 99
and authority, 80–81
authority, 66–96
and affection in the home, 83–84
and authoritativeness, 80–81
bipolar attitudes toward, 73–74
in conflict situations, 97–117
and democracy, 88–95
and dependence-compliance, 67–69
differences in reactions to, 74–77
and discipline, 55–120
and goal incentives, 210–211
and guilt feeling, 85–88
impersonalization of, 81
and impudence, 234
and leadership, 66–67
loveless, 83–84
need for adult, 93–94
nonacceptance of, and emotion, 124
observing reactions to, 118–120
origin of, 67–69
resistance to, 69–72
and the teacher, 78–95
autonomic response in emoting, 127

behavior
and affection, 446–449
and ascendancy, 371–373
check list of, in sample case study, 528–529
in classroom, 391–393
compliance as mode of, 68
compliant, 377
control of, by sentiments, 424–428
cooperative, 377–378
and early experience, 76–77
effects of frustration on, 195–197, 203–206
emotional, 130–131, 139–141
and emotional condition, 145–147
and motivation, 183–186
forms of, 363–366
and leadership, 373–377
and manners, 369–370
nonemotional, 130
observing social, 385–412
and organization of motives, 419–424
behavior (*Continued*)
report on, in sample case study, 508–509, 510–511
and role of learning, 417–419
and social skills, 369–370
sympathetic, 378–384
terminology of, 416–417
see also play
behavior check lists
importance of, 38–39
in sample case study, 528–529
behavior patterns
interrelation of, 395–397
overt and covert, 130, 142
behavior problems
and bipolar attitudes, 74
rating of, 58, 60
birthrate and I.Q., 312
blame, effects of, 229–230
blind, the
and compensations, 246, 248 *n.*
and native reaction patterns, 166
bodily excellence, *see* physical excellence
body
and mind duality, 278–279 *n.*
use of word, 242 *n.*
brain, effects of injuries to, 262–264
brightness, and effects of faulty grade placement, 332–333
bullying, 396

case study
and behavior check lists, 38–39
bird's-eye view of, 466–470
and contact with child, 19–21
and contact with home, 17–19
and contact with school, 16–17
diary observations for, 32–36
final report, 54
generalizations, 119
and interviews, 42–49
log sheet, 533–534
making of, 13–54
mechanics of, 473–477
methods of gathering information for, 32–54
need for tact in, 17–18
and observation planning, 21–26
and parents' records, 49–50
and projective procedures, 50–53
and psychological tests, 53
and rating scales, 39–40
and record keeping, 26–28
reminder list, 497–498
reports of, 473–476
and reputation ratings, 41–42
rules for, 20
sample, 499–529
and sample of child's work, 50

case study (*Continued*)
and school records, 49–50
selection of child for, 15–16
and time samples, 36–37
value of making, 13–14
see also observing
case study program, administering of, 530–534
character analysis, making of, 463–465
child behavior, *see* behavior
child behavior rating scales, *see* rating scales
child psychology
approaches to, 11–12
and art of observing, 13
and definition of emotion, 125
importance of illness and handicaps for, 262–279
importance of physical development for, 239–292
and nutrition problems, 266
and rating of behavior problems, 58, 60
child study
and case study, 16 *n.*
typical approach to, 12
child peers, *see* peers
children
and acquisition of sentiments, 424–426
and authoritative control, 90
and competition, 222–225
and concealing of motives, 232–235
and conflict of motives, 428–439
effects of food deprivation on, 200–201, 205
emotional changes in, 161–163
and experience differences, 75–77
home backgrounds of, 45–46
and incentives, 210–227
and the individual child, 413–456
influencing motives of, 210–236
intelligence in, 295–315
interviewing of, in case study, 47–49, 515, 516
and learning of emotions, 145–161
and learning of satisfactions, 207–208
Lewin frustration experiment with, 192–197
motivation in, 183–209
"natural" group of, 330–331
and need for authority, 94–95
need to observe whole child, 12, 397
and pets, 155
and recognition of emotion in others, 168–169
and response to authority, 74–77
and self concept, 437–439
unpopular, 448–449
children (*Continued*)
see also adolescents, infants and young children, and specific topics, e.g. behavior, motives, needs, etc.
classroom behavior, observing of, 391–393, 522–523, 525–527
coddling and intelligence growth, 309, 311
coercion, definition of, 102
commands, effects of form of, 217–219
compensations, doctrine of, 246, 248
competition
and aggression, 372
effects of growth on, 253
as an incentive, 222–225
as a manipulated motive, 223
compliance, 97–98, 377
concepts
definition of, 321
and emotional conditioning, 157
horizontal-vertical classification of, 322–325
of self, 437–439
conditioning
emotional, 145–147
of response, 75 *n.*
conflict of motives
in childhood, 428–429
and imperfect organization, 431
and internalization of obstacles, 429
resolution of, 431–437
and role of selfhood, 437–439
and safety needs, 430
and socialization, 429–430
between two persons, 443
constraint, limits to, 97
cooperation
and competition, 223
development of, 377–378
cooperative play, 366–367
corporal punishment, 61
correlation, doctrine of, 247, 248–249
cross-eyes, 269
cultures
attitudes toward need-fulfillment, 206–207
behavior patterns in, 144
concept of, 70
definition of, 189
and desire to achieve, 220
and dual authority, 88–89
and emphasis of sports, 258
friendship and love in Western, 445
and guilt feelings, 86
and motive differences, 189–190
and restrictions on affections, 455
and social codes, 362–363
and use of competition in, 223–224
and virtues, 225–226

deafness, problems of, 277–278
deconditioning, 146–147
defective vision, *see* vision
defense mechanisms, 232
democracy, and authority, 88–95
democratic leadership
  study of, 98
  values of, 99
dependence-compliance and love-hate, 74
deprivation
  effects of, 200–201
  and frustration, 191–206
  importance of, 203
  of needs, *see* frustrations; needs
  reactions to, in Coventry, 202
desires, *see* needs
developmental approach to child psychology, 11
diary observations
  of authority reactions, 118
  difficulties of, 32–35
  example of, 36
  making of, 32–36
  in sample case study, 513–514
  reasons for, 35–36
differentiation, explanation of, 73
disciplinary conflict
  emergency treatment of, 100–113
  and emotional distress, 100
  sources of, 97–100
  and teacher ego-inflation, 100–102
"disciplinary situation," 66
discipline
  and authority, 55–120
  changing concept of, 61–64
  definition of, 59, 61
  as effect of chronological grade placement, 332–333
  interpersonal character of, 107
  parents' rating of selves and grandparents as to, 62
  poor, as cause of teacher failure, 57
  in schools, 57, 59, 61
  and teacher leadership, 64–66
  triangle of, 114
  v. self-discipline, 113–116
dogs
  conditioning to, 149
  and food deprivation, 200
  as pets, *see* pets
dominance relations among motives, 434–435
drama and dramatic play, *see* play
dull children, *see* retarded children
dynamic approach to child psychology, 11–12

education
  and better speech, 230 *n.*
education (*Continued*)
  goal of, 124
  and knowledge of physical development, 241–242
  and observation of traits, 8
  task of, 65
  see also school learning; social education, etc.
educational acceleration, arguments for, 334–335
emoting
  difference between, and other actions, 130–132
  end of, 131
  of humans and primates, 143 *n.*
  individual differences in, 142–143
  as an integration, 133–134, 136–137
  and maturing, 161–163
  and reappraisal, 155
  and response specialization, 418–419
  six components of, 125–130
  as a social process, 165–177
  time relations of responses in, 134–137
emotion and emotions
  contagion of, 152
  definition of, 124–125, 131
  diagram of development of, 141
  dissembling of, 171
  and drugs, 131 *n.*
  and emotional climate, 147–150
  expressions of, 128
  growth in suitability of, 161–163
  learning of, 145–161
  modifying of, 158–161
  naming of, 128–129, 140
  as one source of motivation, 184–185
  projected, 167
  responses to, 125–130
  suppression of, 172–174
  see also emoting
emotional antagonism, learning of, 107
emotional atmosphere in hostility play therapy, 156
emotional behavior
  distinguishing of, 130–131
  of infants, 139–141
emotional climate, 147–150
emotional conditioning, 145–147
emotional distress, and disciplinary conflict, 100
emotional language
  and communication, 166–167, 169
  understanding of, 168
emotional maturing, 139–164
  and acquisition of "virtues," 226
  differentiation of, 139–144
  and effects of reprimands, 77
  and emotional changes in childhood, 161–163

emotional maturing (*Continued*)
in infants, 139
and influence of words, 152–158
and imitation, 150–152
and learning of emotions, 145–161
and mastering of situation, 158–161
and motivation, 213–216
and play therapy, 155–158
and socialization of emotion, 165–177
and suppression problems, 172–174
and understanding of expressions of others, 168
universal characteristics of, 143–144
emotional problems
definition of, 124
causes of, 123–124
emotions, *see* emotion and emotions
emotive situation, *see* emoting
environment, and I.Q., 300–305
environmental field, and traits, 8–10
experience, and authority concept, 87
expressions of emotion, 128
external adjustment
in anger, 140
in emoting, 126, 129
and suppression of response, 173–174
time relations of, 134–135
external responses of infants, 139–143
extrinsic motivation, 211–216
eyes
defects in, 268–269
uses of, 249

facts
interpretation and appraisal of, 28–31, 32–35
and secondhand information, 31–32
failure, effects of, 221
family pattern, *see* homes
farsightedness, *see* hyperopia
fears
and changes of response pattern, 145
discussion of, 133–136
experiments in mastering, 158
of loss of love, 452
as a response, 142–143
transfers of, 146
and trauma, 148, 149
in young children, 153
feeblemindedness
cause of, 263–264
and I.Q., 308
field, *see* environmental field; psychological climate
field notes
examples of, 119–120, 467
and log sheet, 533–534
making of, 28
field notes (*Continued*)
purpose of, 31–32
in sample case study, 511–512
final report, the
faults to be avoided in, 468–469
making of, 54
first-impressions record, 22–23
followership
development of democratic, 93
study of, 90
food deprivation, effects of, 200–201, 205
formboard, 297
friendships
developments in, 449–450
foundations of, 444, 445
as need fulfillment, 451
and social environment, 451
frustrations
dealing with, 197–200
and deprivation, 191–206
experiment in, 192–197
and need for aggression, 225
picture test of, 52
and substitute activities, 198–199
see also conflict of motives

gangs
factors determining status in, 257 *n.*
value of, 367–368
general achievement tests, list of, 478–479
generalizations, *see* concepts
Germany
and authoritarianism, 90, 98
behavior patterns in, 144
gifted children
I.Q. of, 299
study of, 335, 337–339
glands
effects of, on behavior, 264–265
in emoting, 127
response of, 134–135
goals
of achievement and affection, 442–443
and authority, 82 *n.*
definition of, 186
development of, 65
and effects of failure and success, 221–222
hidden, of children, 184
and incentives, 210–216
and need-satisfaction, 207–208
organization of, 415–446
and organizing of motives, 423
of self-discipline, 114
shifts in, 436
grade placement
and chronological grouping, 331–332
formula for, 333
and mental age, 329–330

grade skipping, *see* educational acceleration
grandparents, and discipline rating, 62
groups
  and child security, 396–397
  child's status in, 412
  and individual, 99
  "natural," 330–331, 334
  see also gangs, peers
growing up
  attitudes toward, 242–244
  milestones of, 396–411
guilt feelings, and authority, 85

habits, 423
hardness in children, 452
hate
  identification of, 72 *n.*
  and motive organization, 422
health, *see* physical excellence
hearing
  defective, 277–278
  tests of, 481–482
height
  as companionship factor, 257
  and evaluation of physical status, 282–287
  of gifted children, 335
  potential range of, 247
  range of, in third grade, 5–6
  report on, in sample case study, 507
  and total bodily excellence, 254
heterosexual interest, evidence of, 245
home atmosphere
  and aggression, 372
  and anger, 148
  as incentive, 226–227
  and I.Q., 311
homes
  authority patterns in, 87–90
  broken, 388–389
  rating of, 389–390, 500–502
  and security, 387–389
  socio-economic index to, 45–46
  superior, and intelligence growth, 309–310, 311
honesty, teaching of, 426
horizontal classification of concepts, 322–324
hostility, and play therapy, 155–157
hyperopia
  effects of, 272
  evidence of, 268–269

identification
  of authority with loved one, 81–83
  of child with authority, 68–69, 84
  of mother and teacher, 78–79
  two meaning of, 78 *n.*
illness, *see* physical excellence
imitation
  of emotions, 150–152
  and language learning, 319
impudence, 234
impulse, 186
inattention, classroom, 37
incentives
  commands and suggestions and, 217–219
  and desire to achieve, 220–222
  and effects of illness of, 266–267
  and interests, 219–220
  and motivation, 211–217
  nature of, 210–211
  objections to cataloguing of, 227–231
individual child, the, 413–456
individual differences
  and emotional learning, 168–169
  in intelligence, 329–334, 341–342
  in physical development, 245–246
  in social acceptability, 448
  in sympathetic behavior, 382–384
individuals
  differences in, 5–9
  and the group, 99
infants and young children
  and affection foundations, 444
  and communication of emotions, 166
  delight in, 140
  dependence of, on adults, 67 *n.*
  dependence-compliance of, 67–69
  and differentiation, 73
  distress in, 140
  emotional behavior of, 139–141
  external adaptations of, 126
  and fear stimuli, 142
  fears of, 153
  and identification, 68–69
  intelligence testing of, 301, 343
  and lack of conflicts in, 429
  and mother, 419–420
  motives in, 186–187
  needs of, 415
  and pin-prick stimulus, 151, 433
  resistance development in, 69–72
  and self concept, 437, 438–439
  and smiling, 144
  universal characteristics of emotional behavior in, 143–144
initiative
  development of, 84
  and physical excellence, 258
insane, the, 131
instincts, use of term, 102 *n.*
integration
  in emoting, 133–134
  of motives, 435–437, 443–444
intellectual achievement
  and concepts, 321–326

intellectual achievement (*Continued*)
and educational acceleration, 334–339
and effects of faulty grade placement, 332–333
in language, 317–321
and learning, 61–62
and "natural" group, 330–331
observing of, 341–358
in sample case study, 502–505, 510
scholastic, 326–329
varieties of, 316–317
see also intelligence
intelligence
definition of, 295, 300
dependability of, 300–302
development of, 313–314
effects of birthrate on, 312
existence of, 4–5
of gifted children, 335
growth of, and concepts, 321–326
improvement of, 302–305
level of, *see* Mental Age
measurement of, *see* intelligence tests
nature of, 295–300
and physical health, 308
and race, 307–308
rate of growth of, *see* Intelligence Quotient
and schooling, 308–309
and socio-economic status, 305–307
stimulation of, 309–310
teacher estimates of, in third grade, 7
Intelligence Quotient
effects of birthrate on, 312
and environment, 302–305
explanation of, 298–299
lack of constance of, 300–301
and physical excellence, 308
and race, 307–308
and school learning, 308–309
socio-economic effects on, 305–307
testing for, 348–351
intelligence tests
administering of, in sample case study, 517
classification of, 296–297
difficulties of administering, 299–300
importance of, 295–296 *n.*
list of, 480–481
and Mental Age, 298–300
purpose of, 327
report of, in sample case study, 503, 505
selection, 346–348
value of scores of, 327–328, 344–346
and vision defects, example of, 273–274
interests
as incentives, 219–220
and maturing motivation, 418
internal adaptation
and drugs, 131 *n.*
in emoting, 127, 129
as one component of emotion, 132
time relations of, 134–135
internal responses
in infants and children, 143
and classification of emotions, 131
and suppression, 172–174
interviewing
of children, 47–49
of parents, 43–46
in sample case study, 512–513
of teachers, 46–47
value of, 42–43
intrinsic motivation, 211–216
introverts, 449
items-in-the-home index, 45

Japan, and authoritarianism, 90
jealousy
as affection distortion, 452
and behavior check list, 38
discussion of, 133–134
juvenile delinquency, and discipline, 63

laissez-faire leadership, 98, 99
language
achievements of, 317–318
learning of, 319–320
as tool, 310
see also words
"law of primacy," 76 *n.*, 81
leadership
adult, 99
arts of, 66–67
benevolently authoritative, 90
desire for, 373–374
qualities for, 374
democratic, development of, 93
and physical excellence, 257–260
and skill, 67
and social sensitivity, 374, 375–377
study of, 98
training for, 374–377
of union members, 91
learning
by association, 145
of emotions, 145–161
and emotional communcation, 166–171
and emotional conditioning, 145–147
importance of emotional climate to, 148
of intelligence, 313–314
and lack of permanent effects of frustration, 203–206
and punishment, 103–106, 107–108, 112–113
and satisfactions, 207–208
see also school learning, social education

libido, 227–228
longitudinal approach to child psychology, 11–12
love
  and authority, 81–82
  of child for mother, 420, 422
  common element in, 72 *n.*
  and unfulfillment effects, 201
  see also affection

make-believe, 167
maladjustment, *see* adjustment
manners
  learning of, 369–370
  as range of behavior, 369
mature emotion, *see* emotional maturing
mature persons, *see* adults
maturity
  and interests, 418
  and reactions, 433
Mental Age
  definition of, 4–5
  explanation of, 298
  growth in, 305
  and organismic age, 254–255
  as poor criterion for grade placement, 329–330
  range of, in third grade, 7
  and test scores, 345, 351–354
"mental discipline," 61–62
mind
  and body duality, 278–279 *n.*
  use of word, 242 *n.*
minority groups, 394–395
morality, *see* values
mothers
  and development of child's self, 438
  and emotional communication, 169
  importance of, to infants, 419–420
  information from, in case study, 43–45
  personality of, and authority, 75–76
  reports of, in sample case study, 502, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509
  and transfer of attitude toward teacher, 78–79
  see also parents
motives and motivation
  and basic hereditary needs, 187–189
  and beginnings of organization, 419–424
  blocking of, 203–206
  complex combinations of, 421–422
  and concept of self, 439
  conflict of, 428–443
  definition of, 185
  dependable, 217–231
  deprivation and frustration in, 191–206
  disposition of, 416–417
motives and motivation (*Continued*)
  and dominant relationships, 420–421, 434–435
  early formations of, 186–191
  and effects of illness on, 266–267
  hidden, 231–234
  hierarchy of, 416, 417, 435–436
  imperfect organization of, 431
  individual differences in, 229–231
  influencing of children's, 210–236
  and intellectual growth, 310–314
  observing of, 236–237
  partial catalogue of, 186
  primary social, 225
  reinterpretation of conflicting, 432–434
  see also goals; needs; values
muscles
  and classification of emotions, 129
  response of, 134–135
  use of, in emoting, 126, 127
myopia
  effects of, 272
  evidence of, 268–269
  and physical activities, 274–275
  and reading, 274
  and social learning, 275–276

"natural" group, 330–331, 334
natural motives, 189–191
nearsightedness, *see* myopia
needs
  for affiliation, 225, 361
  for aggression, 225
  for approval, 225
  basic hereditary, 187–189
  definition of, 186, 203
  deprivation of, and resistance, 70
  effects of unfulfillment of, 201
  fulfillment of, 206–209
  and friendship, 451
  of infants, 186–187, 415
  and life experience, 189–191
  recurrence of, 416
  repressed, 234
  satisfaction of, 188
  and specialization of response, 418–419
  for security in authority, 88
  of teachers, 83, 85
  see also motives and motivation
negative motivating stimulus, *see* punishment
Negroes and prejudice, 428
nervous system, effects of injuries to, 262–264
neurosis
  and frustration and repression, 203–204
  and toilet training, 215

neurosis (*Continued*)
and trauma, 149
nonemotional behavior, 130
nutrition, problem of, 266

obedience versus self-direction, 62–63
observing
as an art, 13
of children's emotions, 177–179
in classroom, report of in sample case study, 522–523, 525–527
of intellectual development, 341–358
and limiting area of behavior, 35
of motivation, 236–237
of personality in children, 457–465
of physical excellence, 280–292
of play, in sample case study, 518, 520–521
planning, 21–26
of social behavior, 385–412
of social response, in sample case study, 521, 523–524
and tests, 53
onlooker behavior, 363, 364
only children, 390
organic motives, socialization of, 429–430
organismic age, 254–255
organismic integration, 249–254, 266–268
orthopedic handicaps, 278
overweight, *see* weight

parallel play, 364–367
parent-surrogate, teacher as, 78–80
parents
and affection-authority, 83–84
attitude toward discipline, 90
authoritarian, 92–93
behavior rating scales of, 119, 390, 490, 492–496
case study report to, 475
and children's problems, 3–4
and child's behavior toward, 387–390
cooperation of, in case study, 17–19
and exercise of authority, 75–76
hostility to, and play therapy, 155–157
interview of, in sample case study, 514–515
interviewing, 43–46
and problem of sex, 455–456
rating of behavior problems, 58–60
records, and case study, 49–50
relations of, to interviewing of child, 47
sample letters to, 476–477, 530–531
and use of incentives, 210–211
and vision problems of children, 270
peers
authority of, 82 *n.*
communication with, by language, 319
ratings by child's, 41–42
peers (*Continued*)
and social acceptability, 447–449
status among, 412
performance tests, 297
persistent stimuli, as source of behavior, 232–234
personality development
and conflict of motives, 428–439
and distortions of affection, 452–456
and friendships, 449–451
and love and affection, 444–456
and minority-group status, 394–395
observing of, 457–465
and organization of motives, 419–424
and personal achievement, 441–444
and physical development, 258, 260–261
report of, in sample case study, 509–510, 511
and role of learning, 417–419
and sentiments and values, 424–428
pets
and emoting, 155
love for, 425–426, 427
and owner's desire for domination, 431
physical development
and bodily excellence, 254–257
and compensations, 246, 248
and correlation, 248–249
and differing rates of growth, 252–254
and individual differences, 245–246
and organismic integration, 249–254
proportion differences, changes in, 250–251
psychology of, 241–261
report of, in sample case study, 505–508, 510
and social development, 257–261
see also physical excellence; physical handicaps
physical excellence
and ascendancy, 371
of gifted children, 335
illness effects on, 264, 266–268, 308
judgment of, 256–257
and I.Q., 308
and leadership, 257–261
observing of, 280–292
and "organismic age," 254–255
and play, 257
profile of, 287–291
reminder list of, 483
and social climate, 260–261
physical handicaps
distribution of, 262–263
effects of, 268–279
and speech defects, 320–321
see also specific entries, e.g., hearing, myopia, vision, etc.

physiology
and classification of behavior, 129–130
and responses, 126
physique, *see* physical excellence
pin-prick stimulus, 157, 433
play
description of, 368–369
effects of poor vision on, 275
and emotional reappraisal, 155–158
forms of, 363–367
free, and projected emotion, 167
frustration experiment of, 192–197
and intellectual growth, 309–310
as means to mastery of situations, 159–161
observing of, in sample case study, 518, 520–521
and physical excellence, 257
as projective behavior, 50–53
solitary, 363–366
poetry as emotional expression, 170
praise, effects of, 229–230
prejudice
and authoritarian home, 92
origin of, 94–95
and teaching of values, 428
preschools, value of, 343–344
primates, emoting in, 143 *n.*
privation, 191 *n.*
problem children
and bipolar attitude toward parents, 155–157
definition of, 15–16
and home atmosphere, 148
problems of emotion, *see* emotion and emotions; emotional maturing
progressive education
acceptability of, 89
and opportunity for democratic growth, 93
value of, 428
projected emotions in make-believe, 167
projective procedures, 50–53
psychodrama, 159–161
psychological climate
and illness, 267–268
as incentives, 226–227
improvement of, in U. S., 314
interviewing as key to, 42–43
and personality development, 8–10
psychological tests, in case study, 52, 53
psychology
and classification of emotional behavior, 129–130
and definition of emotion, 125
motivation *v.* stimulus response, 185
and narrow definition of emoting, 132
and measurement of qualities, 4–5
of physical development, 241–261
psychology (*Continued*)
of punishment, 103
purpose of, 242
see also child psychology
psychosomatic medicine, 137
punishment
definition of, 102
as a deterrent, 103–105
and emotional atmosphere, 150
and emotional conditioning, 146
and frustration, 199–200
immediate, 110–111
justifiability of, 102–103
kinds of, 103
and learning, 112
limiting of term, 103
as means to order, 108–109
need for consistent and inevitable, 105
and poor effects on learning, 106, 108
reasons given for, 103
retaliatory, 87
right kind of, 109–113
purposes, *see* goals, values

race
and I.Q., 307–308
and status, 395
rate of growth of intelligence, *see* Intelligence Quotient
rating scales
of child behavior, 484–489, 491
definition of, 39
of parent behavior, 490, 492–496
use of, 40
rationalization, 434
rats, and deprivation of food, 200, 201 *n.*
reading
motivation toward, 213–214
and visual defects, 274
reading tests
data on, in sample case study, 529
list of, 479–480
report of, in sample case study, 503, 50
rebellion, and too much control, 97, 98
regression, desire for, 244
reinterpretation of conflict situation, 432–434
rejection
and behavior problems, 105
effects of, as punishment, 111
and I.Q., 311
repressed desires, *see* needs
repression
of affection, 454
and aggression, 371–372
importance of, 203
reprimands and reproofs
and affection, 84
effects of, 230

reputation ratings
by child's peers, 41
by sociometric scale, 41–42
resistance to authority, 69–72
responses to emotion, *see* emoting
restraint, response to, 143
retarded children
bullying by, 396
and effects of faulty grade placement, 332
I.Q. of, 299
and maladjustment, 337
rewards, *see* incentives
ridicule, effects of, 230
rivalry, as incentive, 222–225

"safety" needs, 430
sarcasm, effects of, 230
satisfaction of needs, *see* needs
"scapegoat," 86
school learning
and achievement tests, 355–357
and commands, 218–219
and effects of defective vision, 272–274
and growth rates, 252–253
and incentives, 215–216
and intelligence, 326–329
and marks, 354–355
schools
and acceleration problems, 334–339
attitude of, toward discipline, 63–64
case study report to, 475
discipline in, 57, 59, 61
and grade placement, 330–334
and intellectual differences, 329–334
lack of attention to emotional language, 169–171
records of, and case study, 49–50
role of, in developing emotion, 174–176
sample letter of, to parents, 530–531
see also teachers
security
in child's group, 396–397
in home, 387–388
and unfulfillment, 201
self-confidence, and leadership, 374
self-control, changing concept toward, 62–63
self-direction, and adult guidance, 65
self-discipline, and goals, 114–116
self-expression, and poetry, 170
selfhood
in adults, 443 *n.*
and affection, 442
development of, 461
role of, in organizing motives, 437–439
sentiments
as combinations of motives, 421–422
as guide lines of conduct, 424–428
sentiments (*Continued*)
relations of, to motives, 420–422
use of term, 423
sex
antagonism toward opposite, 446–447
interest in other, 245
and love, 424
maturity, 291
observing attitudes toward, 462
relation of, to affection, 454–456
shock, *see* trauma
siblings
influence of, 390–391
jealousy of, 452, 453
relations of, 420–421, 431
report of, 178
sight, *see* eyes, vision
skills
acquisition of, 313, 316
social, 369–370
social climate, and physical excellence, 260–261
social codes, 362–363
social development, 359–412
and acceleration, 337–339
and adjustment problems, 386
and aggression, 372
and growth rates, 252–253
and home environment, 387–390
and kinds of participation, 363–367
levels of, 361–362
and neighborhood influences, 394–395
and physique, 257–261
and siblings, 390–391
and social codes, 362–363
and social interactions, 366–368
social education
and defective hearing, 278
and defective vision, 275–276
goal of, 225–226
and illness effects on, 267–268
social interaction, 366–368
social maturity
check list of, 397–412
and sympathetic behavior, 384
social participation
kinds of, 363–369
see also affection, friendship, love, play, etc.
social response, observing of, in sample case study, 521, 523–524
social sensitivity
and cooperative behavior, 377–378
development of, 375–377
and leadership, 374
social skills, *see* skills
society, *see* cultures

socio-economic status
and achievement testing, 327
and intelligence growth, 305–310
sociometric scale, 41
Spartan philosophy, 202
speech, *see* language, words
speech defects, 320–321
spelling tests
administering of, 517, 527–528
report of, in sample case study, 504, 505, 510, 517
stealing
example of physical cause of, 265
and unfulfillment of needs, 201
stereotypes of concepts, 324–325
stimulus-response psychology *v.* motivation, 185
strabismus
effects of, 276
evidence of, 269
success, as a goal, 221
Snellen test for visual acuity, 481
suggestions and commands, 217–219
superior children, *see* gifted children
suppression of emotions, 172–174
sympathetic behavior, 379
syncretism, 323

teachers
and authority challenges, 436–437
and authoritativeness, 80–81
and anxiety neurosis in children, 205
and child study, 12
and children's problems, 3–4
and concept classification, 324–325
and creation of self-discipline situation, 115–116
and dangers of competition, 224–225
defiance of, 78–80
and doctrine of interest, 220
emotional communication problems of, 169
and emotional contagion, 152
estimates of mental age by, 7
failure of, because of poor discipline, 57
and flouting of authority, 100–102
formula for, 313
and group procedure, 99
and guilt feelings in children, 87–88
and inattention comparison, 37
interviewing of, for case study, 46–47, 512–513
and interviews of parents, 43–45
and language learning, 318–320
leadership by, 64–66, 97
and necessity for consistent action, 88
as parent-surrogate, 78–80
personality of, in authority situations, 79–80
teachers (*Continued*)
physical condition reminder list, 483
and play therapy, 156–157
and problem of sex, 455–456
and projective play, 167
and pupil control, 64–66
and rating of behavior problems, 58–59
rationalization of demands of, on children, 85
and reading motivation, 213–214
reports of, in sample case study, 504–505
and reputation ratings of children, 41–42
and response to children to discipline by, 76–77
role of, in changing reactions to authority, 81–88
role of, with children from authoritarian homes, 92–93
role of, in helping handicapped, 276–277
and school atmosphere, 226
and social problems of speech, 230
and socio-economic status problems, 305–307
and use of authority, 93–95
and use of incentives, 210–211
and stuttering, 320–321
and vision problems of children, 270, 272–273
tensions, *see* needs
tentative hypothesis in observing, 23–25
tests
administering of, 348
limitations of, 341, 346–348
see also specific tests, e.g. intelligence tests, reading tests
thinking, and emoting, 128–129
third grade
and bumping game, 245–246
and concept learning, 325
height differences in, 6, 247
mental age range in, 7
thumbsucking, 204, 434, 435
time samples
in sample case study, 528
value of, 36–37
toilet training, 191, 215, 429
traits
differences of, 7–8
and environmental field, 8–10
number and range of, 4
on one person, 7–8
and rating scales, 40
trauma, and maladjustment, 149

underprivileged, *see* socio-economic status
unisexual affection, 446

valence, definition of, 186
values
  basic principle of, 207
  of children, 458–460
  conflict of, 441
  as guide lines of conduct, 424–428
  as incentives, 225–226
  of love and affection, 444–456
  of personal achievement, 441–444
  shifts in, of high-school boy, 436
  teaching of, 426–428
  use of term, 423
verbal forms of commands, 217–219
verbal response to emotion, 128
verbal stimuli
  of emotions, 152–154
  importance of, in play therapy, 156, 157
  and learning abstract ideas, 157–158
verbal tests of intelligence, 297
verbal tools, and I.Q., 310
vertical classification of concepts, 322–325
virtues, *see* values
visceral response, 127, 131
vision
  defective, 268
  psychological problems of, 270–277
vision (*Continued*)
  tests of, 269
  see also eyes
visual tests, 481
vocabulary, *see* words

weight
  change in, and stealing, 265
  differences of, in persons, 6 *n.*
  and evaluation of physical status, 282–287
  and personality, 258, 259
  report on, in sample case study, 507
wholeness, *see* organismic integration
words
  dangers of, in teaching values, 426–428
  influence of, on emotions, 152–158
  mastery of, 318
  recognition of, 317
  use of, without understanding, 325
World War II
  and Coventry bombing, 202
  and food deprivation effects, 200–201, 205
wrongdoing
  degrees of, 106 *n.*
  and guilt feeling, 86–87

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145

Figure 27 A. Grid for Evaluating Physical Fitness

in Terms of PHYSIQUE (Body Build), DEVELOPMENTAL LEVEL and BASAL METABOLISM

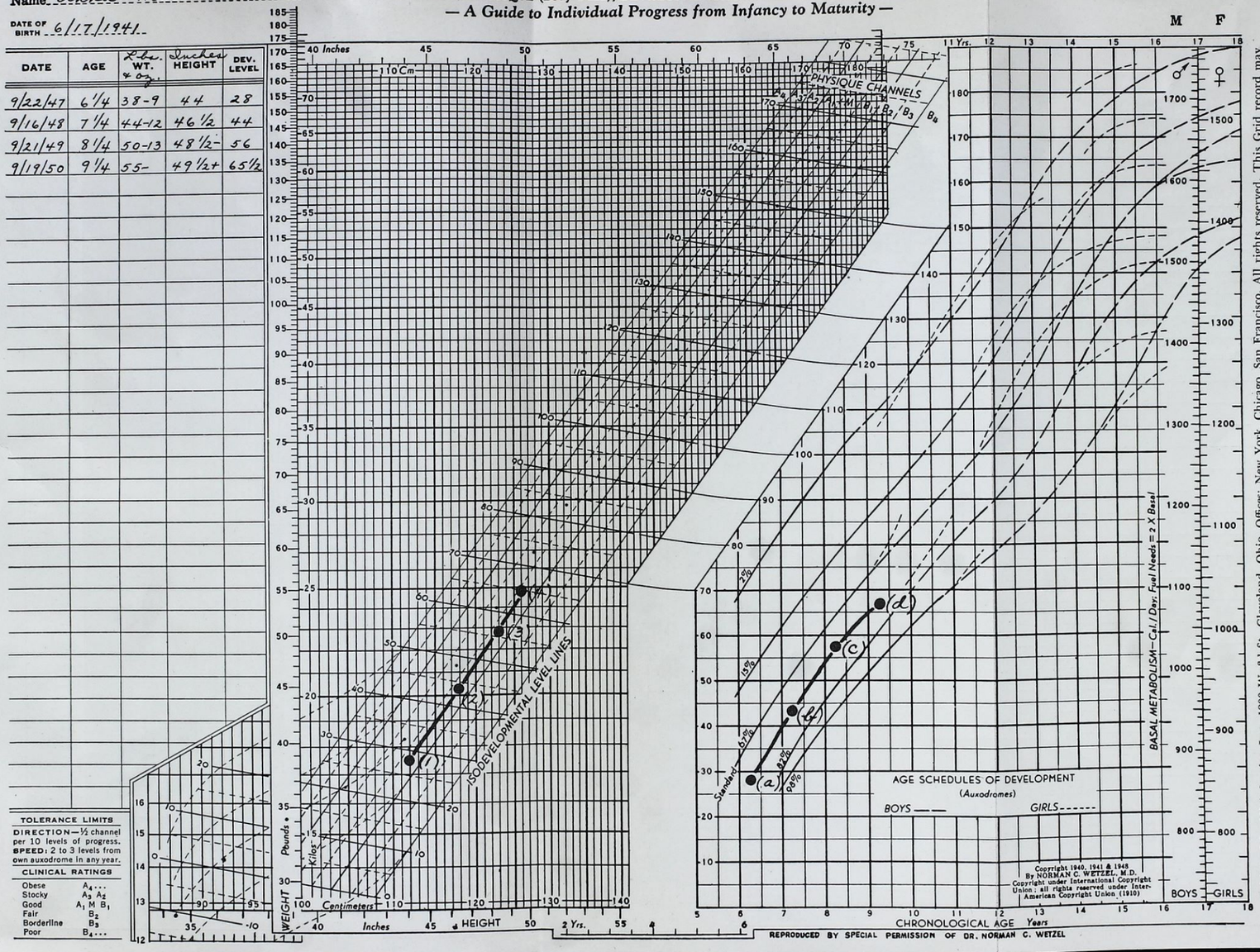
— A Guide to Individual Progress from Infancy to Maturity —

Name Anna Marie

No.

DATE OF BIRTH 6/17/1941

DATE	AGE	Lbs. & Oz. WT.	Inches HEIGHT	DEV. LEVEL
9/22/47	6 1/4	38-9	44	28
9/16/48	7 1/4	44-12	46 1/2	44
9/21/49	8 1/4	50-13	48 1/2-	56
9/19/50	9 1/4	55-	49 1/2+	65 1/2



TOLERANCE LIMITS

DIRECTION—½ channel per 10 levels of progress.
SPEED: 2 to 3 levels from own auxodrome in any year.

CLINICAL RATINGS

Obese	A_4···
Stocky	A_3 A_2
Good	A_1 M B_1
Fair	B_2
Borderline	B_3
Poor	B_4···

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Figure 27B. Grid for Evaluating Physical Fitness

in Terms of PHYSIQUE (Body Build), DEVELOPMENTAL LEVEL and BASAL METABOLISM

— A Guide to Individual Progress from Infancy to Maturity —

Name Mary Lou No.

DATE OF BIRTH 1/25/39

DATE	AGE	Lbs. WT. Oz.	Inches HEIGHT	DEV. LEVEL
1/24/45	6-0	48-10	48	63
1/27/47	8-0	61-5	52	85
1/26/48	9-0	71-8	54	93
1/28/49	10-0	82-3	57	107+
3/1/50	11-2	86-0	59 3/4	114

TOLERANCE LIMITS

DIRECTION—½ channel per 10 levels of progress.
SPEED: 2 to 3 levels from own auxodrome in any year.

CLINICAL RATINGS

Obese	A_4 ---
Stocky	A_3 A_2
Good	A_1 M B_1
Fair	B_2
Borderline	B_3
Poor	B_4 ---

WEIGHT — Pounds • Kilos • Centimeters — HEIGHT — Inches — 2 Yrs.

ISODEVELOPMENTAL LEVEL LINES

PHYSIQUE CHANNELS

AGE SCHEDULES OF DEVELOPMENT
(Auxodromes)
BOYS —— GIRLS ------

BASAL METABOLISM—Cal./Day. Fuel Needs = 2 X Basal

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE Years

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